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THE PHILOLOGICAL SOCIETY'S
EXTRA VOLUME, 1875.

On
Early English Pronunciation,
with special reference to
Shakspere and Chaucer.

TAINING AN INVESTIGATION OF THE CORRESPONDENCE OF
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IOD TO THE PRESENT DAY, PRECEDED BY A SYSTEMATIC
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WINKLER'S LOW GERMAN AND FRIESIAN DIALECTICON, AND
PRINCE L. L. BONAPARTE'S VOWEL AND CONSONANT LISTS.

BY

ALEXANDER J. ELLIS,
F.R.S., F.S.A., F.C.P.S., F.C.P.,
PAST PRESIDENT OF THE PHILOLOGICAL SOCIETY,
MBER OF THE MATHEMATICAL SOCIETY, FORMERLY SCHOLAR OF TRINITY COLLEGE
CAMBRIDGE, B.A. 1857.

PART IV.

pp. 997–1432.

STRATIONS OF THE PRONUNCIATION OF ENGLISH IN THE
XVII TH, XVIII TH, AND XIX TH CENTURIES.
EDIARD, BONAPARTE, SCHMELLER, WINKLER.
IVED AMERICAN AND IRISH PRONUNCIATION OF ENGLISH
PHONOLOGICAL INTRODUCTION TO DIALECTS.

PUBLISHED FOR THE SOCIETY BY
ASHER AND CO.,
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CORRIGENDA ET ADDENDA

In addition to those already given on the backs of notices to Parts I. and II. and back of title to Part III., containing all the errors hitherto observed that could cause the slightest difficulty to the reader.

* This star is prefixed to the *Addenda*. The additions promised for Part IV. at the back of the title to Part III., in the belief that Part IV. would conclude the work, are necessarily postponed to Part VI. The additions here given are all of small extent.

In PART I. pp. 1—416.

pp. 3–10, the symbols of palaeotype have been much extended, and occasionally corrected. See the subsequent list of *Additional Palaeotypic Symbols*, p. xii.

p. 11, lines 19, 22, in the Caffir words, *for* (u i) *read* (*u i*).

*p. 29, table, col. xvii, *for* niн't *read* niн'ť; and add to table: "(u) is put for (*u*) in the old pronunciations, owing to uncertainty."

p. 32, against 1547, *read* 38 Henry VIII.

p. 33, l. 13 from bottom, *read* Jean Pillot.

p. 41, l. 14 from bottom, *for* Ripon, *read* Chester.

p. 50, col. of Sovereigns, between Edw. VI. and Elizabeth, *insert* 1553 Mary.

p. 57, lines 15, 6, and 3 from bottom, *read* get, *mare*, (mee'ɪ).

p. 67, l. 11 from bottom of text, for Mr. M. Bell's French nasals, *read* (ea, ɔhʌ, ɔhʌ, ɔʌ).

p. 80, l. 7, and p. 111, l. 16, read *deei* (dee·éi).

p. 93, col. 4, line 5, *read* endev·ɪ.

p. 95, l. 2, *read* stoo'ɪ·ri.

p. 99, l. 5, *read* HOPE *hope* (HOOP).

*p. 111, l. 6, at end of sentence, *add*: "(see p. 817, note)."

p. 116, l. 1, *omit* and as it probably was in the XIV th century.

p. 131, l. 8 from bottom of text, *read* dzhoint.

p. 134, l. 9 from bottom of text, *read* voi·idzh.

*p. 145, l. 11 from bottom of text, *add*: "See p. 976, l. 6."

p. 153, lines 9, 10, 11 from bottom, *omit* which.

p. 158, l. 9, read *molten*.

p. 159, l. 9, read *ât*, *nât*, *brât*, *bât*.

*p. 173, l. 9 from bottom of second col. of note, *for* (ɔ, œ), *read* (ɔ, ɔh). At end of that note add: "Prince L. L. Bonaparte heard M. Féline use (œ) for *e* muet; all references to his pronunciation must be corrected accordingly."

*p. 189, l. 7, *read* (bun, bun·*e*); and at end of paragraph *add*: "M. Paul Meyer told me (30 April, 1871) that he suspected Palsgrave to allude to the Provençal method of using *-o*, for what in northern French is *-e* mute, and to have pronounced this *o* either as (*-o*) or (*-oh*)."

p. 190, last line of text, *read* (or·eindzhiz).

p. 192, last line, *read* [2].

p. 196, l. 12 from bottom of text, *read* differing nearly as (*e*, E).

p. 198, lines 10 and 11, *for* UI, JUI, *read* uhɪ, juhɪ.

*p. 201, l. 6 from bottom, *add as a footnote*: "Mr. F. G. Fleay says he knows two certain instances of Londoners saying (drʌʌr)."

*p. 204, note 1, *add*: "The passages adduced by F. L. K. Weigand (*Woerterbuch der Deutschen Synonymen*, No. 1068) seem to leave no doubt as to the historic origin of *church* from the Greek, through the canons of the Greek churches."

215, l. 2, *read* (kondis·iun).

*p. 218, *add at end of first column of footnote*: "See also p. 922, col. 2, under *suitor*, and p. 968, col. 2, under *S*."
p. 220, l. 11, italicise *humble*.
p. 223, note 1, l. 1, *read* Lehrgebäude.
p. 226, note 1, l. 1, *after* treatise, *add*: "(reprinted below, p. 815)."
p. 236, l. 4, *read* myyv.
p. 240, l. 2, *read* but.
*p. 247, l. 18, *add as footnote*: "See the investigation below, pp. 453–462, and pp. 820, 822, under *ai*, *ei*."
p. 264, l. 7, read *saunz*.
*p. 265, note 1, *add*: "See p. 473, n. 1, and p. 1315."
p. 268, l. 3, *read* 5322[1].
p. 269, note, col. 1, l. 6, *read* mouiller.
p. 271, l. 13, *read* confuses.
*p. 281, l. 31, *for*: "The words do not occur in Gill, but *lady* does occur," *read and add*: "The words *lady*, *worthy*, occur in Gill, who writes (laa·d*i*, ladii·), see p. 935, l. 13, below, and (wurdh·*i*), see p. 909, col. 2, below; and *lady* also occurs. . . . ."
*p. 282, l. 5 from bottom, *add*: "See p. 817, note."
p. 283, l. 8, *read* melodye.
p. 284, l. 29, read *Die* = (dai·e, di*i*·e).
p. 286, lines 6 and 11, read (ti*i*·e, pi*i*·ne).
p. 287, l. 13, *omit* it.
p. 288, note 1, line 4, *read* effect is.
p. 294, line last of text, *read* but (*ee*, *oo*).
p. 295, line last but one of text, *read* were.
p. 301, l. 10, *read* words in *ew*.
p. 307, l. 22, *for* (ʁu), *read* (ʁu).
*p. 316, note 1, line 5, read *an* and *en*; *and at the end of note* 1 *add*: "see below, pp. 509, 825–828, and p. 828, note 1."
p. 319, last line of text, *read* world.
p. 321, l. 2, *omit one* ʁeer·d*e*.
" l. 7, *read* ʁerts·ogh.
" l. last of text, *read* fɛɛ·tərlik*h*e.
p. 323, l. 25, *read* gr*aa*s.
" l. 36, *read* nɛ*k*h·ten.
p. 325, l. last but one of text, *read* lorsque.
*p. 327, throughout the French transcription of M. Féline's pronunciation interchange (ə) and (œ), according to the correction of the meaning of M. Féline's symbols given me by Prince Louis Lucien Bonaparte, who heard him speak; thus v. 1, *read* (kœ lœ siel kelkœ zhur), and v. 8 *read* (miə kœ), etc. See p. 173 in this list.
p. 327, note, last line, *omit* which.
p. 328, l. 7 from bottom of text, *read* sautə.
p. 330, l. 13 from bottom of text, *for* be aware, *read* beware.
p. 331, l. 17 from bottom of text, read *désirs*.
p. 336, commence note with [1].
p. 337, l. 9 from bottom, *read* kouth'.
p. 342, l. 10, read *hadd*'.
p. 343, note 3, line 2, *read* ɛ̆ an *e*.
p. 345, l. 9 from bottom of text, *read* restored.
p. 346, art. 14, ex., col. 2, l. 11, *read* æt ham.
p. 351, line 5, *read* fæder.
" art. 35, l. 4, *read* Past.
" art. 38, line 4, *read* more, bettre.
p. 354, art. 51, ex., col. 2, line 7, *read* he *let*.
p. 357, l. 10 from bottom, *read* Tale.
p. 358, art. 65, under Schal, line 2, *read* (dialectic).
*p. 363, art. 82, ex., *insert after v.* 388: "[See note on v. 386, p. 700, below.]"
p. 366, l. 5, *for* new fr., *read* old fr.
p. 367, art. 92, l. 13, *read* then, and l. 14, read *tyme*.

p. 370, note 1, citation iii. 357, *read* This toucheþ.
p. 374, art. 108, ex., col. 2, line 1, *read* æt-æfter.
p. 385, col. 2, under, *hevenriche*, *read* heofonrice.
p. 386, col. 1, *under* ill, *read ylle*.
p. 388, col. 1, *under* lore, *read lore*.
,, ,, *under* -LY, line 6, read *sodeinliche*.
p. 392, col. 2, *under* ** Sleeve, *read* 16 *sleeve* 13152′, *slef* ii 213′.
pp. 398–402, tables of probable sounds, etc., *for* (i, u), *read* (*i*, *u*) in several places; and also often to end of p. 415.
p. 400, *under* TH, *read* in two sounds.
p. 413, col. 2, l. 1, read P a a · t e r.
,, in K r e e · d o o, l. 1, *read* in·e.
p. 415, v. 489, *read* D *i i* s e n · t e e s E e. vel A a.

In PART II. pp. 417–632.

*p. 439, note 5, *add*: "The text of the Bestiary has been again printed from the Arundel MS. 292, in Dr. Morris's *Old English Miscellany*, published by the Early English Text Society in 1872, vol. 49, pp. 1–25. The references to the numbers of the verses (not to those of the pages) given in the present book, pp. 439–441, hold good for this edition."
p. 441, l. 13, and p. 445, l. 10 from bottom of text, *for* n. 4, *read* n. 1.
*pp. 442–3, *add as footnote*: "For corrections of some quantities, see p. 1270, note 1."
p. 462, quotation, v. 2, read *Richard*.
*p. 465, l. 35, *add as footnote*: "On the confusion of long ſ and ȝ, see note in Madden's Laȝamon, vol. 3, p. 437, which will be further treated in Part VI."
p. 468, translation, col. 2, v. 4, *read* hill.
p. 473, note 1, col. 1, l. 8 from bottom, *for* § 3, *read* § 1, p. 1171;—col. 2, l. 1, *for* p. 446, *read* p. 447;—l. 14, *for* § 4, *read* § 2 (the reference is to the notice which will appear in Part V.);—l. 18, read *May* (the month);—and for the pronunciations in lines 17, 20, 21, 22, 24, 25, read: (m*ee*, d*ee*, ʍw*ee*·, p*ee*, shíip, slíip, mái, shɛ′ip, slɛ′ip, mɛ′i, ɛ′i, dzhɛ′ist, dzhɛ′int, bɛ′id, pɛ′int, ɛint·mʊnt).
*p. 474, l. 22, to the words "*dede* never appears as *deide*," *add the footnote* (²): "In the Cotton text of the *Cursor Mundi*, v. 1619, p. 100 of Dr. Morris's edition published by the Early English Text Society, we find *deid* rhyming to *red*; but the word is here the substantive *deed*, not the verb *did*, which is written *did* on v. 1608 above, rhyming to *kydd*. This *deid* is a mere clerical error for *ded*; the Fairfax, Göttingen, and Trinity MSS. have all *dede*, and the Cotton has *ded*, v. 1952."
*p. 475, note 1, *add to this note*: "In *Cursor Mundi*, Cotton text, v. 1629, we have

Þe first was Sem, cham was the toþeir,
And Iaphet hight þat yonges broþer,

where Dr. Morris writes 'yonges[t],' but this is unnecessary, see p. 1400, Halifax version, v. 12. Here we have a spelling *toþeir*, which would have apparently rhymed to *eir* in Havelok. But it is a mere clerical error, not found in the other MSS., any more than the singular errors in v. 1973–4,

I fel agh naman do til oþer
For ilkan agh be oþier broiþer,

where oþer, oþier, occur in consecutive lines, and broiþer is a similar error; oþer is the usual spelling in the Cotton MS., as in v. 1979, but we have broiþer, toiþer, v. 2031, with broþer v. 2043, etc. Nothing phonetic can be distinctly concluded from such vagaries."
p. 475, lines 3 and 4 from bottom of text, see note 4 on p. 1404, col. 2, v. 26.
p. 476, l. 1–19, see the remarks on p. 1310.
*p. 477, note 2, l. 3, *omit* more. *Add to note*: "On this dental *t*, better written (ṭ), see p. 1096, col. 1, and p. 1137, col. 2, l. 16 from bottom."
p. 478, note 2, l. 5, *read* from giving.
*p. 484, note 1, *add*: "Another copy of the Moral Ode will be found in Dr. Morris's *Old English Miscellany* (E. E. T. S. 1872), p. 58, and again another in the *Old English Homilies*, second series (E. E. T. S. 1873),

p. 220. On p. 255 of this last is given a hymn to the Virgin, of which the first verse with the musical notes, and the second verse without them, are photolithographed opposite p. 261, with a translation of the music first by Dr. Rimbault, p. 260, and secondly by myself, p. 261, of which the latter will appear in Part VI. of this book. To my translation I have added annotations, pp. 262–271, explaining the reasons which influenced me, and the bearings of this music (which is comparable to that of the *Cuckoo Song*, and *Prisoner's Prayer*, suprà pp. 426, 432) on the pronunciation of final E, etc., the pith of which will also appear in Part VI."

*p. 487, l. 9, *for* attributes *read* seems to attribute. *Add to note* 1: "Was *yate* in line 16 of this note a misprint for *yete*? Did Thorpe mean that ȝet in Orrmin would have been (*ȝeet*)? or (ȝiit)? If (ȝiit), then Thorpe consistently attributes modern habits to Orrmin; if (*ȝeet*), he makes one remarkable exception. There is nothing in his remarks which will decide this point, and hence I alter my expression in the text."

p. 490, l. 24, *read* further;—note 1, last line, *read* Orrmin's.

p. 495, col. 3, þraȝhe, remove †, for this word is not oblique in v. 3475.

*p. 515, note, *add at the end*: "p. 541, and see especially note 2 to that page."

*p. 516, *add to note* 3: "More particulars respecting this MS., which has been re-examined for me by Mr. Sweet, will be given in Part VI. There is little doubt that it is wrongly taken to be Anglosaxon on pp. 518–522, but is rather Celtic. However, it certainly shews the correspondence of the sounds of Latin and Greek letters in this country at that time, and hence indirectly bears on Anglosaxon usage. The MS. has a Paschal table from A.D. 817 to 832, which places it in the IX th century."

*518, note, col. 2, l. 8, *after* "teeth," *insert*: "see p. 1103, col. 1, and p. 1337, col. 2, on i. 25."—Both refer to the Sanscrit *v*.

* p. 531. The following explanation of the words here quoted from Wace will appear as a note in Part VI.; it is taken from a letter of Mr. Skeat, date 1 Jan. 1872: "The cup was passed round. If a man drank too much, he was cautioned, '*Drink half*' (only); if he kept the cup *too long*, the men two or three places off him sang out—'*Let it come*, where *is* the cup?' '*Drink hindweard*' is drink backwards, *i.e.* pass the cup the wrong way; though it would commonly take the form: '*Ne drinke ge hindweard*,' i.e. '*don't* drink backward, none of your passing the cup the wrong way round.' I have heard '*Let it come*' in a college hall; it is a most natural exclamation. I have said it myself! So instead of meaning 'may you have what you want' [as suggested suprà p. 532, line 1], it is: 'may *I* have what *I* want,' which is human nature all over."

p. 534, conjectured pronunciation, v. 12, l. 3, and v. 13, l. 5, *read* æækht·e.

*p. 541, note 2, l. 4, *add*: "printed in an enlarged form in Appendix I. to Mr. Sweet's edition of *King Alfred's West-Saxon Version of Gregory's Pastoral Care*, printed for the E. E. T. S., Part II., 1872, pp. 496–504; in the Preface to this Part, pp. xxi–xxxiii, Mr. Sweet enters on the Phonology of Anglosaxon."

p. 543, l. 8, *read* (gwh, wh, w).

p. 547, l. 13, for "(*s*) final," *read* "*s* final."

p. 592, note, col. 2, line 2, *read* minimum.

*p. 600, col. 1, line 12, after *hue*, insert *hew*.

p. 601, col. 2, (*O o*), line 3, *read* heard in the.

p. 628, l. 3, *read* exist?)—

In PART III. pp. 633–996.

*p. 637, l. 16, after "usual," *add as a footnote*: "Frequent instances of the interchange of (ii, ee, ái) will be found in the specimens from Winkler's *Dialecticon*, see below p. 1375, l. 21."

*p. 638, note, at end of note continued from p. 637, *add*: "Prince L. L. Bonaparte informs me that the real Portuguese sound of *a* is (ɐ), which is also nasalised (ɐ̃), see p. 1303, No. 23, vowels 8 and 9. Final and unaccented, this *a* is nearly (ə)."

*p. 639, note 1, col. 2, l. 11, *add*: "Mr. (now Dr.) Murray collated this MS. in Edinburgh in 1871, and informs me that the MS. has *deye*, and not *dethe*, or *deþe*, which is a gross blunder of D. Laing's, as the *y* of the MS. is always dotted, and the *þ* never is. He says that D. Laing's Abbotsford text has above 50 misreadings per page."

*p. 649, lines 7 and foll. The Alexandrines in Chaucer will be reconsidered in Part VI.;—line 12, after MSS., *insert*: "in retaining *of hem*";—line 20, after "unanimous," *add*: "in inserting *poure*";—line 25, after MSS., *insert as a footnote*: "except the Cambridge, which reads—

With a threadbare kope as is a scholer,

where the *is*, which appears also in the Ellesmere and Hengwrt MSS., but not in the others, is an evident error."

p. 663, note 38, l. 13, *read* of (*ee*) for (âi).

pp. 680–725, in Chaucer's Prologue, make the following corrections, in addition to those pointed out in the footnote p. 724, they are mostly quite unimportant. In the TEXT, v. 2, *perced'*; v. 3, *lycour*; v. 8, yronne; v. 13, *palmeer's*; v. 20, *Tabbard*; vv. 21, 78, *pilgrimage*; v. 24, weel; v. 25, yfalle; v. 29, weel; v. 49, Christendoom; v. 57, *Palmirye*; vv. 64, 85, been; v. 72 *gentel*; v. 73, *array*; v. 85, *chyvachye*; v. 99, *servysabel*; v. 104, pocok; v. 107, feth'res; v. 123, nose; v. 138, *amiabl'*; v. 141, *dygn'*; v. 157, clook', as; v. 169, brydel; v. 170, *clere*; v. 186, *laboure*; v. 189, prykasour; v. 202, stemed'; v. 209, *lymytour*; v. 224, *pytawnce*; v. 226, *sygne*; v. 241, ev'rych; v. 245 syke; v. 248, *vytayle*; v. 255, eer; v. 282, *chevysawnce*; v. 308, lern', and; v. 326, wryting'.—In the PRONUNCIATION, v. 41, add comma; v. 76, add period; v. 144, saukwh (wrongly corrected sakwh in footnote to p. 724); v. 152 *add semicolon after* strait; glas;—in the *Note* on v. 260, p. 693, for "So all MSS. except Ca." *read* "All MSS. insert *pore* except Ca."

p. 756, note, col. 2, lines 25 and 26, *read* "(lhh, *l*hh, ljhh, *l*jhh) occur in the Sardinian dialect of Sassari, and (*l*hh) in the dialect of the Isle of Man." Observe that (lhh) does *not* occur in the dialect of the Isle of Man, as it is incorrectly stated to do in the note as printed.

*p. 763, note 2, *add*: "*Winge* is given for *whine* from Rothbury, see the comparative specimen in Chap. XI. § 2. No. 12. below. This was more probably the word alluded to."

*p. 768, *add note to title of* § 2: "This work was first seen by me in the British Museum on 14 Feb. 1859, from which day, therefore, the present researches should be dated."

p. 789, col. 1, *art.* bold, *read* (booud).

*p. 799, note 1, col. 1, lines 17 to 20. This is not a perfectly correct representation of the Prince's opinion, see reference on p. 1299, under (*w*h) No. 54; see also the additional note, given in this table of *Errata*, to p. 1296, line 1.

p. 800, note, col. 1, the Prince wishes to omit 2) and 3), lines 4 to 8;—col. 2, the notations (sh ꞇ, ꞅsh), etc., are now (ˌsh), etc., and (ʒs), etc., is now (ˌs), etc.

*p. 802, note, col. 1, line last, *for* Madrid, *read* Spain, although heard in Spanish America.—*Add at end of note*: "Prince L. L. Bonaparte considers that no buzzed consonant is found in Spanish, and hence that it is an error to suppose that (dh) or (ˌz) occur in it. He thinks *b* or *v* Spanish is (b) after a consonant, or when standing for Latin *bb*, and (bh), which he does not reckon as a buzz, after a vowel or when initial. The Spanish strong *r*, initial and after *n*, and *rr* between vowels, he regards as a Basque sound (ˌr), p. 1354, col. 2, No. 203. In Basque the only ordinary *r* (r) is a euphonic insertion, as our cockney *law(r) of the land, draw(r)ing room*. The Castilian *s* he considers to be the Basque *s*, and it sounded to me as a forward dental *s* with a half lisp, possibly (ˌth) of p. 1353, No. 143, or (sϕ) of p. 1105, col. 1, l. 24 from bottom. These fine varieties are very difficult to appreciate by persons who cannot hear them constantly in the spoken language, from many different speakers."

*p. 803, last words of Hart, *add as note*: "This was Lord Eldon's favourite motto."

*p. 834, l. 25, *add footnote*: "The subject of *modern*, as distinct from *ancient*, French accent, has been considered in my paper on *Accent and Emphasis*,

Trans. of Philological Society for 1873–4, pp. 138–139, and by Prof. Charles Cassal, a Frenchman, *ibid*, pp. 260–276; but the views we have taken are disputed and stated to be entirely incorrect by most French authorities, and even by Prince L. L. Bonaparte, whose Italian education makes him familiar with the meaning of accent. The part played by Latin accent in French is the subject of an *Etude sur le Rôle de l'Accent Latin dans la langue Française* by M. Gaston Paris (1862), who also holds that M. Cassal and I are wrong in our views, but whose pronunciation, when tested by myself and Mr. Nicol, bore out what M. Cassal and myself *meant* to imply, so that there must be a radical difference of the feeling, rather than of the conception, conveyed by the word 'accent.' Hence the need of scientific researches, suggested in other parts of my paper on Accent and Emphasis. An advance towards a mechanical registration of the force of uttered breath in speech has been made by Mr. W. H. Barlow, F.R.S., in his *Logograph*, described in the Proceedings of the Royal Society, vol. 22, pp. 277–286, and less fully in a note to my Third Annual Address to the Philological Society (Trans. Ph. S. 1873–4, p. 389). The nature of Latin accent itself, whence, as seen through a Celto-Frankish medium, French accent arose, has been carefully considered and practically illustrated in my *Practical Hints on the Quantitative Pronunciation of Latin* (Macmillan & Co., 1874). The strange difference in the whole character of French, Italian, and Spanish pronunciation, and especially in the nature of accent and quantity in these languages, although all derived very directly from Latin, and although Spain and Gaul were celebrated for the purity of their Latin, next of course to Rome, shews that the whole question requires re-investigation."

p. 866, note, col. 2, l. 4, *read* mead. In lines 7, 8, 9, a line has been dropped. The complete passage is printed on p. 1061, note, col. 1, line 10.

p. 918, line 15, *read* Shakspere was a South Warwickshire man.

p. 921, example of puns, "dam damn," l. 2, *read* (191′, 33).

*923, col. 2, *add to the example* "foot, gown:" "We have an echo of *none* as *gown*, that is (nun) as (guun, gun) in TS 4, 3, 31 (247, 85), where *Katerine* says: 'I like the cap, And it I will have, or I will have none,' which *Petruchio* chooses to hear as *gown*, for he says: 'Thy gowne, why I; come, Tailor, let vs see't.'"

*p. 923, to the examples of puns under A, *add*: "cate Kate TS 2, 1, 50 (238, 189–90). Observe that *th* in *Katharina*, as the name is spelled in the Globe edition, was simple (t). The folio has *Katerina*, and that *Katerine* was either (Kat·rin), or more probably (Kaa·triin), whence (Kaat) was the natural diminutive."

*pp. 925–6, *add* to example of puns under OA, O, OO: "on one TG, 2, 1, 2 (24′, 2); '*Speed*. Sir, your Gloue.—*Valen*. Not mine; my Gloues are *on*.—*Sp*. Why then this may be yours: for this is but *one*.' This is conclusive for the absence of an initial (w) in the sound of *one*."

*p. 938, note 1, *add at end*: "See also Chap. XI. § 2. No. 11. for Derbyshire usage."

*p. 942, col. 1, before the last entry under Fourth Measure Trissyllabic, *insert*: To be suspected: framed *to make women* false. Oth. 1, 3, 86 (885′, 404).

*p. 946, col. 2, *add* to the examples of well-marked Alexandrines in Othello: That came a-wooing with you, and so many a time. Oth. 3, 3, 31 (893, 71). Not that I love you not. But that you do not love me. Oth. 3, 3, 90 (899, 196).

Since guiltiness I know not; but yet I feel I fear. Oth. 5, 2, 16 (907, 39).

*p. 953, just before the heading *Shakspere's Rhymes*, *insert as a new paragraph*: "Since the above examples were collected and printed, the subject of Shakspere's metrical usages has received great attention. See the Transactions of the New Shakspere Society, 1874–5. See also Mr. Furnivall's essay on *The Succession of Shakspere's Works and the use of Metrical Tests in Settling it*, being the introduction to Miss Bunnett's translation of Gervinus's *Commentaries on Shakspere* (1874)."

p. 963, col. 2, under "caught her," l. 8, omit first).

p. 980, note, col. 1, line 18. The Devonshire *oo* will be fully considered in Chap. XI. § 2. No. 11.
p. 986, l. 10 of Portia's speech, read "mer·sí."

In PART IV. pp. 997–1432.

p. 1085, note, col. 2, l. 4 from bottom, *after* "below," *add*: p. 1310.
p. 1086, l. 16, *read* my (ə) in the XVII th may have been (ɐ, ɑ).
p. 1114, col. 1, line 5 from bottom, *read* being, *dr*, *rv*.
p. 1167, col. 2, under *sir*, *read* (ɹe·su).
p. 1180, col. 2, v. 29, *read* aansering.
p. 1221, col. 2, l. 19 from bottom, *read* (ʜuen) or (ʜu·en).
*p. 1251, *add* to note continued from p. 1250: "Mr. Elworthy, of Wellington, Somerset, says he has never heard *Ise* as a pure nominative, but only *ix* standing apparently for *us* and used as *I*. More upon this in § 2. No. 11."
*p. 1296, l. 1, *after* "in such case," *add as a footnote*: "The following remark of the Prince on this passage in the text was not received till this page had been printed off: 'When the vowels ($25e_1$, $46o_1$) lose their tonic accent in Italian, they do not become quite (29*e*) and (51*o*), but the original sounds still influence the vowels in their unaccented state, producing the intermediate sounds (28e) and (49o). This explanation seems to me quite logical, and it is in accordance with the sensations of every fine Tuscan and Roman ear. On the contrary, if the original vowel is (29*e*) and (51*o*), it remains unaltered when it loses the accent. Compare the *e* and *o* of *bellina*, *collina* (derived from *bèllo*, *còlle*, which have open vowels), with the *e* and *o* of *stellúccia* and *pollánca* (derived from *stélla*, *póllo*, which have close vowels). I had never the least doubt upon this point, but in my previous statements I did not take the present minute gradations of sound into consideration. It would certainly be better to pronounce *bellina*, *collina* with (29*e*, 51*o*) than with ($25e_1$), and ($46o_1$).—L.L.B.'"
*p. 1323, note, col. 2, l. 7, *add*: (abstracted below, pp. 1378–1428).
p. 1376, l. 24, *read* (ɹuu·tər Jot).
p. 1381, col. 1, l. 5, *read* saa·nə.
p. 1393, col. 2, line 8, *read* por·sii, *and see* p. 1428, col. 2, *Note*.

PALAEOTYPE: ADDITIONAL SYMBOLS AND EXPLANATIONS.

The original list of Palaeotypic symbols, pp. 3–12, drawn up at the commencement of this work, has had to be supplemented and improved in many points during its course, and especially during the delicate phonetic investigations of Part IV. Each new point is fully explained in the text as it arises, and although reference is generally made to the place subsequently, it will probably be found convenient in using the book to have all these references collected together, as it is hoped they are in the following list, which follows the order of the pages in the book. The index in Part VI. is intended to refer to each letter and symbol in alphabetical or systematic order.

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p. 419, note, col. 1, line 2, *symbol of diphthongal stress*: an acute accent used to mark the vowel which has the stress in diphthongs, when the position of stress is abnormal, as (eá). This use has been subsequently extended to all cases of diphthongs, and uniformly used to mark diphthongs from p. 1091 onwards, see p. 1100, col. 2.
p. 419, note, col. 1, l. 16, *symbol of evanescence*: the mark ⌊, a cut [, shews that the following vowel is scarcely heard; ⌊ ⌉ shew that all included letters are scarcely heard; excessively slight ⌊ ⌊ see p. 1328 in this list.
p. 800, note, col. 2, *symbols for advanced s, sh* = (ʒs, ʒsh) and *retracted s, sh* = (ʒs, ʒsh), subsequently replaced by (ˌs, ˌsh) and (ˌs, ˌsh).
p. 998, l. 11, *symbol of discontinuity*: the mark ˌ, a cut), used to shew absence of glide; this is rendered nearly unnecessary by an extension of the use of the symbol of diphthongal stress, p. 419 in this list.

p. 1090, at the end of text, the mode of reference to pages and quarter pages is explained; the two symbols introduced in the summary of contents are referred to *seriatim* below.

p. 1094, col. 1, l. 33, *symbols of Goodwin's theoretical English ch, j* = (kɟ, gɟ) where (ɟ) is turned (f), see also p. 1119 in this list.

p. 1095, col. 2, l. 30, *symbol of advanced contact*, changed from (ꞁ) or (·) to (‚), as (‚t, ‚d) (for tꞁ, dꞁ) or (.t, .d) for the dental *t, d*.

p. 1096, col. 1, l. 20, and col. 2, l. 28, the use of (t↓, d↓) for *t, d*, with inverted tongue, supposed to be incorrect for Sanscrit, and use of (ᴛ, ᴅ) for Indian *mûrddhanya* t, d, and (t, d) for English *coronal* t, d. In the Dravidian languages the inversion of the tongue, so that the under part of the tongue strikes the palate, seems to be more distinct, and (ᴛ, t), which seem to be the same to a Bengalee, are apparently distinct as (t↓, t) to a Madrasee.

p. 1097, col. 1, under (un); *symbol of* ('u) *whispered*, and ("u) *hissed vowels*, see p. 1128 below in this list.

p. 1097, col. 2, *symbols for explosions* (tꜥuu, tʜꜥuu, t;ʜꜥuu) and *implosions* ("t), see p. 1128 below in this list.

p. 1098, col. 1, under (r); *symbol for Bell's untrilled r* = (r꜀), the (꜀) being a turned mark of degrees (°). This may be extended to (l꜀), which indicates the same position. See p. 1341 below in this list.

p. 1098, col. 2, *symbols for advanced or dental r* (‚r) and *retracted r* (,r).

p. 1099, col. 1, under (ooɪ), symbol of indistinct vowel accompanied by *permissive trill* (ɪ), so that (ɪ=ə) or (ɪ=ər) at pleasure. Bell's point glide is (ór꜀), my (o'), where (') is a "helpless indication of obscure vocality," see p. 1128 in this list.

p. 1099, col. 2, Donders on *glottal r* (ɪ), where (ɪ) is turned (ʟ).

p. 1100, col. 2, l. 8 from bottom, symbol of *widening the pharynx*, as (e_2) for (e) with pharynx widened; supposed to be Irish.

p. 1102, col 2, Land's explodent (ᴎ), see p. 1292, col. 2.

p. 1104, col. 2, l. 3 from bottom; *symbol of advanced s, sh* = (‚s, ‚sh), replacing (ꜣs, ꜣsh).

p. 1105, col. 1, l. 24 from bottom, *divided s* = (s§), probably Spanish.

p. 1105, col. 1, l. 15 from bottom, *retracted s* = (,s).

p. 1107, col. 1, l. 5, *symbols of higher and lower positions of the tongue* in uttering vowels = (e^{I}, e^{II}; e_{I}, e_{II}), *and of close and open consonants* as (ph^{I}, ph_{I});—line 28, *symbol of more hollowness at back of tongue* = (e^2), as distinguished from (e_2), see pp. 1100 and 1279 in this list;—line 14 from bottom, *symbol of intermediary of two vowels*, or doubtfulness, with inclination to first = (e^{I}).

p. 1107, col. 2, Scotch close and open (e^{I}, e^{I}; e_{I}, e_{I}; o^{I}, o^{I}; o_{I}, o_{I}).

p. 1107, col. 2, last line; *symbol of* (u) with lips as for (o) = (u_o).

p. 1111, col. 2, *symbols for glides*, open to close (>), close to open (<), and absence of glide (ɟ), see p. 998 in this list.

p. 1112, col. 1, *glottids; clear* in (‚e), *gradual* in (ꜣe).

p. 1114, col. 2, last line; *symbol for rounding by the arches of the palate* as in the parrot's ($p^{\text{I}}u^{\text{I}}s$).

p. 1116, col. 1, *symbol of medial length of vowels* as in (a^a), the superior and inferior vowels being the same, and hence distinct from the symbol of intermediaries as in (e^{I}), p. 1107 in this list;—scale of quantitative symbols (^{a}, a, a^a, aa, aa^a, aaa).

p. 1116, col. 2, *symbol for variety of lip rounding*, as in (A_o) = tongue for (A), lips for (o), see p. 1107 in this list.

p. 1119, col. 1, l. 2, *symbols for palatal explodents* = (kɟ, gɟ), see p. 1094 in this list.

p. 1120, col. 2, distinctions of (ᴋ, k, kj, tj, ‚t ᴛ t, ‚t, ,,t, tꞁ, ᴘ, p).

p. 1120, col. 1. Mr. Graham Bell's alteration of Mr. Melville Bell's symbols for (s, sh);—col. 2, re-arrangement of palaeotypic symbols of cols. 2 and 3 in Bell's table, p. 14. See p. 1341.

p. 1124, col. 1, *Goodwin's ng* = (qɟ), possible as original Sanscrit palatal nasal.

p. 1125, col. 2, to p. 1128, col. 1, Bell's rudimental symbols reconsidered and re-symbolised.

p. 1128, col. 1, *symbols of inspiration* ('ˈi), *implosion* ('ˈh), *click* (‡h), *flatus* (ˈh), *whisper* ("h), *voice* ('h).
p. 1129, col. 1, abbreviations of these by the omission of the 'support' (h), etc.
p. 1129, col. 2 to p. 1130, col. 1, *symbols of glottids, clear* (ˌ), *check* (;), *wheezing* (*h*), *trilled wheeze* (ꝑh), *bleat* (ꝑ).
p. 1130, col. 1 and col. 2, *symbols of degrees of force, evanescent* (ˌ), *weak* (ˌˌ), *strong* (.), *abrupt* (.ˌ), *jerk* (H), and its varieties (Hˈh, Hh, ˌh, Hˌh).
p. 1130, col. 1, to 1131, col. 2, *symbols of glides, slurs, and breaks, glide* (>—<), *break* (ˌ), *slur* (‿), *relative force and pitch* by inferior figures and superior accented figures.
p. 1133, col. 1, l. 1, *symbol of short l + trilled r* = (ˡr), Japanese intermediary.
p. 1146, col. 1, *relative time* by superior unaccented figures.
p. 1147, col. 2, *symbol of advanced* (a) = (ˌa).
p. 1150, col. 2, l. 10, *symbol of Helmholtz's u* = (ʌu) = tongue for (ʌ), lips for (u).
p. 1156, col. 2, table of the relative heights of the tongue for vowels.
p. 1174, bottom, table of practical glossic.
p. 1183, table of Pitman and Ellis's phonotypy, 1846 and 1873.
pp. 1189–96. Prof. Haldeman's analysis of English sounds with palaeotype equivalents.
pp. 1197–1205. Mr. B. H. Smart's analysis of English sounds with palaeotype equivalents serving to identify the palaeotype signs.
p. 1232, *Irish rolling r* = (ˌr), and *bi-dental t, d* = (ˌˌt, ˌˌd).
p. 1255, table of English dialectal vowels and diphthongs.
pp. 1258–1262, Glossic compared with palaeotypic writing of dialectal sounds.
p. 1264, suggestions for marking quantity, force, and pitch, in practical writing.
pp. 1279–80, combination of the signs for primary (*e*), tongue higher (e^1), tongue lower (e_1), tongue advanced (ˌ*e*), tongue retracted (ˌ*e*); whole back passage widened (e), part in front of palatal arches, only widened (e^2), pharynx only widened (e_2); all widened, but more above than below (e^3), or more below than above (e_3); height of tongue remaining, aperture of lips contracted to that for (ʌ) in ($e_ʌ$), to that for (o) in (e_o), and to that for (u) in (e_u); rounding by palatal arches in (e^4), giving 2916 forms of unnasalised vowels.
pp. 1298–1307, Seventy-five palaeotypic vowel symbols grouped in families, and supplied with key-words.
p. 1328, line 12 from bottom of text, the slightest quiver = (ˌˌr).
p. 1333, col. 1, l. 11, *symbol of cheek puffs* = (ꝑ).
p. 1333, col. 2, *symbol of inspired breath*, oral ('ˈi), nasal ('ˈiˌ), orinasal ('ˈʌ) fluttering ('ˈiʒ) and snoring ('ˈiʌʒ).
p. 1334, col. 2, l. 9, *symbol of bleated* consonants (ꝑb, ꝑd, ꝑg).
p. 1334, note on symbolisation, shewing the intention of palaeotypic as distinct from systematic symbolisation.
pp. 1341–4, new table of palaeotypic equivalents for Mr. Melville Bell's Visible Speech symbols, with subsequent explanations.
pp. 1346–9, new table of palaeotypic equivalents to Prof. Haldeman's consonants with subsequent explanations.
pp. 1353–7, table of Prince L. L. Bonaparte's consonants with palaeotypic equivalents, of which 154 marked * are new combinations of symbols already explained, and in some few cases entirely new symbols.

NOTICE.

When Part III. was published, I hoped to complete this protracted work in Part IV. But as I proceeded, I found it necessary to examine existing English pronunciation, received and dialectal, in so much greater detail than I had contemplated, and to enter upon so much collateral matter of philological interest, that I was soon compelled to divide that Part into two. Even the first of these parts, owing to other literary engagements into which I had entered when much briefer work was anticipated, could not be completed by the close of 1874, as required for the Early English Text Society, and hence a further division has become necessary.

Part IV. now contains the Illustrations of the XVII th and XVIII th centuries, an account of Received English Pronunciation, and the introductory matter to the new collections of English Dialects which have been made for this work, in order to register dialectal pronunciation with a completeness hitherto unattained and even unattempted, as a necessary basis for understanding the pronunciation underlying our Early English orthography, which was wholly dialectal. These collections themselves, which have been already made to a sufficient and by no means scanty extent, will form Part V., to be published in 1875. That Part will therefore be devoted to English Dialects. After it is completed, I contemplate allowing at least two years to elapse before commencing Part the Sixth and (let us hope) the Last. If I have life and strength (which is always problematical for a man who has turned sixty, and has already many times suffered from overwork), I propose in this last Part to supplement the original investigations, made so many years ago, when the scope of the subject was not sufficiently grasped, the materials were not so ready to hand, and the scientific method and apparatus were not so well understood. The supplementary investigations which have been made by others, especially Mr. Sweet in his *History of English Sounds*, Prof. Payne and Mr. Furnivall on the use of Final E, the late Prof. Hadley on the quantity of English vowels, and Prof. Whitney in the second part of his *Linguistic and Oriental Studies*, and others, with the criticisms friendly (as they mostly are) or hostile (as Dr. Weymouth's) which my book has called forth, will be examined and utilised as far as possible, and by their means I hope to arrive at occasionally more precise and more definite conclusions than before, or at any rate to assign the nature and limits of the uncertainty still left. I have no theory to defend. Many hypotheses have necessarily been started in the course of this work, to represent the facts collected; but my chief endeavour has been, first to put those facts as accurately as possible before the reader in the

words of the original reporters, and secondly to draw the conclusions which they seemed to warrant in connection with the other ascertained laws of phonology. But as, first, the facts are often conveyed in language difficult to understand, and as, secondly, the whole science of phonology is very recent, and the observations and experiments on which it has to be based are still accumulating, —so that for example my own views have had to undergo many changes during the compilation of this work as the materials for forming them increased,—my conclusions may be frequently called in question. Nothing is so satisfactory to myself as to see them overhauled by competent hands and heads, and no one can be more happy than myself to find a guide who can put me right on doubtful points. *Nōn ego, sed rēs mea!*

In the present Part I have endeavoured to make some additions to our phonological knowledge, and I believe that my examinations of aspiration (pp. 1125–1146), and my theory of fractures and junctures (pp. 1307–1317), already briefly communicated to the Philological Society, are real additions, which will be found to affect a very wide philological area. The examinations of living Indian pronunciation (pp. 1136–1140), though merely elementary, together with the account of ancient Indian alphabetics as collected, through Prof. Whitney's translation, from the *Atharva Veda Prâtiçâkhya* (pp. 1336–1338), may also prove of use in Aryan philology. But one of the most important additions that I have been able to make to our philological knowledge and apparatus consists of those extraordinary identifications of Vowel Sounds in forty-five European languages, each guaranteed by an example (pp. 1298–1307), which, together with an almost exhaustive list of the consonants found in actual use (pp. 1352–1357), I owe to the linguistic knowledge and kindness of Prince Louis Lucien Bonaparte, who has worked for me as hard and ungrudgingly as any of my other kind contributors, whose names (*quae nunc praescrībere longum est*) are each given as their contributions occur, and—if ever I reach that *ultima Thūlē* of authorship, my much-needed, and still more dreaded indices—will be duly chronicled alphabetically and referred each to his own work. The number of helpers—ladies I am glad to think, as well as gentlemen, aye, and men and women labouring with hands as well as with head—who have so kindly and unstintingly helped me in this work, and especially in the collections which will form the staple of Part V., serve to shew not only the unexpected interest which so many feel in the subject, but the vast amount of good fellowship and co-operative feeling by which alone we can hope to build up the gigantic edifice of philology.

As my Table of Contents will shew, the present Part consists of a series of essays bearing upon the history and present state and linguistic relations of our language, which either appear for the first time, or are put into a convenient form for reference from sources not readily accessible to ordinary readers. For the English of the Eighteenth century Lediard's little known book, for a knowledge of which I am indebted to Prof. Payne, gives much interesting

matter (pp. 1040–1049); and Noah Webster's account of American pronunciations nearly a century ago, derived from forgotten essays of that lexicographer (whose dictionary has been so recently imported in revised editions that few think him to be so ancient), make a new link in the chain binding the Seventeenth to the Eighteenth centuries (pp. 1064–1070). The examination of Received Pronunciation, as represented by Mr. B. H. Smart, Mr. Melville Bell, Prof. Haldeman, and Mr. Henry Sweet (pp. 1090–1207), and the actual observations on unstudied pronunciations as noted by myself at the moment of hearing, and contrasted with my own usages (pp. 1208–1214), form a new datum in phonology, because they enable us to estimate the real amount of floating diversity of pronunciation at any time, out of which, though unrecorded by orthography, the pronunciation of a future generation crystallises, only to be again dissolved by a fresh menstruum, and appear in still newer forms. We are thus put into a position to understand those changes which go on among even the educated, and "hear the (linguistic) grass grow." The accounts of existing differences in American and Irish pronunciation (pp. 1217–1243), which are mainly Seventeenth century *survivals* as modified by environment, though necessarily very imperfect, bring still more strongly to light existing diversities where there is appreciable sameness, that is, diversities which interfere so little with intelligibility of speech, that they have been hitherto disregarded, or ridiculed, or scouted by grammarians and linguists, instead of being acknowledged as the real "missing links," which connect the widely separated strata of our exceedingly imperfect philological record. Beyond such initiatory forms of transition, are the past records of dialectal variety verging into species. For English—with the exception of Dr. Gill's most interesting little report on the dialects as known to him in 1621 (pp. 1249–1252)—these are reserved for Part V., but I have in the present Part IV. collected some of the results, and shewn their general philological bearing, as well as their special connection with the Early English Pronunciation, which is the main source and aim of my investigations; and I have also given the phonetic theories necessary to appreciate them more thoroughly (pp. 1252–1357). Thanks to the labours of the great Teutonic linguist Schmeller, I have also been able to shew the variations which interpenetrate one great branch of the High German dialects, the Bavarian (pp. 1357–1368); and, thanks to the extraordinary collection made by Winkler, just published in Dutch, I have been fortunate enough to give English readers a general view of the present state of those Low German and Friesian dialects to which our own Anglosaxon language belongs, as they have developed under merely native influences, without the introduction of any strange element, like Celtic, Norman French, and Old Danish (pp. 1378–1428). These modern dialectal forms are invaluable for a study of our Early English dialectal forms, for, although chronologically contemporaneous with the English of the Nineteenth century, they are linguistically several hundred years older. And

they enable us to appreciate the state of our own English dialects, which are in fact merely a branch of the same, left untouched by Winkler, because, like our own, these Low German dialects (with the exception of modern Dutch, which is a literary form of provincial Hollandish), have developed entirely without the control of the grammarian, the schoolmaster, and the author. To philologists generally, this wild, unkempt development of language is very precious indeed. The theory of vegetable transformation was developed by Goethe from a monstrosity. The theory of linguistic transformation can only be properly studied from monstrosities naturally evolved, not artificially superinduced. And for pronunciation this is still more emphatically true than for construction and vocabulary, for pronunciation is far more sensitive to transforming influences. Hence I consider that my work is under the greatest obligation to Winkler's, and that in devoting so much space to an abstract of his specimens, reduced to the same palaeotypic expression of sound which I have employed throughout, I have been acting most strictly in the interests of Early English Pronunciation itself.

Let me, indeed, particularly emphasise the fact that not even the slightest deviation has been made from the course of my investigation into English pronunciation by taking these dialects into consideration. As Mr. Green well says at the opening of his excellent *Short History of the English People* (which appeared as these pages were passing through the press):—

"For the fatherland of the English race we must look far away from England itself. In the fifth century after the birth of Christ, the one country which bore the name of England was what we now call Sleswick. . . . . The dwellers in this district were one out of three tribes, all belonging to the same Low German branch of the Teutonic family, who at the moment when history discovers them were bound together into a confederacy by the ties of a common blood and a common speech. To the north of the English lay the tribe of the Jutes, whose name is still preserved in their district of Jutland. To the south of them the tribe of Saxons wandered over the sand-flats of Holstein, and along the marshes of Friesland and the Elbe. How close was the union of these tribes was shewn by their use of a common name, while the choice of this name points out the tribe which at the moment when we first meet them must have been the strongest and most powerful in the confederacy. Although they were all known as Saxons by the Roman people who touched them only on their southern border where the Saxons dwelt, and who remained ignorant of the very existence of the English or the Jutes, the three tribes bore among themselves the name of the central tribe of their league, the name of Englishmen."

It is mainly owing to the dialectal differences of these tribes and places of their settlements in Britain (the history of which is given in an excellent epitome by Mr. Green) that the character of our dialects, old and new, was determined. But they did not all come over to Britain. Over the same Sleswick and Holstein, Jutland and Friesland, dwelt and still dwell descendants of the same people. Philologically we all know the great importance of the few ancient monuments which have remained of their speech preserved in monastic or legal literature. But these, as well as the oldest records of English in our own England (which I have hitherto called, and to prevent confusion shall continue to call

Anglosaxon), fail to give us enough foothold for understanding their living sounds. These we can only gradually and laboriously elicit from any and every source that offers us the slightest hope of gain. None appears so likely as a comparison of the sounds now used in speech over the whole region where the English tribes grew up, and where they settled down, that is, the districts so admirably explored by Winkler and those which we shall have before us in Part V. During the whole of this investigation my thoughts have been turned to eastern English for light. The opportune appearance of Winkler just before my own investigations could be published, was a source of intense delight to me, and though I was at the time overloaded with other work, I did not in the slightest degree grudge the great labour of abstracting, transliterating, writing out, and correcting those 50 pages at the end of Part IV., which indicate the nature of this treasure-trove, and I feel sure that all who pursue the subject of this work as a matter of scientific philology, and linguistic history, will be as much delighted as myself at the possession of a store-house of facts, invaluable for the investigation before them, and feel the same gratitude as I do to Winkler for his three years' devotion in collecting, arranging, and publishing his great *Dialecticon*.

Such are the principal divisions of the present Part and their bearing on each other. For some subsidiary investigations I must refer to other books which I have had to pass through the press this year, and which are published almost at the same time as the present pages. Helmholtz's great treatise, *On Sensations of Tone as a Physiological Basis for the Theory of Music* (shortly to be published by Longman and Co., from my English version, with notes and additions), contains the acoustical foundations of all phonology, and without studying the first two parts of this book, it is impossible to arrive at a due estimate of the nature of vowel sounds and their gradations (see below, pp. 1275–1281), and hence of the physiological cause of their extraordinary transformations. Although the preparation of my version and edition of Helmholtz's work has robbed me of very many hours which would in natural course have been devoted to the present, every one of those hours has been to me a step forward in the knowledge of sound, as produced by human organs and appreciated by human nerves, and hence in the knowledge of speech sounds and their appreciation by hearers. As such I recommend the work—the outcome of many years' labour by one of the first physiologists, physicists, and mathematicians of the present day—to the most attentive consideration of all scientific phonologists.

The other work is one of much smaller size and very little pretension. It is called *Practical Hints on the Quantitative Pronunciation of Latin* (published by Macmillan & Co.), and is the recast of a lecture which I delivered to classical teachers last June. It does not compete with Corssen's work in investigating the actual force of the Latin letters (except final M), but it takes up the two important questions of quantity, and musical accent in speech, and

endeavours to give practical exercises for becoming familiar with them, so as to appreciate a rhythm dependent on "length" of syllable and embellished by "pitch-accent," as distinguished from rhythm due to "force-accent" and embellished by "pitch-emphasis." It also contains a delicate investigation of the nature of the final M and the meaning of its disappearance, which may be of assistance in appreciating the disappearance of final N in English, and the disappearance of other letters in English and other languages so far as their natural sounds are concerned, and their simultaneous survival as affecting adjacent sounds. As such I must consider it to be an excursus of the present work, necessarily separated from it by the different linguistic domain to which it belongs.

The materials for Part V. are, as I have mentioned, all collected, some of them are even in type, and others made ready for press, but it was physically impossible to prepare them in time for Part IV., and the nature of the typography, requiring great care in revision, does not allow of the least hurry without endangering the value of all the work, which is nothing if not trustworthy. The extreme pressure of literary work which has lain on me since I began preparing this Part in March, 1873, and which has not allowed me even a week's respite from daily deskwork, must be my excuse if marks of haste occasionally appear in the present pages. It will be evident to any one who turns them over, that the time required for their careful presentment in type was far out of proportion to their superficial area. And a very large part of the time which I have devoted to this work has been bestowed upon the collection of materials, involving long correspondence and many personal interviews and examinations of speakers—which occupy no space in print, while their result, originally intended to appear in the present Part, has been relegated to the next. Hence, with a cry of *mea culpa, aliēna culpa*, I crave indulgence for inevitable shortcomings.

A. J. E.

25, Argyll Road, Kensington,
Christmas, 1874.

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CHAPTER IX.

Illustrations of the Pronunciation of English during the Seventeenth Century.

§ 1. *John Wilkins's Phonetic Writing.*

Dr. Wilkins, while Dean of Ripon (he was subsequently Bishop of Chester),[1] after inventing a phonetic alphabet for the purpose of giving a series of sounds corresponding to his *Real Character*, gives as a specimen of its use the *Lord's Prayer* and *Creed*, "written according to our present pronunciation." This is on p. 373 of his work, but on the occasion of his comparing the Lord's Prayer in 49 languages (which he unfortunately does not represent phonetically) with his own Philosophical Language (erroneously numbered 51 instead of 50 on his p. 435), he adds the phonetic representation of the English version, which differs in a few words from the former copy, no doubt through insufficient revision of the press, and omits the final doxology.

In the present transcription into palaeotype, I assume his vowels on his p. 363 to be (ʌ ʌʌ, æ ææ, e ee, i ii, *oo*, u uu, ə əə), although I believe that he pronounced (ə, *i*, *u*) in closed accented syllables rather than (ʌ, i, u).[2] His diphthongs will be represented as he has done on his p. 363; his so-called diphthongs *ɯ*, ʁʁ, on his p. 364, meaning (yi, wu), will be written (i-i, u-u), to distinguish them from the long vowels (ii, uu). He has no systematic method of representing the long vowels. In the Creed and first version of the Lord's Prayer, he uses a grave accent to express length; in the second version of the Lord's Prayer, he uses an acute accent. Again, the acute accent in the first version and the grave in the second represent the accent on a short vowel in a closed syllable. The *o* seems to have been considered always long, as no example of short *o* is given on his p. 363, although it is once marked long in rò f in the Creed. It will be always transliterated by (*oo*). The consonants were doubled without any special intention. The word *body* towards the end of the Creed he has written *bady*, evidently a mistake for b*a*d*ɩ*, as he does not use *y* in any sense, but employs a variation of it for (ə). *Virgin* is evidently an error for *Virdzhin*. All the errors, however, will be given in the following transcript, and the various readings of the second copy of the Lord's Prayer will be added in brackets. Afterwards will be given

[1] See an account of his book suprà, p. 41, where he is erroneously called Bishop of *Ripon*, of which he was only Dean. He married the widow Robina French, sister of Oliver Cromwell.

[2] For the considerations which have influenced me, see suprà pp. 68, 100, 177.

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in palaeotype the pronunciation which Wilkins probably intended to symbolize. As this short specimen is the only instance that I have discovered of continuous phonetic writing in the XVII th century, it has been thought best to give a minutely accurate copy in the first instance. One point only has not been attended to. Wilkins intended to represent (i) by the Greek *ι*, and has generally done so in the second version of the Lord's Prayer, but in the first version and Creed i ı are commonly used in place of *ι*. As this is a mere accident of printing, I have replaced *ι*, ı, i by the single letter (i).[1] His diæresis when written *over* a vowel will be replaced by), made from), *before* the vowel.

Transcript of Wilkins's Phonetic Orthography.

The Lord's Prayer.

ƷUR fæædher HUITSH ært in HE·VEN, HÆLLoo)ed [HALLooed] bi dhəi nææm [NAAM], dhəi ki·qdəm [kiqdəm] kəm, dhəi uill [uil] bi dən, in erth æz it iz in HE·VEN, giv əs dhis dæi əur dæili bred, ænd fargi·v [fargiv] əs əur trespæssez æz ui fargi·v dhem dhæt trespæs [trespæss] ægæinst əs, ænd leed əs NAT intu temptæsiAN, bət deli·ver əs fram ivil [ii·vil], far dhəin iz dhe kiqdim, dhe pəu)er ænd dhe glari, far ever ænd ever, Æmen.

The Creed.

Ƹi biliiv in GAD dhe fæædher Alməiti mææker af HE·VEN ænd erth, ænd in Dzhesəs Krəist HIZ *oo*nli sən əur LARD, HU-U uæz KANSEEVED bəi dhe HOOli Goost, BARN AF dhe Virgin Mææri, səffered ənder PANSIəS Pəilæt, uæz kriusifi)ed ded ænd bəri)ed. Hi dessended intu HEL, dhe thərd dæi HI roos ægæin fram dhe ded. Hi æssended intu HE·VEN, HUEER HI sitteth æt dhe rəit hænd AF GAD dhe fæædher, fram HUEENS HI shal kəm tu dzhədzh dhe

Conjectured Meaning of Wilkins's Phonetic Orthography.

The Lord's Prayer.

ƷUR fææ·dher whitsh ært in HEV·EN, HÆL·ooed bii dhəi nææm, dhəi kiq·dəm kəm, dhəi wil bi dən, in erth æz it iz in HEV·EN, giv əs dhis dæi əur dæi·li bred, ænd fərgiv· əs əur tres·pæsez æz wii fərgiv· dhem dhæt tres·pæs ægæinst· əs, ænd leed əs nət in·tu temtææ·siən, bət deliv·er əs frəm ii·vil, fər dhəin iz dhe kiq·dəm, dhə pəu·er ænd dhe gləə·ri, fər ev·er ænd ev·er. Ææ·men.

The Creed.

Ƹi biliiv· in Gəd dhe fææ·dher AALmə·ti, mææ·ker əf HEV·EN ænd erth, ænd in Dzhee·zəs Krəist HIZ oon·li sən əur Lərd, whuu wæz kənseev·ed bəi dhe HOO·li Goost, bərn əf dhe Ver·dzhin Mææ·ri, səf·ered ən·der Pən·siəs Pəi·læt, wæz kriu·sifæied ded ænd bər·ied. Hii desend·ed in·tu HEL, dhe thərd dæi HI rooz ægæin· frəm dhe ded. Hii æsend·ed in·tu HEV·EN, wheer HII sit·eth æt dhe rəit hænd əf Gəd dhe fææ·dher, frəm whens HII shAAl kəm tu

[1] This mark will in future be employed in place of (,), to denote discontinuity or absence of audible glide. The different kinds of continuity and discontinuity will be discussed and more completely symbolised in Chap. XII. § 1, when considering Mr. Melville Bell's Key Words of modern English pronunciation, under WH. The old (,) will then receive the distinctive sense of the 'clear glottid.'

kuik ænd dhe ded. ȝi biliiv in dhe HOOli Goost, dhe HOOli kæthoolik tshərtsh, dhe KAMMIUNIAN AF Sæints, dhe fərgivness AF sinz, dhe resərreksioon AF dhe bædi, ænd ləif everlæstiq. Æmen.

dzhədzh dhe kwik ænd dhe ded. ȝi biliiv· in dhe HOO·li Goost, dhe HOO·li kæth·olik tshərtsh, dhe kəmiu·nion əf Sæints, dhə fərgiv·nes əf sinz, dhe rezərek·-sion əf dhe bəd·i, ænd ləif evərlæst·iq. Ææ·men.

§ 2. *Noteworthy Pronunciations of the Seventeenth Century.*

The transition period of the XVII th century, reaching from the death of Shakspere to the death of Dryden, presents considerable interest. It is remarkable for the number of "slovenly" pronunciations as they would now be called, which were recognized as in use either by orthoepists or orthographers, the former to correct them, the latter to determine the "proper" spelling from the "abusive" sound. Spelling was in a state of transition also, and many orthographies recommended by the would-be authorities of this period are now discarded. Our sources take therefore two different forms, one determining the sound from the letters, and the other the letters from the sound. To the latter belong especially those lists of Words Like and Unlike, which Butler appears to have commenced (suprà p. 876), and which have ever since occupied a prominent place in our spelling-books. Great importance was always attached to the difference of spelling when the sound remained, or was thought to remain, the same, as this difference was—nay, is—thought by many to present perfect means of determining meaning and derivations. It would have been desirable to fuse the two methods into one, but the indications, lax enough in vocabularies, were far too vague in the other lists, and hence they have had to be separated.

1. PRONOUNCING VOCABULARY OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY, COLLECTED FROM WALLIS 1653, WILKINS 1668, PRICE 1668, COOPER 1685, ENGLISH SCHOLAR 1687, MIEGE 1688, JONES 1701.

A pronouncing vocabulary of the XVII th century, though as much needed as one of the XVI th, is much more difficult to compile. For the XVI th century we possess a large collection of phonetically written words, which had only to be extracted and arranged, after their notation had been reduced to a single system. For the XVII th century I have not been able to discover any systematic phonetic method of writing, except in Wilkins's *Real Character*, where it is applied to a very small collection of English words. The other writers have more or less precise or lax methods of representing individual sounds, but very rarely indeed combine their symbols so as to spell out complete words. Their observations generally tend to shew the pronunciation of some particular groups of letters, principally vowels, in the words cited as examples, and the pronunciation of the rest of the word has to be collected, as well as possible,—which is often very ill,—from similar observations respecting the other groups of letters in the word. This arose from

the authors writing for those who, being well acquainted with the various pronunciations of the words, only required to have one fixed upon for approval, or who knew how to spell the word except in the individual point under consideration. To a learner in the XIX th century such a course, however, presents great difficulties, and in many cases I have felt in doubt as to the correctness of the pronunciation of the *whole* word, although that of a portion of the word was almost certain. In other cases, especially in the important works of Price and Jones, much difficulty arose from the ambiguity of their symbols. Thus if one were to say that *ie* was sounded as *i* in *lie* and *sieve*, it would be difficult to guess that the first was (lǝi) and the sound (siv), although (ǝi, i) are two common sounds of *i*. Still the results are very interesting, because in this XVII th century the pronunciation of English altered rapidly, and many words were sounded in a style, which, owing to the influence of our orthoepists of the XVIII th and XIX th centuries, is now generally condemned, although well known among the less educated classes. It may be doubted whether our language has gained in strength, as it has certainly gained in harshness and in difficulty, by the orthographical system of orthoepy which it has lately been the fashion to insist upon, but as such a system is thoroughly artificial, and results frequently in the production of sounds which never formed an organically developed part of our language, it is rather to be regretted than admired.

The following is not a complete vocabulary, as that would be far too extensive, but it embraces all those words in Wallis, Wilkins, Price, Cooper, English Scholar, Miege and Jones, which struck me as being in some respect noteworthy, because they illustrate some Elizabethan usage or shew a transition from the XVI th century, or a peculiar but lost sound, or an early instance of some well-known sound now heard, or give the authority for some pronunciations now well known but considered vulgar or inelegant, or exhibit what were even in the XVII th century reprobated as barbarisms or vulgarities.

1) WALLIS does not furnish a long list, but the vowels in the accented syllables which he gives may be depended upon; in some cases of consonants and unaccented vowels I do not feel so secure.

2) WILKINS's list is very short, and has been already given in the example of his writing. In this vocabulary the words are respelled to signify the sounds he probably meant to convey.

3) PRICE is uncertain, sometimes even in the accented syllables, owing to the defects of his notation. His short *o* has been assumed as (ɔ), but throughout this century (A, ɔ) are difficult to distinguish, and perhaps (A) prevailed more widely than at present. Even now *watch*, *want*, are perhaps more often called (wɔtsh, wɔnt) than (wAtsh, wAnt), the latter sounds being rather American than English, which, again, is to some extent evidence of their use in the XVII th century.

4) COOPER is very strict but very peculiar in his vowel system, which has been sufficiently considered, suprà p. 84.

5) "The complete English Scholar, by a young Schoolmaster," 8th ed. 1687, contains some words re-spelled to shew what the author considers their correct pronunciation, for a list of which I am indebted to the kindness of Mr. Payne. These re-spellings I have generally annexed.

6) MIEGE being a Frenchman, and evidently but imperfectly seizing the English sounds, has to be interpreted by endeavouring to discover (*not* what were the sounds he meant to convey by his notation, *but*) the sounds which were likely to have excited in him the sensations betrayed by his letters. This is of course a difficult and a delicate operation, and I may have often blundered over it, so that I have frequently felt it best to annex either his own notation or the gist of his remark.

7) JONES furnishes the most extensive list, and in every respect the most remarkable part of the vocabulary, because his object was to lead any person who could speak, to spell, and therefore he has chronicled numerous unrecognized or "abusive" pronunciations besides those which were "customary and fashionable." By adding such observations as "abusively, sometimes, often, commonly, sounded by some, better," I have tried to convey a correct impression as to the generality of the pronunciation, so far as Jones's own statements go. I have not always felt perfectly confident of the correctness of my interpretation, owing to his ambiguous notation, and I am not quite clear as to the distinction which he draws between *it*, *bit*, which should be (it, bit)—a distinction of which no other author takes any notice; the first he considers as the short of *ee* (ii), and treats of under *ee*, the second he treats of in conjunction with ī (əi).

The following abbreviations are employed:

C	Cooper, 1685.	P	Price, 1668.
E	English Scholar, 1687.	W	Wallis, 1653.
J	Jones, 1701.	Wk	Wilkins, 1668.
M	Miege, 1688.		

A hyphen after a combination shews that it is initial; before it, that it is final, as *emp-*, *-our*. Small capitals imply the older spelling used by the next following authority. The alphabetical arrangement follows the present orthography. Words not wholly in Italics are to be read as in palæotypic spelling. The position of the stress is almost always marked from conjecture.

A

A, s'appelle et se prononce ai ææ, æ M
a A *ind. art, se prononce en a court* M
Aaron Ææ·ron J
ab- b- *often as* bææt *for* æbææt· J
abbey æb·e P, æb·i C
abet bet J
abide æbəid· C, bəid J
abigail æb·igæl æb·igeel J
able ææ·bəl etc. P, AEb·l C
aboard æbuurd· C, J
about æbəut· C, bəut J
above æbəv· P, C, M, bəv J
abroad æbRAAd· J
abrupt æbrəp· *often* J
abundance bən·dæns J
abutt bət J
acc- k- *frequently* J
accompt ækəunt· J
accoutred ækuu·tərd C
account əkəunt· J
accountant koun·tænt *often* J
accumulate kiu·miulæt *often* J

ach s. ætsh P
ache v. ææk P
ached AK'D æækt C
acorn ææ·kərn C
acq- k- *often* J
acquit kwit J
acre EE·kər C
action = *aicchon* æk·shən M
adhere ædheer· J
adieu ædiu· P, ædíu C
adjourn ædzhərn· C
adventure ædvEn·tər C
affairs æfEEz· C
afford æfuurd· C, J
afraid AFFRAID æfeerd·, freed J
again ægen· ægeen· J
against ægæinst· Wk, ægeenst P, gæinst J
age EEdzh C
agnail æn·eel J
ai ay = æi, *generally* P
air EEr C
air-y EEr·-*e* C
aid ææd eed J
al- l- *often as* loon *for* æloon· J
alarm lær·əm *usual* J
Albans :AA·bænz J
alembic lem·bík *usual* J
Algier Ældzheer· Ældzhiir· J
all AAl W, J
Alexander Alesæn·dər J
all AAl *comme un a François un peu long* M
alley æl·e P, æl·*i* C
almanack AA·mænæk J
almond AA·mənd C, J, ææ·mən *a-mun* E, AA·mən J
almoner æm·nər, AAm·nər J
almost Am·ust *barbarè* C, AA·moost J
alms AAmz J
am- m- *often* J
ambiguous æmbíg·eəs *sometimes* J
ambs AAmz J
amendment æmen·ment J
anatomy næt·əmi *often* J
anchor = *ennker* æq·kər M
ancient ANTIENT æn·shent C, AUNCIENT æn·shent *au comme a simple anglois* M
andiron ændəi·ərn J
Anglesey Æq·g'lse P
anguish æq·gwish J
ann- n- *often as* neel *anneal*
annoyance ANOIANCE noi·æns *often*, nius·æns *sometimes* J
annual æn·æl *occasionally* J
anoint ænoint· ænoint· C
anon ænon· ænæn J
another ænədh·ər, *often* nədh·ər J
answer æn sər C, M, J
anthem æntheem· J
ancient ANTIENT æn·shent C
antique æn·tík C
ap- p- *often, as* pok·rifæ *apocrypha* J
aposteme impost·ium J
apophthegm APOTHEGM æp·othem, *may be* æp·otheg'm J
apothecary apoth·ikəri, pot·ikəri *usually* J
appear æpiir· P, J
appetite ap·eti *abusively* J
apprehend æprend· J
apprentice pren·tis *usually* J
approve æprəv· P
apricot æp·rikək J
apron ææ·pərn C, E, M, J
ar- r- *often*, as rith·metík *arithmetic* J
-ar -ər C, -er -ər J
Archibald Ær·tshíbAAl J
-ard -erd -ərd J
are EEr C, ær, *not* eer J
Armagh Ær·mæ J
Arnold Ær·nəl J
arrand AAr·ænd J
arrant AA·rænt J
arrear æriir· C
arrears reerz J
arrest rest J
arrow ær·u P
Arthur Ær·thír J
artichoak Hær·titshook J
artificial ærtifish·æl, *and in similar words ci-* = sh C
-ary -eri J
as- s- *sometimes as* ston·ish *astonish* J
as AZ *en a court* M
asparagus spær·ægəs J
aspen æs·pən J
assume æshuum· J
asthma æs·mæ J
assure æshuur· J
atheism ææ·theezm, ææ·thəizm J
atheist ææ·theest, ææ·thəist J
att- t- *as people are apt to sound* teent *for attaint* J
attorney ætərn·e P, ATTOURNEY ætər·ni C
athwart æthərt· J
auburn oo·bərn, *may be* AA·bərn J
auction ook·shən, *may be* AAk·shən J
audible Au·dəbl, AA·dəbl *negligenter* C
audience oo·diens *may be* AA·diens, *sometimes* AA·dens J
audit oo·dit, *may be* AA·dit J
audit-or-y Au·det-ər-*e*, AA·dit-ər-*e negligenter* C
augment Augment·, AAgment· *negligenter* C, oogment, *may be* AAgment· J
augury Au·gəri, AA·gəri *negligenter* C
aunt = *aint* ænt M, ænt AAnt J
auricular Aurík·iulər, AArík·iulər *negligenter* C
austere AAsteer· J
authentic AUTHENTICK Authen·tik, AAthen·tík *negligenter* C

author AA·tər J
authority AUTHAR·*ete*, AATHAR·*iti negligenter* C, AATOR·*iti* J
av- v- *often as* VAANT *avaunt* J
avantcourier VANTCURRIER væn·kæriir J
avarice æv·əris J
aver æver· æveer· æviæer· *e se prononce ai* M
aviary æ·vəri *sometimes* J
award æward· *a comme en français* M
awl AAL W
axletree eks·tri *facilitatis causa* C
ay æi C
azure æsh·ər J

B

bable BAA·b'l *en a long* M
backward bæk·ərd J
bacon bæek·n J
bailiff bee·lii J
bain BEEN *balneum* C
bait bæit C
baker BEEK·ər C
balderdash BAA·dərdæsh J
baldric BAAL·*rik* J
balk BAAK P, J
balm BAAM J
balsam BAAL·sæm *en a long* M
Banbury Bæm·bəri J
bane bæen W, BEEən C
banish bæn·esh C
bankrupt bæq·rəp *often* J
banquet bæq·kiet J
baptism bæb·tizm *sometimes* J
bar bær W, C
Barbara Ber·berə = Bər·bərə J
bare bæər W, BEEər C
bargain bær·geen P, bær·gen C
barge bæærdzh C
barley bær·*li* C
baron bær·an C
barrow bær·u P
basin bæs·n P, BASON BEES·n C
bastile bæstiil· J
bate bæet W
be bii P, BEE C, M, J
be- bii J
beacon beek·n C
beadle biid·l J
bear v.s. BEEr C, P
bear s. = *bair* bæær *un ours* M
beard BEERd C, J, berd P, M, J
beast beest W
beastly bees·*li* J
beaten beet·n M
beau BEAW biu J
Beauclare Biu·klæær J
Beaufort Biu·fərt J
Beaumaris Biumær·*is* J
Beaumont Biu·mənt J
beautify biu·tifəi J
beauty beu·*ti rectiùs, quidam* biu·*ti* W, biu·*ti* M
because bikæez· bikaaz· J
been bin J
begin biigin· W
behaviour bihæev·ər J
behold bihould C
behove bihəv· P, bihuuv C, M
bellows bel·ooz C
bellows bel·ooz, *facilitatis causa* bel·es C
Belus Bee·ləs J
bench bentsh P
beneath bineedh· P
benign binig·ən J
Berks Bærks J
besmear bismiir· C, M
besom biis·əm M
besought bisoot· J
betoken bitook·n C
betroth bitrəth· P
beyond bijənd· C, bijən· J
bezoar bez·ər J
bible bəib·l C
bier beer biir J
Bilbao Bil·boo, Bil·buu J
bird bərd P, C
bittern BITTOUR bet·ər C
birth bərth C
biscuit bis·ket J
bishop bəsh·əp *barbarè* C, = *boshop* bəsh·əp *pas du bel usage* M, bush·əp *sometimes* J
blain BLEIN bleen J
blaspheme blæsfeem· J
blast blæest C
blazon BLEEZ·n C
blea blee J
blear-eyed bliir-əid P, C, M
blind bləind C
blithe BLITH bləith C
blomary bləm·əri J
blood BLOUD bləd P, *ou* = *o court* M, J
blood-i-ly blud·-*i*-*li* C
boar buur C
board BOORD buurd *tabula* C, J
boil bəil, bwəil (bwəil ?) *nonnunquam* W, buil bəil C, buuil, *sometimes* bəil J
bold boold *nonnunquam* bould W, bould C, boould J
bole boul P
bolster boul·stər P, buul·stər C, booul·stər J
bolt boult boult J
bomb buum J
bombast bəmbæst· J
bone boon C
book buuk C
boor BOAR buur J
boose BOWZE bəuz C

boot buut C
Bordeaux BOURDEAUX Buurdoo· J
borne buurn *bajulatus* C, =*bôrne* boorn *porté* M
born barn *parturitus* C, =*bârn* baarn *né* M
borough =*boro* bər·ə M
borrage bər·ædzh J
borrow bor·u P, BAA·TAA bor·AA *com* J
bosom bəz·əm J
bough bəu, boo J
bourn buurn *rivulus* C
bow boo *arcus*, bıu *torqueo* C
bowl BOUL bəul *globus* W, C, J, BOWL bəul *poculum* W, BOLE bıul *patera* C, BOLL *boo*ul J
boy bəi, bwəi (bıwəi?) *nonnunquam* W, bı·ai *dissyllabum* C
bought BAAt C, *boot* BAAt *sometimes* bəft J
brain bræin C
brazier BRASIER bræsh·ər, *sometimes* bræez·ər J
break breek P, *breek* C
breakfast brek·wæst *in some countries* J
breastplate bres·plæet J
breviary brev·əri *sometimes* J
brew bryy W
brewess breu·es P
bridge bredzh J
Bristol Bris·*too* P, J
broad BRAAd C, *oa*=*â* M, J
broil brıâl brəil C, brəil *sometimes* J
brotherhood brodh·ərhəd C
brought broot P, J
bruise briuz C, briuz J
bruit briut J
Buckingham Bək·iqæm J
build bild C, biuld J
bull bul M, J
bullion bol·jən C
bumble bee əm·bl bii J
buoy BWOY bıâ C, bəi, buui J
bur bər C
burden bər·dən J
burlesque bərlezg· bərlesk· J
burt BIRT brit J
burthen bər·dhen P
bury ber *i* C, ber·*i* M
busy BUSIE biz·*i* C, M
business biz·nes C
but bət *o court* M

C

cabin kæb·en J
Caiaphas Kee·fas J
caitiff kæi·tif C
caldron KAA·drən KAA·dərn J
calf KAAf C, J
call KAAl W
calm kælm P
campaign kæmpæen· J
can kjan W, kæn C
candle kæn·l J
cane KEEN C
cannot kænt J
canoe CANOO kænuu· J
canonier kænoneer· kænoniir· J
cap, kæp, *en ai bref ou en e ouvert* M
capable KEE·pæbl C, kæe·bebl *occ.* J
capacity kæpæs·*ete* C
cape KEEəp C
caper KEE·pər C
capon KEEP·n C, kæep·n *o se mange* M
car kær C
card kæerd C
care KEEər C, =*caire* kæer M
cared kæerd=*card* C
career CARREIR kæreer· P
carking kæerk·iq C
carp kæerp C
carriage kær·ædzh C, kær·edzh *occ.* J
carrion kær·on P, kær·en *occasionally* J
case KEEəs C
cashier CASHIRE kæshiir· J
cast kæest C
casualty kæez·ælti *sometimes* J
caterer KEE·tərər C
Catharine Kæth·ern E, Kæt·ərn J
catholic kæth·olik Wk
caul KAAl W
cause KAAZ *comme a français* M
causeway KAA·ze P
cautious KAU·shəs, KAA·shəs *negligenter* C
cavilling kæv·liq J
ce- see- J
celestial SELEST·JÆl, *and in similar words* *-sti*=-stJ C
censure SENS·ər C, sen·shər J
centaury sen·təri sen·TAARi J
century SEN·təri C, sen·təri J
certain ser·tæn ? *ai comme en certain* M (exception)
chaldron tshAA·drən C, J, tshAA·dərn J
chair tshær tsheer J
chalk tshAAk C
chamois SHAMOIS shæm·ii J
chamberlain tshæm·berleen P
Chandois Shæn·dəis *abusively* J
chandler tshæn·ler J
chaplain tshæp·leen P
chaps tshəps *abusively* J
Charles TshAArlz *barbarè* C
charriot CHARIOT tshær·et *occasionally* J
chasten tshæs·n J
cheer CHEAR tshiir P, J
Chelmsford Tshemz·fərd J
cherub tsher·əb W, tsheer·əb J
-chester -tsheshər J
cheveron tshev·ərn J
chew tshiu C, tshoo tshoou, *may be* tshiu, *sometimes* tshAA J

chicken tshík·ən J
children tshíl·ren J
chimney tshím·ne P
chirp tsherp J
chirurgeon = *sordgin* sər·dzhín M
chisel CHESEL tshii·zel J
Chloe CLOE Kloo·i C
chocolate tshək·olæt J
choir CHORE kwəir J
Cholmly Tshəm·li J
chorister kwer·ister J
Christ kraist W, Wk
christen krís·n J
Christian krist·jæn W, krist·en *sometimes* J
Christmas kris·mæs J
church tshərtsh Wk
chuse tshuuz M
-cial, -shæl J
-ciate -shæset J
cinque siqk J
-cious -shəs J
circuit sər·kit C, sər·kiut sər·ket J
Cirencester Sís·etər J
citron sit·ərn C, sit·ərn M
civil siv·əl J
clarion klær·en *occ.* J
clear kliir P, M, J
clerk klærk J
clew klíu J
clift klíf J
climb kləim P
cloak CLOKE klook C
clyster glis·tər J
coach kootsh C
coarse kuurs = *course* C
cobiron kəb·əi·ərn kəb·ərn J
cochinel kush·ineel J
cockney kok·ne P
codicil kad·isil C
coffee = *caphé* kof·e M
cognisance kən·ísæns, kən·ísæns J
cohere koneer· J
cohort kuurt J
coif kaif C, QUOIF kəif J
coil kuuil, kəil *sometimes* J, QUOIL kəil J
coin kəin J
colander kəl·əndər J
cold koold *nonnunquam* kould W, kould P, kuuld C
collier KAL·JƏR *and in similar words*, *-ier* = JƏR C
Cologne Kul·en *Cul-len* E
colonel kəl·nəl J
coltsfoot koolz·fut J
comb kuum J
combat kəm·bæt C
come kəm W, COM kəm C
comely COMLY kəm·li C
comfort kəm·fərt J
comfrey kəm·fre P
commandment kəmæn·ment J
committee = *committé* kəmit·e M
companion kəmpæn·jən C
company kəm·pæni J
complete = *compléte* kəmpleet· M, J
comptroll kəntroul· J
comrad CAMERADE kəm·ræəd J
concede kənseed· J
conceit kənseet· P, J
conceive kənseev· P, CONCEIV KANSEEV· C, kənseev· *é masculin* M, J
concourse KAN·kuurs C
condign kəndíg·ən J
condition kəndis·iən *negligentius* W
conduit kən·dit P, E, kən·det C, kən·diut kən·det J
coney kən·i P, J
conge kən·dzhe J
conjure kən·dzhər J
conquer koq·ker ? J
conscience kən·shens J
conspicuous kənspík·eəs J
constable kən·stibl *abusively* J
construe kən·stər J
consume kənshuum· J
contagion kəntæə·dzhen *occ.* J
contradict KANTRÆDÍKT· C
controul kəntroul· P
contrary kəntree·re C
convey kənvæi P, KANVEE· C
copy kup·i C
coppice kəps J
coral kər·æl C, J
corrupt kərəp· *often* J
coroner krəun·ər J
costly kos·li J
couch kuutsh P, J
cough kəf W, P, = *kâff* KAAF M
could kould P, kuuld C, kuud J
couldest kuust J
coulter kuul·tər C
countrey kən·tre P, kən·tri C, J
counterfeit kəun·tərfeet J
couple kəp·l C
courage, kər·ædzh C, J, kur·ædzh J
courier kəriir· J
course kuurs W, P, C, koors *ou* = *o un peu long* M, kuurs J
court kuurt P, C, J
courtesan CURTEZAN kər·tezæn C, kər·tisæn J
courteous kərt·jəs C, J, kuurt·jus J
courtesy kər·tesi P, J
courtier kuur·tiər P, kuurt·jər C
courtship kuurt·shíp C
cousin kəz·n P, COUSEN COOSEN kəz·n C, kəz·ən J
covent(garden) kəv·en J
cow kəu J
cowherd kəu·hærd *occasionally* J
coy kai C

cozen kəz·n C, kəz·ən J
cradle kreəd·l C
crazy kreez·*i* C
credit kree·dit J
Crete criit J
crevis kree·vis J
crimson krim·sin E
crony CRONE kroo·*ni* C
crosier = *crôjir* kroo·zhər M, krooz·ər *sometimes* J
crouch kruutsh J
crucified kriu·sifijed Wk
cruise kriuz J
cube kiub C
cuckow kukuu· P
cupboard kəb·ərd J
Cupid kiu·bid *sometimes* J
cure kyyr W, kiu·ər C
curious kiu·riəs C
curtain kər·teen P
cushion kush·en, kəsh·en ? *cush-en* E

D

daily dæi·li Wk
dairy DEE·*ri* C
dame dææm W
damosel dæm·sel C, dæm·zel J
damson DAMASIN dæm·zin J
dance DAANS J
dandle dæn·l J
dandriff DANDRUFF dæn·dər *facilitatis causa* C
Daniel Dæn·el *occasionally* J
Daphne Dæf·ne J
dart dæært C
dash dæsh C
date DEEƏT C
daughter DAAF·tər *occasionally* J
daunt DAANT, dænt *melius fortasse* C, = *daint* dænt M, dænt DAANT J
Daventry Dæən·tri Deen·tri J
day dæi W, Wk, DEE C
de- dee- J
dear diir W, P, C, M, J, der J
dearth DERTH C
debonair DEBANEER· C
deceit deseet· *nonnulli* desæit W, deseet· P, J
deceive deseev· W, P, DECEIV DISEEV· C, deseev· *é masculin* M, J
decoy dikəi· *abusively* J
deign dæin P, deen J
Deitrel Dəi·trel J
deity dee·ti dəi·ti J
demesne demeen· dimiin J
deputy deb·iuti *occasionally* J
despair DESPEER C
desume dəshuum J
deter deter· deteer· detæær· ? *e se prononce ai* M
devil DEV·l C, div·l dil *sometimes* del *as in "del take you"* J
diadem dəi·ædem C
diamond dəi·mənd *di-mund* E
diaphragm dəi·æfræm J
diary deer·*i occ.* J
dictionary diks·næri E, diks·nəri *customary and fashionable* J, *hence the old joke of a servant being sent to borrow a* Dik Snær·*i asking for* Mis·ter Ritsh·ærd Snær·*i*
did dəd *barbarè* C
didst dist *for speed's sake* J
diphthong DIPTHONG dip·thəq J
dirge dər·dzhi C
distrain DISTREIN distreen· J
discrete diskreet· J
do duu *rectiùs* doo W, duu P, doo = *doe* C, duu M, J
dole dool P
dolt doult P, dult C
done dən W
door duu·er *sometimes* J
dost duust J
doth duuth J
double dəb·l C
doublet dəb·let C, J
dough DOWE doo C
doughty doo·ti J
dove dəv W, dəf M, dəv J
dozen DOSEN DOUZEN dəz·n C, dəz·ən J
drachm dræm C, dræk·əm, dræm J
draught DRAAT C, J
droll droul C, drəl *a français* M
drought = *draout* drəut M, drəut DRAAT droot J
dumb dəm P
Dunelm Dən·em J
dunghill dəq·il P
Dunstable Dən·stibl *abusively* J
dure dyyr W
Durham Dər·æm J
dwindle dwin·l J

E

e- ee- J
ean een C
ear iir C, J
earl EERl C
early EERl·*i* C
earn EERn C
earnest EER·NEST C
earth ERTH, JƏRTH *barbarè* C, = *yerth* JƏRTH *pas du bel usage* M
earwig iir·wig C
Eastcheap Ees·tsheep J
eastward eest·ərd J
ebullition bəlish·ən *often* J
Ecclesfield Eg·lzfiild J
eclogue eg·ləg J
ecstasy eg·stæsi J

Edward Ed·ərd J
e'er eer J
effectual efek·tæl *oce.* J
ei never=ii J
eight æit P, æit *vulgariter* C, əit (?) J
eilet əi·let J
either eedh·er P, EEDH·ər C, ədh·ər *e feminin* M, əidh·ər eedh·ər J
eke eek J
el- l- *often* J
Eleanor ELLENOR El·nər J
eleven elev·ən ilæv·ən J
em- m- *often after 'the' or a vowel, as* məl·shən *emulsion* J
'em əm *them* J
emb- b- *often as* bod·i *embody* J
embalm embælm· P
embolden embould·n P
emp- p- *often as* peetsh *empeach* J
en- n- *often as* nəf *enough* J
-en -ən *in eaten*, &c., J
enamel æm·el J
enamoured æm·ərd J
end- d- *as* dæm·ædzh *endamage* J
end iind *barbarè* C
endeavour endee·vər P
England Iiq·lænd P, J, *Iq*·lænd J
English Iiq·lish P, J
engorge gordzh J
engrave grieæv J
enhance ENHAANS J
enough inəf· *sat multum* W, P, enəu· *sat multa* W. enəf· *quantitatem denotans*, enəu· *numerum denotans* C
environ envəi·ərn C
enroll enrəul C
ensue enshuu· J
ensure enshuur· J
entrails en·trælz P
enthusiasm enthiu·shæzm C, thiu·siæsəm J
Epiphany Pif·æni *sometimes* J
epistle pis·l *sometimes* J
epitome epit·ome M
-er -ər C
ere EER C
err ər C
es- s- *often* J
escape scæep J
eschew estshiu· P, estshoo· estshoou· *may be* estshiu· J
esquire skwəir J
-ess, -is, *often in words of two syllables as* gud·nis *goodness* J
essay see J
estates stæets J
eternal iter·NAAL P
Eton EATON Eet·n J
etymology timəl·ədzhi J
ev- v- *often as* væn·dzhelist *evangelist* J
Evan Iiv·æn Ev·ən J
every ev·əri J
Eve Iiv J
eve iiv M
Eveling Iiv·liq J
even ii·ven P, J
evening iiv·niq P, J
evil iiv·l C, M, J
ewe eu P
example ensæm·pl sæm·pl J
exasperate æs·peræet J
Exchequer ESCHEQUER tskek·ər J
experience ekspeer·ens *sometimes* J
extol ekstool· P
extraordinary eks·tra,ordinæri P
extreme=*extréme* ekstreem· M
-ey -e J
eyelet OILET əi·let *sometimes* J

F

fable FEB·bl C, =*faible* fææ·b'l M
fair FEER C, =*faire* FEER feer *see 'fare'* M *by his rule*, fæər feeər feer J
falchion FAA·shən J
falcon FAAK·n J
falconer FAAK·nər C
fall FAAl C
fallow fæl·u P, fæl·AA *commonly* J
Falmouth FAA·məth J
falter FAA·tər J
fare=*faire* fæær M
farrier fær·ər *occasionally* J
farthing fær·diq C
fashion fæsh·n *o comme muet* M, fæsh·en J
fasten fæs·n J
father fææ·dher Wk, FAA·dhər J
favour fææ·vuur fææ·vər J
fealty feel·ti C
fear fiir C
February Feb·rəri *sometimes* J
feign fæin P, feen J
felt fælt *e en ai* M
felo fee·lo J
female fee·mææl J
feodary fed·əri C
feoff fef C, fef J
feoffee fef·ii P, J
ferule fee riul J
feud feud P
few feu *rectiùs, quidam* fiu W, feu P, FAA *barbarè* C
field fiild C
fieldfare fæld·FEER C, fiil·fæær J
fiend fiind W, find J
fight fet=*fit* C
figure fig·ər C
finger fiq·gər J
fir fər C, FER *à peu près comme e ouvert* M
first fərst P, C
fire fəi·ər C, fəier *re comme er* M, fəi·ər J

fissure fish·ər J
fivepence fip·ens J
flake FLEEək C
flash flæsh C
flasket flææsk·et C
flaunt FLAAnt P, C, flænt FLAAnt J
flaw = *flâ* FLAA M
flea flii W
flood FLOUD flød P, flud fləd C, fləd J
floor fluu·ər *sometimes* J
flourish flər·ish C
foal FOALE fool C
foil fəil *sometimes* J
foist fəist *sometimes* J
fold fould P, fuuld C
folk fook J
follow fəl·uu P, J, FAA·LAA fəl·AA *com.* J
folly FAL·*i* C
fondle fon·l J
fondling fon·liq J
fool fuul C
foot fuut P, fut *as distinct from* fət, fət *barbarè* C, fət, *better* fut J
force fuurs C
ford FOORD fuurd P, J
foreign FORRAIN far·en C, fər·ən *e feminin* M
forfeit = far·fet C, fər·fət *e feminin* M, fər·feet J
form fuurm *classis* C, *fârm* FAARm *forme*, = *fôrm* foorm *bane* M
forsooth fərsəth·, *better* fərsuuth· J
forswear FARSWEER· C, fərseer· J
forswore fərsuur· J
forth FOORTH fuurth C
forward fər·ərd J
four fuur C
fought foot J
fourth fəurth P, fuurth = *forth* C, J
fracture = *fracter* fræk·tər *avec e feminin, familier* M
frail fræil C
frankincense fræqk·ənsens *barbarè* C
fraud frood *may be* FRAAd J
fraudulent FRAU·diULENT, FRAA·deulent *negligenter* C
frequent free·kwent J
friend friind W, P, FREnd C, friind frind frend J
friendly fren·li J
friendship fren·ship J
froise fröiz *sometimes* J
frontiers frontiirz· P
frost FRAAst, *fere semper producitur o ante st* C
froward frəu·ərd P, froo·ərd J
fruit friut P, friut C
frumenty fər·miti *barbarè* C, = *formité* fər·miti M, fər·meti J
Fulks Foouks J
full ful C, ful M, J
funeral feun·eræl C
fur fər = *fir* C
furniture fər·nitər C, J
furrier FURIER fər·ər *sometimes* J
further fər·der C
fusilier fiusileer· fiusiliir· J
fustian fəst·iæn P, fest·en *sometimes* J
future fiu·tər J

G

gain gæin P
Gabriel Gæb·rel *sometimes* J
gallery gæl·ri J
gallimalfry gæliMAA·fri J
gallon gææn *in Berks* J
gallows gæl·əs E
gaol dzhææl dzheel J
gash gæsh C
gasp gææsp C
gastly gæs·li J
gate GREət C
gave gəv gən *barbarè* C
gazette GAZET GÆZET· C
gear giir C, M, J
general, dzhen·eral *approche du son de notre a* M
gentle dzen·t'l W
geography dzheg·ræfi *sometimes* J
geometry dzhem·etri J
Georgius Dzhər·dzhuus J
gesture dzhest·ər = *jester* C
get gæt W, gît *facilitatis causa* C
gh = H' *in bought*, etc. P, *desuevit pronunciatio, retinetur tamen in scripturâ*, C
ghost goost C
ghostly goos·li J
girl gerl *à peu près comme e ouvert* M, gerl J
glance glAAns P
glanders glAAn·dərz J
glebe gleeb J
glisten glis·n J
glori glAA·ri Wk
Gloucester Glost·ər J
glove gləf M
gn- n- J
go guu *rectiùs goo* W, guu P, goo C
gold goold *nonnunquam* gəuld W, gould P, guuld C, guuld J
Goldsmith Guul·smith J
good gəd, P, gud C, gəd, *better* gud J
good-ly-ness gud-li-nes C
gouge guudzh J
gourd goord P, guurd J
gournet gər·net C
grace grees C, = *graice* grææs M
gracious GRATIOUS GREE·shəs C
grammar, græm·ar *approche du son de notre a* M
grandchild græn·tshəild J

granddame græn·æm J
grandfather græn·fædh·er J
grandmother græn·mədh·er J
grange GREENDZH C
grant græænt C
grasshopper græs·opər J
grating GREET·iq C
gravy greev·*i* C
gravity græv·*iti* C
great greet C
Greenwich Grin·idzh J
grenadier GRANADIER grænædeer· grænædiir· J
grey gree P
gridiron grid·əi·ərn C, grid·əi·ərn grid·ərn J
grindstone grəin·stən J
griest GRIEST grist J
groat groot P, GRAAT C, M, J
groin grəin *sometimes* J
gross groos J
guaiacum gwee·kəm J
guardian gərd·en *occasionally* J
gudgeon GOUGEON gədzh·ən C
guess GHESS ges J
guild gild C
guildhall gild·HAAl C, gəil·HAAl J
guilt gwilt J
gurgeons GURGIANS grədzh·inz *facilitatis causa* C

H

ha! hææ C
haak hææk J
Hackney Hæk·ne P
hadst hæst *for speed's sake* J
hair HEER C
half HAAF C, J
halfpenny hææ·peni J
hallow hæl·u P
halm HAAM C, J
hamper HANAPER hæm·per J
handkerchief HANKERCHIEF hæq·ketshər *facilitatis causa* C, =*henketcher* heq·ketshər M, hænd·kərtshər J
handle hæn·l J
handmaid hæn·meed J
handsel hæn·sel J
handsome hæn·səm J
hardly hær·li J
harquebus hær·kibəs J
harsh hæsh J
Harwich Hær·idzh J
hasten hæs·n J
hat, hæt *en ai bref ou en e ouvert* M
haunt HAANT, hænt *melius fortasse* C hænt HAANT J
hautboys hoo boiz J
haut-goût HAUT GOUST Hoo goo J
haven HEEV·n C
hay HEE C
hazelnut HASLENUT HEE·zlnət C
hazy HEEZ·*i* C
he hii P, C, M, J
head HED C
hear hiir W, P, C, M, J
heard hærd P, C, J, herd J
hearken herk·n *a est conté pour rien* M
heart hært C, J
hearten hært·n C
hearth hærth C
Hebrew Hee·briu J
hecatomb hek·ætəm J
Hector Ek·tər J
hedge edzh J
heifer heef·er P, HEF·ər C, həf·ər *e feminin* M, heef·ər hef·ər J
heigh həi J
height HEIT, HEET *negligenter* C, =*haït* həit M, bəit heet, HEIGHTH heetth J
heinous HAINOUS HEInəs, HEE·nəs *negligenter* C, hee·nəs J
heir æir P, EER C
held hild *barbarè* C
Helen El·en J
hemorrhoids em·erədz J
hence=*hinnce* hins M
her hər P, C, hər *e feminin* M, =ər *after consonants* J
herald HERAULD her·AAl J
herb ərb *barbarè* C, =*yerb* ɹerb *pas du bel usage* M, erb, ɹerb *as sounded by some* J
Herbert Hær·bərt J
here hiir P, hii·er *re comme er* M, hiir J
heriot er·iət J
hermit er·mit J
heron hərn J
hiccough hik·əp J
hideous hid·iəs hid·eəs J
him im, *often, as take 'im* J
hire həi·er J
his iz, *often, as stop 'is horse* J
hither=*heder* hədh·er *e feminin* M
hoarse hoors C
hogshead hog·shed J
hoise həiz *sometimes* J
Holborn Hoo·born P, Hoo·bərn J
hold hould P, huuld C
holdfast hool·fæst J
holiday=*hâliday* hol·idee M
hollow HAA·lAA hol·AA *commonly* J
holm hoom J
holp hoop J
holpen hoop·n J
holster HOLDSTER hool·ster *often* ool·stər J
Holy=*hôly* hoo·li M
homage om·ædzh *often* J
hood hod P, hod·, həd, *better* hud J
hord huurd P

horn HAARn, *fere semper producitur o ante rn* C
hosannah oozæn·æ *often* J
hosier = *hôjer* HOO·zhər M, HOO·shər J
host oost P, oost *often* J
hostage ɔst·ædzh J
hotter whət·ər *barbarè* C
hour, hourly əur, eurli, *the only words with h mute* M
household HOUSHOLD HOUS·OOULD J
housewife = *hozz·if* HƏZ·if M, HƏZ·ïf HƏZ·*i* HƏS·*i* J.
hover HƏV·ər C
how HEU *molliores concinnittatem nimis affectantes* C
howsoever HOUZEV·ər *facilitatis causa* C
huge HiUdzh C, HOOUDZH *abusively* J
hundred HƏN·dərd *facilitatis causa* C, M, J
hurricane HERAUCANE her·AAkæn ? P
hyacinth dzhæs·ïnth J

I

I = *aï* əi M
idle əi·d'l W
immersion mer·shən J
imp- p- *often, as* pound *impound* J
impede impeed· J
impost im·poost C
imposthume impɔst·ium P
impugn impəg·ən J
incision insizh·en C
inchipin insh·pin J
Indian In·dzhæn, *sometimes* In·den J
indict indəit· *en sonnant l'i aï* M, J
inhabit inæb·it *usually* J
inhibit inib·it *usually* J
inherit iner·it *usually* J
inhesion inhii·zhən C
inhospitable inɔs·pitæbl *usually* J
injoin indzhəin· C
injury in·dzheri J
instead instiid· J
interfere ENTERFEIR en·terfeer P
interrupt interəp· *often* J
inv- v- *often as* vest *invest* J
inveigh invæi· P
inveigle enVEEG·l C, invee g'l *é masculin* M, J
inward in·ərd J
iron əi·ərn C, M, J, ərn J
Isabel Iz·bel J
isle əil J
is not ? ent ? *facilitatis causa* C
issue ish·uu J
isthmus ist·məs J
Italian Itæl·en *occasionally* J
it has tæz J
it is tiz J
-ity -eti J

J

Jacquet dzhæk·et
jambs dzhAAmz J
James Dzheemz C
Jane = *Dgéne* Dzheen M
January Dzhæn·əri *sometimes* J
jar djar W
jasmine dzhes·min J
jaundice JAUNDIES dzhAAn·des C, dzhAAn·dis J
jaunt dzhAAnt, dzhænt *melius fortasse* C, dzhænt dzhAAnt J
jealous JII·ləs JEE·ləs ? *je-lus* E
jealousie dzhee·ləsi P
Jenkin Dzhiq·kin J
Jeoffrey Dzhef·re J
jeopardy dzhep·ærde P, C
jerk JERK *as sounded by some* J
Jesus Dzhee·səs J
Jew Dhiu J
jewel dzhiu·el P
join dzhuin dzhəin C, dzhuuin, *sometimes* dzhəin J
joint dzhoint C
jointure dzhuin·tər dzhoin·tər C
jolt dzhuult C
journal dzhər·næl C
journey dzhər·ne P, dzhər·ni C
joy djɔi W, dzhAi C
joy dzhAi C
judge dzhədzh Wk
juice dzhius C, dzhius J
Julian Dzhil·ian, *a woman's name* J
Jupiter Dzhiu·bitər *sometimes* J

K

Kelmsey Kem·zi J
Kenelm Ken·em J
kerchief kər·tshər J
key kee P, J
kidney kidne P
kiln kil J
kindle kin·l J
kindly kəin·li J
kingdom kiq·dəm Wk
kn- = *hn*, nh (ř) C, n-, *but may be sounded* kn J
knave nhææv C
knead nheed C
knee nhii C
knew knyy W, nhiu C
knoll nhuul C
know knAu, *alii* knoo W, nhoo C
known nooun J

L

ladle LEE·dl C
lady LEE·di C
lamprey læm·pre P
lame lææm W

lance LAANS P, J
lanch læænsh C
landlord læn·lərd J
landscape LANDSKIP læn·skip J
lane LEEƏN C
language læq·gædzh *occasionally* J
lass læs C
last lææst C
lastly læs·li
laudable lau·dæbl, LAA·dæbl *negligenter* C
laugh læf W, P, M, læf LAA J
laughter LAAT ər J
laundress LAAN·ris J
laurel lau·rel, LAA·rel *negligenter* C
Laurence Lær·æns *Lar-rance* E
law = *lâ* LAA M
lead leed Wk, P
leap lep *a est conté pour rien* M
leaper lep·ər = *leper* C
learn LEERN C
lease lees C
lecture lek·tər C, J
Ledbury Led·beri J
Leicester Les·ter J
Leigh Lei J
leisure lee·ziur, P = *léjeur é masculin* lee·zhər M, lee·shər J
Leominster Lem·ster J
Leonard Len·erd J
leopard lep·ærd P, lep·ərd C J
Leopold Lii·opəl Lep·oold J
let læt *barbarè* C
lever LEAVER lev·ər C, LEAVER lev·ər *a est conté pour rien* M
leveret LEAVERET lev·ret C
lewd leud P
liberty lib·orti P
lice liis *barbarè* C
licorice LIQUIRICE lik·iris J
lieu lyy W, liu P, liu C
lieutenant = *liftênant* liften·ænt M, J
Lincoln Liu·kən J
linen = *linnin* lin·in M
linger liq·gər J
liquid lik·id J
liquor lik·ər J
listen lis·n J
listless lis·les J
Liverpool Ler·puul E, LEVERPOOL Leer·puul Leir·puul J
loin lein = *line* C, lein *sometimes* J
lodging lodz·iq W
loll lol *a français* M
London Lən·dən *negligentiùs* W, J
longer loq·ger *rectiùs* loq·er W
look lək, *better* luk J
lose luuz M
loss LAS C
lost LAAST C
loth LOATH = *lâth* LAATH M
lough lof ? J
love ləv W, lof M, ləv J
loyal loi·æl *abusively* J
luncheon LUNCHION lən·tshen J
lure liu·ər C
lute lyyt W, liut P

M

maggot = *maiguet* mæg·ət M
Maidenhead Meed·ned Meed·HED J
main MEEN C
maintain MENTEEN· C
major MEEDzh·ər C
malign mælig·ən J
malkin MAA·kin *peniculus* C, *Malkin, as a name*, MAA·kin P, J
mall MAAl C, = *mell* mel, *jeu de paume* M
Malmsey MAAm·zi J
maltsterer MAAl·sterer J
mane MEEƏN C
manger MEEN·dzhər C
mangy MEEN·dzhi C
mann MAN *German* C
Mantua Mæn·tiu J
manuscript mæn·iskript, mæn·iuskrip *often* J
many MEN·i C, mæn·e *sometimes* J
margin mær·dzhent J
marriage mær·ædzh C, mær·edzh J
marsh mæsh J
mask mææsk C
mason MEES·n C
masquerade mæs·kiræed J
mastiff mæst·ii J
maugre moo·gər, *may be* MAA·gər J
maund MAAnd J
maunder mæn·dər MAAN·dər J
may-not meent J
Mayor MAIOR MEER C, J
-mb -m *in monosyllables* J
me mii P, MEE C, M, J
mean miin C
meat meet W
measure mez·iur P, mesh·ər J
Medes Meedz J
medicine med·sin P, M, MED·sen C
meet mit C
merchant mær·tshænt E, J
mercy mær·si J
mere MEAR miir J
mesne MESN meen J
metal met·l C
mete meet = *meat* C, J
metre mii·tər J
Michaelmas Miil·mæs ? *Miel-mas* E
mice miis *barbarè* C
minnow MENOW mee·no J
-minster -mister J
mire mei·er J
misapprehend misæprend· J
miscellane MISCELAN mæs·lin mæs·læn J

miracle mær·ækl *facilitatis causa* C
might MAAT med *barbarè* C
mn- n- J
-mn -m J
moiety moi·ti J
moil mui̇l məil C, məil *sometimes* J
moisten məis·n J
molten moolt·n P
Monday Muun·dee J
money mən·e P, mən·i J
mongcorn mən·kərn J
monkey məq·ki P
monsieur mənsiur· mənsiir· J
More Muur J
morrow mər·u P
mosquito məskii·to J
most moost C, məst *o court* M
mostly moos·li J
mother mədh·ər J
mouch muutsh J
mould mu̇uld C
moulter mu̇ul·tər C
mourn muurn W, C, J, mərn J
-mouth -məth J
move muuv *rectiùs* moov W, məv P, J, muuv C, M, J
-mps -ms J
-mpt -mt J
Mulgrave Muu·græəv J
murrion mər·en *sometimes* J
musele məz·l J
muse myyz W, miuz P
musquet məs·ket J
mustard, məst·ard *approche du son de notre a* M
mute myyt W
myrrh MIRRH mər C

N

naked NEEK·ed C
name NEEəm C
napkin næb·kin *sometimes* J
nation nææ·sion P
nature NEE·tər C, = *naiter* nææ·tər *familier avec e feminin* M, nææ·tər J
naught NAAft *occasionally* J
nauseate NAUSEAT NAA·shæt C
navy NEEV·i C
-nch -nsh J
-nd- -n- *when a consonant is added to such as end in 'nd* J
neap NEPE neep J
near niir W, P, C, M, J
need niid C
negro nee·gro J
neigh næi P
neighbour næi·bor nee·bor P
neither NEEDh·ər nədh·er *barbarè* C, nədh·ər *e feminin* M, nəi·dher needh·ər J
nephew nee·fiu, nev·iu J
nether needh·er J
neuter neu·ter *rectiùs, quidam* niu·ter W, neu·ter P
new nyy, neu *rectiùs, quidam* niu W, niu P, nù J
none noon W
nor NAR C
North Noor J
Norwich Nor·idzh J
nostril nos·trel J
notable NAT·æbl C
notary noo·tər*i* C
nought noot P, nəft *sometimes* J
nourish nər·ish C
now nəu J
-nts -ns J
nunchion nən·shen J

O

oaf AUF AWF *oof may be* AAF J
oatmeal ət·miil *ou court* M
oats oots, wəts *barbarè* C
obey obæi P, *oo*BEE· C
obeysance obæi·sæns P
oblige obliidzh· J
obscene əbseen· J
ocean oo·shæn C, J
of Af W
ogre AUGRE *oo·gər may be* AA·gər J
oil əil W, əil = *I'll, isle* C
ointment əint·ment C
Olave ɔl·iv J
old oold, *nonnunquam* ould W, ould P, *oo*uld J
-om -əm C
-on -ən C
once wæns, wænst *as in Shropshire and some parts of Wales* J
one oon W, C, wæn J
onion ən·jən, *and in similar words, -ion* = jən C, ən·jən, *sometimes* ən·ən J
only = *onnly* oon·li M, J
opinion opin·ən, pin·jən *by the vulgar* J
-or -ər C
ordinance ər·næns J
ordinary ər·nəri J
ordure AAT·dər = *order* C
osier = *ôjer oo·zhər* M
ostrich ESTRICH es·tridzh J
ostler HOSTLER ɔs·lər *often* J
ought oot P, AAT C, = *at* AAT M
-our = -uur, -er, -ər J
-ous -uus -us -es -əs J
out əut C
over oor J
owe (*oo*) C
owl əul W
Owen *Oo*·æn J

P

pageant pædzh·ìn J
pain PEEN C
pale pæl W
pall-mall pel-mel J
palm PAAM J
Palmer PAA·mər J
panch PAAntsh J
papal pæ·pæl C
paper PEEP·ər C
parade pereed· J
parliament pær·læment C, E, *sometimes* pær·lement J
parsley pærs·lí P
pasquil pæs·kil J
pass pæs C
past pæst C
pasture pæs·tər = *pastor* C
pate PEEət C
path pæth C
Paul's church = *Póls* Poolz M, Poolz-tshərtsh *Poles-church* E, Pooulz, Poolz, *may be* PAALZ J
paunch PAWNCH PAAntsh C
pea pii W
pear = *pair* pæər *une poire* M
pearl PEERl C
pedant pee·dænt J
penal pee·næl J
penny = *peny* pen·i M
pennyworth pen·ərth *pen-urth* E, pən·-wərth, pen·ərth J
pension = *pennchonn* pen·shən M
people piip·l P, C, pep·l piip·l J
perceive perseev· *é masculin* M
perfect pær·fet *sometimes* pær·fekt J
periwig pær·wig J *e en ai* M, per·wig periig· J
perjury pər·dzhəri J
perpetual pərpet·æl *sometimes* J
Peter Pii·tər J
Pharaoh Fæə·rəoo P, Feer·oo J
phlegm = *fléme* flem M, C, flem, *may be* fleg·əm J
phœnix fee·níks J
phrenetic PHRENTIC fræn·tík J
phthisick tie·ík J
piazzas piæə·tshez J
picture pik·tər = *pickt her* C, = *picter avec e féminin familier* M
Piedmont Pii·mənt J
pillow pil·u P
pipkin pib·kín *occasionally* J
piquant pík·ænt J
pique piik J
piquet píket· J
piteous pit·ios M
poem POEME poeem· J
point pəint pəint C
poise pəiz *sometimes* J
poison puiz·n pəiz·n C, pəiz·n *sometimes* J
poll pool *nonnunquam* pəul W, puul C
poltroon pəltruun· pəltruun· J
poniard pən·jərd J
Pontius PAN·siəs Wk, Pən·shuus J
pontoon pəntuun· J
pour pəur = *power* C
poulterer puul·tərər C
poultice PULTESS pooul·tis J
poultry puul·tri C
pleasure plee·zyyr W, plez·iur P, plezh·ər C, plesh·ər J
poor puu·er *sometimes* J
porcellane pər·selæn J
portreve poort·ree poort·rii J
possible PAS·æbl *facilitatis causa* C
postscript poo·skríp *often* J
pot pwət *nonnunquam* W
pother pədh·ər J
pottage pər·ædzh, *some write porridge* J
potsherd POTSHEARD PAT·sheerd C
plain PLEEN C
plaited PLEET·ed P
plane PLEEən C
plausible PLAUZ·ebl, PLAAZ·íbl *negligenter* C
pleurisy pleu·rísi P
plevin pleev·ìn J
plough PLOW pləu C, ploo J
praise præiz W, preiz preez *negligenter* C
prance PRAAns J
prayer preer C
pre- pree- J
prebendary preb·end J
precise prisəiz· C
prefer prifər· C
pressure presh·ər J
prey præi P
priest prist (?) J
Priscian Prish·æn J
prophesy prəv·esəi J
prove prəv P, pruuv C, M
provision proovízh·ən C
prowl PROLL prooul J
ps- s- J
psalm SAAM C, J
psalm SAAM J
pt- t- J
Pugh Piu J
pull pul C, pul M, J
pulley pul·e P
punctual pəqk·tæl *sometimes* J
pursue pərshuu· J
pursuit pərshuut· J
puss pus M

Q

quality kwæl·ìtí C
qualm KWAAM C, KWAAM *en a long* M, J
quart KWAART *en a long* M
question kwest·ìən P
quodlibet kod·líbet J
quoif kəif J

quoit koit J
quota koo·tæ J
quote koot C, J
quoth kooth J
quotidian kotid·iæn J

R

Rachel Rææ·tshel W
raddish RED·ish *facilitatis causa* C
raisins reez·ns P, *reez·ns = reasons* C, = *rézins* reez·inz M, reez·əns J
Ralph Rææf *Rafe* E, RAAF J
rarity ræær·iti C
re- ree- J
-re = -er ər
read riid P
read reed *lego* W, riid *lego* C
Reading Reed·iq J
reason reez·n *o se mange* M, J, E, *the last writes 'reas'n'*
receive reseev· W, P, RESEEV· C, reseev· *é masculin* M, reeseev· J
receipt reseet P, reeseet J
reckless REACHLES REK·LES? C
recipe res·ipe J
recruit rikriut C
red rəd *e feminin* M
refuse rifiuz· *verb* P
regard = regaird regærd· M
rehearse RIHEERS· C
reign reen J
reingage reeingæædzh· M
reins reenz J
relinquish rilig·kish J
remove riməv· P
rencounter rænkəun·tər J
rendezvous ræn·divuuz *ran-dy-vooz* E, ræn·devuu J
renew riiniu J
reprint reeprint M
rere reer J
rereward riir·wærd P
resurrection resərek·sIAN Wk
restauration restərææ·shən J
retch REACH retsh J
reward reward· *a comme en français* M
rheum rium C
riband rib·æn J
Richmond Ritsh·mən J
right rəit Wk
righteous rəi·tiəs rəi·teəs J
rind rəin J
risque rizg J
roast ROST roost C
roastmeat roos·meet J
roll rool *nonnunquam* rəul W, rœul C
Rome Ruum P, Ruum = *room, different from roam* C, M, J
rough rəf, W, C, M
royal rəi·æl *abusively* J
rupture rəp·tər C

S

sabbath səb·oth *abusively* J
saffron sæf·ərn C, E, M
said SED *facilitatis causa* C, sed seed J
saints sæints Wk
salad sæl·et J
Salisbury SARISBURY SAAlz·beri J
salt SAAlt P, C
saltcellar SALTSELLER, SAAl·seler J
saltpetre SAAl·pii·ter J
salmon SAAm·ən C, sæm·ən J
salve sææv P, SAAV C, J
same sææm W
sanders SAAN·dərz J
Saviour sææ·viəur P
saw SAA C
says SAIES sez *facilitatis causa* C
scaffold skæf·əl J
sceptic SCEPTICK skep·tik J
scene = scéne seen M, J
schedule sked·iul P, J, sed·əl *sed-dul* E, sed·iul J
scheme skeem J
schism siz·m C, J
scholar skol·ərd *abusively* J
scold skoold, *nonnunquam* skould W, skould P, skœuld C
scoundrel skən·drel C
scourge skərdzh P, C, skwərdzh *facil. causa* C, skərdzh *ou = o court* M, J
scourse skuurs *permuto* C
scream skreem C
scrivener skriv·nər P
scroll skrœuld C
scrupulous skreu·peləs *facilitatis causa* C
scummer skim·ər *barbarè* C, = *skimer*, skim·ər M
se- see- J
sea sii W, *see* C
seal seel W
search seertsh C
sear siir C
searce SEERS C
season seez·n C, seez·n J
seat seet W
seen sin J
seise SEEZ C, J
seive seev J
seize seez, *nonnulli* sæiz W, seez P, M
seraglio serræl·ioo J
serene = seréne sereen· M
serge SEARGE særdzh P
sergeant sær·dzhejænt P
Sergius Ser·dzhuus J
serous see·rəs J
servant sær·vænt *e en ai* M
service sær·vis *barbarè* C
sevennight = senit sen·it M, sen·əit J
shadow shæd·u P
shall shAl Wk, shAAl, *signum modi* C, shæl M

shalm shaam C, J
shambles shaam·blz J
she shii P, C, M, J
shear sheer C
shears shiirz C, M
shepherd shep·ərd J
shew shuu, shɑu C, shoou shoo, *may be* shiu J
shire shiir C, J
shirt shərt C, shart P, *approche du son de notre a* M
shoe shuu P, shoo shuu C = *choû* shuu M
should shəuld P, shuuld C, shuud J
shoulder shuuld·ər C
shouldest shuust J
shovel shəul J
shove shəv J
shrew shreu C, shroo shroou, *may be* shriu J
shrewd shrood shrooud *may be* shriud J
Shrewsbury shrooz·beri, Shroouz·beri, *may be* Shriuz·beri J
sigh səith, *un son qui approche fort du th en anglais* M, səi səith J
simile sim·ile J
sincere sinseer· P, J
-sion -shən J
sir sər P, C, ser *à peu près comme e ouvert* M
sirrah sər·æ C, sər·a *approche du son de notre a* M
sirrup sər·əp C
skeleton SCELETON skel·etən J
skink SCINK skiqk J
slant slaant J
slouch sluutsh J
-sm -səm J
snow snəu, *alii* snoo W
snew sneu *rectiùs, quidam* sniu, W
so soo C
soft saaft J
Soho Soojoor *often* J
soil səil *sometimes* J
sojourn sədzhərn· J
sold sould, *alii* soold W, sould C
solder soo·dər J
soldier soul·djər P, soo·dzher *l muet* M, SOULDIER soo·dzher J
Solms Soomz J
Solomon Saa·laamən J
some səm W
Somerset Som·ərset J
somewhat som·æt J
son sən W, Wk
soot suut P, sut C, sət, *better* sut J
sorrow sər·u P
soul soul, *alii* sool W, sool P, suul C, soul J
source suurs W, C, M
souse suus J
Southwark Səth·wərk J
sovereign SOVERAIGN səv·reen J
Spaniard Spæn·erd *sometimes* J
spaniel spæn·el C, J
spear spiir C, M
sphere = *sphére* sfeer M, J
spindle spin·l J
spoil spəil *sometimes* J
stalk staak C
stamp stamp *barbarè* C, stomp *abusively* J
stanch staantsh J
stead sted *a est conté pour rien* M, stiid J
steal steel W
steam stiim J
Stephen Stee·v'n J
stir stər C, ster *à peu près comme e ouvert* M
-stle -s'l J
Stockholm Stək·hoom J
stomach stəm·æk J
stood stəd P, stud C, stəd *better* stud J
stoop STOUP stuup C
strange streendzh C
stranger stræn·djər ə *non tam requiritur quam ægrè evitatur* W, streen·dzhər C
strut stroout *abusively* J
subtil sət·il P, = *sottle* sət·'l M, sət·əl J
subtility sət·ilti P
succour sək·oor P
sue shuu J
suet SEWET siu·et C, shuu·et J
suer shɑur = *sure, or perhaps* seur, *as* shɑur *is only "facilitatis causa"* C
sugar shəg·ər (?) *facilitatis causa* C, shuug·ər J
suit siut P, SUTE siut C, shuut J
suitable siut·æbl C
suitor SUTER siut·er C
supreme siupreem· J
sure shiur *facilitatis causa* C, = *chûre* shiur M, shuur J
surfeit sər·fet C, sər·fət *e feminin* M
survey sərvæi· P
suture siut·ər C
swallow swæl·u P
swear sweer, *see forswear* FARSWEER· C seer J
sweat sweet C, set J
Swedes Sweedz J
swollen sooln J
sword swərd P, suurd C
sworn suurn C, soorn J
syncope siq·kope J
syntagm sin·tæm J
system SYSTEME sisteem· J

T

table TEEB·l C
tail TEEL C
Talbot TAA·bət J
tale TEEəl C

talk TAAK *rectiùs* tælk W
Tangier Tandzheer· Tandzhiir J
taper TEE·pər C
tar tær C
tare = *taire* tæər M
tares TEEƏRZ C
tart tæərt C
taunt TAANT P, C, J, tænt J
tassels TAA·selz *en a long* M
tea THEA tee J
teal teel W
tear TEER *lacero*, tiir *lacryma* C
team tiim J
teirce teers J
temptation temptæs·IAN Wk
ten = *tinn* tin M
tenet tee·net J
tenure TEN·ər = *tenor* C
terrene tereen· J
terrible TER·æbl *facilitatis causa* C
Thames Temz J
that dhAt *en a court* M
third thərd Wk
thither = *deder* dhədh·ər *e feminin* M
the dhee C, dhe J
Thebes Theebz J
their dheer J
Theobald Thee·obæld P
there dheer J
these dheez W, J
they dhæi P
Thomasin Təm·zin J
thought thoot P
thousand thuuz·n C
threepence = *thri-pinns* thrip·ins *familier* M, threp·ens J
thresh thrush *barbarè* C
through throo J
thwart thərt J
thyme = təim M, J
ti- ante vocalem sh C
tierce TERS C
tinder tən·dər *barbarè* C
-tion -shən J
tissue tish·uu J
to tuu M
tobacco TABACO *abusively sounded sometimes with an 'o,'* tobæk·o təbæk·ə J
toil təil W, toil təil C
told tould P, toould J
toll tool, *nonnunquam* təul W
tomb tuum C, M, J
took tək, *better* tuk J
torture tor·tər *tor-ter* C
touch tuutsh tətsh J
tough təf W, too J
toward təu·ærd P
towel təul J
toys təiz W
traffique træf·ig J
transient = traîngient træn·zhient M, træn·zhent C, træn·shent J
travail trav·eel P
traveling træv·liq J
treasure tresh·ər J
treble treeb·l J
trifle trəi·f'l W
triphthong TRIPTHONG trip·thoq J
troll TROWL trooul J
trouble trəb·l C, J
trough trof W, troo *ou* = *o un peu long* M, J
trowel triu·el *barbarè* C
true triu C
truncheon trən·shiin J
trundle trən·l J
turquoise tərkeez· ? J
twang tæq J
Tweed TWEDE Twiid J
two tuu C
twopence = *topins* təp·ins *familier* M, təp·ens J
tune tyyn W
Tyre təi·ər C

U

u, la prononciation commune de l'u voyelle en Anglois est la même qu'en français (suprà p. 182) iu M
ugly OUGLY əg·li P
-um -um, *may be* -əm J
uncouth ənkuuth· C, ənkəth· J
up əp C
uphold əpoould· J
upholster pooul·ster pooul·sterer J
up to AP tu *barbarè* C
-ure -ər C, -er ər, *may be sounded* -iur J
us = *eus* əs M
use = *yuse* ɟiuz *pas du bel usage* M
useless ɟiuz·les *barbarè* C
usual iu·zheuæl C, = *ûjual* iuzh·iuæl M
usury ɟeuz·ərə *barbarè* C

V

valley væl·i P
vanquish væq·kish J
vapour VEEP·ər C
vary VEEF·i C
vault VALT VAAt *a leap* J
vaunt VAAnt C, J
veil veel J
vein væin P, VEEN *ei comme en français* M, veen J
vengeance ven·dzheɟæns P
venison ven·zən P, ven·zn M, ven·zən J
venus VENEW vee·niu J
verdict vær·dikt ver·dəit J
verjuice vər·dzhis P, vər·dzhis C, vær·dzhes E, J
vial vəi·AAl P
victuals vit·lz *facilitatis causa* C, = *vittles* vit'lz M, vit·əlz vit·əlz J

view vyy W, viu C
villain, vil·æn *ai comme en villain* M, *an exception to his rule*
villany vil·ni J
virgin vər·dzhin J
virtue vər·tyy, ə *non tam requiritur quam ægrè evitatur*, W
viscount voi·kount J
vision viz·ion P
voyage voi·ædzh *vye-age* E
volatile vol·ætil J
vouch vuutsh J
vouchsafe vuutsæef J
voyage voi·ædzh *abusively* J
vulgar vul·gər J

W

wafer WEEF·ər C
waif WEIF weef J
wainscot ween·zkot P
waistband WASTBAND wæs·bænd J
waistcoat WASTCOAT WEEST·koot C
walk WAAK, *rectiùs* wælk W, WAAK C, J
wallow wæl·oo P
Walter WAA·tər J
wane WEEN C
war WAAR C
warden WAARd·n C
warm WAARm C
warren WAAR·n C
was WAZ C, WAZ *en a court* M
wash WASh *en a court* M
wasteful WASTFUL WEEST·ful C
watch WAAtsh WAtsh C, WAtsh *en a court* M
water WAA·tər C, =*ouâter* WAA·tər M, WAA·tər J
wattle WATLE WAAt·l C, WAT·'l *en a court* M
we wii P, M, C, J
weal weel C
wean ween C
wear weer C
weary wer·*i* P, wii·r*i*, wər·*e barbarè* C
Wednesday Wenz·dæi P, wenz·dee M, J
weight wæit P, WEEt *ei comme en français* M
were weer=*wear* C, weer J
Westminster Wes·məstər J
wh=*hou* wh M
what whAt *en a court* M, wæt, *better* whæt J
when=*hoinn* whin M, wen, *better* when J
whence=*hoinnce* whins M
where wheer J
wherry WHIRRY whər·*e* C
whether whədh·ər *barbarè* C, wheedh·ər J
whey whæi P
whit HWIT=F. *huit* W
widow wid·u P
will wil, wəl *barbarè* C
who whu Wk, whuu P, HUU C, J
whole HOOL W, J
whom whəm P, HUUM C, J
whoop HUUP UUP J
whore HUUR P, C, J
whortle HURT·l J
whose HUUZ J
Winchcomb Winsh·kəm J
wind wəind *ventus* C
wield WEILD wəild J
willow wil·u P
Wiltshire Wil·shir J
windmill win·mil J
wine wəin C
Windsor Win·zər J
winnow win·u P
with wəth *cum*, wəth *barbarè* C
wood ood J
woe wuu=*woo* C
wolf wulf wəlf C, ulf J
woman wəm·æn P, E, um·æn J
womb wuum C, M, uum J
women wii·men P, wim·en C, =*ouimenn* wim·en M, wim·en J
wonder wund·ər wən·dər C
woo- o- uu- u- J
woo WOE uu J
wood wəd P, wud C, wəd, *better* ud J
woof wəf, *better* uuf J
wool wəl P, wul C, wəl, *better* ul J
Woolstead Us·ted
Worcester Wuust·ər, Wəst·ər, *Ust*·ər, J
word wərd J
world wərld P
worldling wər·liq J
worldly wər·li J
worn wuurn C
worsted wər·sted *genus panni*, wəst·ED *facilitatis causa* C, =*ousted* wust·ed M
would would P, wuuld C, wuud J
wouldst widst wəudst *barbarè* C, wuust J
wr- r- *may be* wr- (?) J
wrestle WRASTLE res·l J
wrath RAATH C, RAAth *en a long* M
wristband ris·bænd riz·bæn J
wrought root P, J

X

Xantippe Sæntip·i J

Y

ye JII P, J
yea JII W, C, JAA rustic, JEE JII II J
year JIIr P, J, IIr J
yeast JIIst IIst J
yellow JEL·o J
yeoman yem·æn *yem-man* E, JEE·mæn JII·mæn II·mæn *by many* J
yes JIIs M, *is* J

yesterday is·terdee J
yet jət *e feminin* M, it J
yield YEILD iild J
yolk=*yelk* jelk M, *jook* J
yonder jən·dər J
you jiu, JAU *barbarè* C
young jəq C
your jeur C
youth jiuth P, *jiuth* C, *jəth* J

Z

zedoary zed·œri

2. WORDS LIKE AND UNLIKE.

Lists of this kind ought to supply the place of an investigation into the puns of the XVII th century, comparable with that already given for Shakspere (suprà p. 920). But their compilers had so much at heart the exigencies of the speller, that they often threw together words which could never have been pronounced alike, but were often ignorantly confused, and they sometimes degenerated into mere distinguishers of words deemed synonymous which had no relation in sound. This is particularly observable in Price's lists, in which like and unlike words are all heaped together in admirable confusion. Cooper is the most careful in separating words which were really sounded exactly alike from those nearly alike, and those absolutely unlike. But the earliest collection, and in many respects therefore the most important, is that by Richard Hodges. The full title is:

> A special help to Orthographie: or, the True-writing of English. Consisting of such Words as are alike in sound, and unlike both in their signification and Writing: As also of such Words which are so neer alike in sound, that they are sometimes taken one for another. Whereunto are added diverse Orthographical observations, very needfull to be known. Publisht by Richard Hodges, a School-Master, dwelling in Southwark, at the Midle-gate within Mountague-close, for the benefit of all such as do affect True-Writing. London, printed for Richard Cotes. 1643. 4to. pp. iv. 27.

In this the exact and approximate resemblances are distinguished, and at the conclusion the author has given a few instances, unfortunately only a few, of various spellings of the same sound, when not forming complete words. These are reproduced, together with some extracts from his orthographical remarks, which relate more strictly to orthoepy. He had, like most such writers, individual crotchets both as to spelling and sound, and had an intention, probably never carried into effect, of treating orthoepy, as shown by a short table of sounds with which he closes his brief work. Many of his instances are entirely worthless, but it was thought better to reproduce them all, marking with an asterisk those to which more attention should be paid, and to gain space by simply omitting his verbal explanations, where they were not absolutely necessary, or did not present an interest of some kind. Nothing has been added, except a few words in square brackets [ ], the original orthography is reproduced.

Owen Price's list has also been given complete, but the explanations have been similarly reduced. On the other hand, the whole of Cooper's chapter on the subject has been reprinted, restoring only the position of some words which had been accidentally misplaced. His orthography, which was also designed as a model, has been carefully followed.

I. *Richard Hodges's List of Like and Unlike Words.*

1. Such words as are alike in sound and unlike both in their signification and writing, are exprest by different Letters, in these examples following:

A

assent, ascent, a sent or savour. *a peece* to shoot withall, *a piece, apiece. a loud, allow'd, aloud. aught, ought. air, heir. an arrow, a narrow. an eye, a nigh, an I. a note an oat*-cake. **a notion, an ocean.* **annise, Agnes* a woman's Christen name. *an* idle person, *Anne. Alas, a laſ* (*lasse*) or a Maid. *altar, alter. a ledge, alledge. a lie, allie. a light, alight. a lot, allot. a loan, alone. a lure, allure. adieu, a due* debt. he *adjoyn'd* me to do it, *ajoyn'd*-stool. *a judge, adjudge.* **assoon* as she came in, she fell into *a swoun. awl, al* (*all*). *assault, a salt*-eel. *assigne, a signe. attainted, a tainted* piece of flesh. *attired, a tired* jade. *a mate, to amate* or daunt. *a maze, amaze. a rest, arrest. a pease* blossom, *appease. a peal, appeal. a tract, attract. abbetter, a better* colour than the other. **appear, a peer.* **a wait*-player, *await, a weight. awry, a wry*-mouthed Plaise. *a queint* discourse, *acquaint.*

B

to *bow* the knee, *bough.* *if you *be comne* so soone, *become.* **boughs, boweth, bowze. brows, browze. Barbarie* a countrey, *Barbara, barberie* fruit. **Brute* a man's name, *brute, bruit.* to *baul* in speaking, *Baal, a bal* to play with. *Bal* a man's name (*Ball, ball*). **bad, bade.* **bead, Bede. beaker, Becher,* the hawk did *beak herself. beer, biere.* *a straw-*berie*, Sud-*bury*, Canter-*bury*, etc. *by, buy.* **board, bor'd.* **bill'd, build. bolt,* to *boult* meal. *bred, bread.* **beholding, beholden.* *a coney-*burrow*, *borough.* coney-*burrows, boroughs.* **blue, blew.*

C

* *Cox, cocks, cocketh* up the hay. * *coat*, sheep-*cote, quote.* * *Cotes, coats, quoteth.* **clause, clauseth, claws. cal* (call), *caul.* * *course, corpse.* **courses, courseth, corpses.* **cool'd, could. collar, choler.* a *culler* of apples, a *colour. cousin, cozen. council, counsel.* **common, commune. cockle* and darnel, *cochle*-shel. *champion,* the *champain* field. **choose, cheweth.* a *crue* or company, the cock *crew.* did *chase,* the *chace.* *you *come,* he is *comne. crues* or companies, a *cruse* or pot. a *cruel* master, wrought with *crewel. consent, concent* of music.

D

**dam*, to *damne.* *fallow-*deer, dear* friend. *deep, Diep* a town so call'd. **diverse* men, skilful *divers.* *a *doe,* his cake is *dough. descension, dissension. dollar, dolour. dolphin,* the *daulphine* of France. the *deviser* of this, multiply the quotient by the *divisour.*

E

**Easter*, queen *Hester.* *John *Eaton* hath *eaten*, a scholar of *Aeton. eight, ait* (islet). * *earn, yern. emerods, emeralds. exercise, exercise.* *I *eat* my meat to-day, better than I *ate* it yesterday.

F

did *feed*, was *fee'd.* *your *fees*, she *feeth.* I would *fain*, she did *feign.* did *finde*, were *fin'd. fellocs, fellows. Philip, fillip.* the *fold*, hath *foal'd. fore*-tel, *four*-fold. *forth, fourth.* **furze, furreth, furs. foul, fowl. Francis, Frances.* **freeze, friese*-jerkin, shee *freeth* him. *to kil a *flea*, to *flay* of (off) the skin. *fleas, fleaeth, flayeth.* to *fleer*, a *flee'r* away. *flour, flower.* **flours, floureth.*

G

I *guest*, a very welcome *ghest.* a *ghost*, thou *go'st.* **jests, gests, jesteth.* *ox-*gals*, the *gauls*, he *gauleth.* *a

gage or pledge, to *gawge* a vessel. a *gilt*-cup, *guilt*. *groan*, wel-*growen*. to *glister*, a *clyster*. a *guise*, Mr. *Guy's* man.

H

hart, *heart*. *a *hard* heart, I *heard* his voyce. **hare*, *hair*. *hie*, *high*, *heigh*-ho. thou *hiest*, the *highest* fourm. *hide*, *she hied*. *make *haste*, why *hast* thou done it? *hole*, *whole*. **holy*, *wholly*. the *hollow*, to whoop and *hollaw*. **home*, *whom*, a *holme* tree. *homes*, *Holmes*. *I *hope* to see, I *holp* him to do his work. **hoops*, *hoopeth*, *whoopeth*. *him*, *hymne*. *the bread doth *hoar*, *whore*. **whores*, *hoareth*. his *hue*, *Hughe*. *hues*, *Hughes*. **herald*, *Harold*. **happily*, *haply*.

I

I, *eye*. *incite*, *in sight*. *inure*, *in ure*, *in your* acconnt.

J

jest, *gest*. *gests*, *jests*. to *jet*, a *jeat*-stone. *the *juice* or sap, a *joice* to bear up the boards. a *jakes*, Mr. *Jaques*. *gentle*, a *gentil* or magot. a *jointer*, a tool to work withal, a woman's *jointure*. *a *jurdon*, the river *Jordon*.

K

Mr. *Knox*, hee *knocketh* many *knocks*. **kennel*, the *chanel*. to *kil*, the brick-*kilne*.

L

the *Latine*-tongue, a *latten*-ladle. *the cow *lowed* very *loud*. *take the *least*, *lest* hee bee angry. *lemans*, *lemons*. *lesson*, *lessen*. **litter*, the hors-*licter*. *the *lees* of wine, to *leese* or loose ones labour. *leapers* that can leap, *lepers* full of leprosie. *lo*, *low*. *lore*, *lower*. a *luster* after evil things, a bright *lustre*. out-*lawed*, *laud*.

M

manour-house, in a good *maner*. he hanged his *mantle* upon the *mantel*-tree. *Medes*, *meads*. *meat*, to *mete*. *a *message*, the *messuage*. *a *meater* that giveth meat to the cattel, a corn-*meter*, a *meteor* in the air. *Martin*, *marten*. Mr. *Marshal*, *martial*. **mone* and bewail, his corne was *mowen*. *moe* or more, to *mowe*. the cat did *mouse* well, amongst the corn-*moughs*. **hawks-mues*, he *mueth* his hawk, to *muse*. *mite*, *might*. a good *minde*, under-*mined*. *Maurice* did dance the *morice*. **murrain* *murion* a head piece. **millions*, musk-*melons*.

N

**Nash*, to *gnash*. for *nought*, the figs were *naught*. *nay*, *neigh*.

O

O, *oh! owe*. gold-*ore*, *oar*, the *ower* of a debt, *oars*, *owers*. **ordure*, *order*. *our*, *hour*. *ours*, *hours*.

P

to *pare* the cheese, a *pair*. *pause*, *paws*, *paweth*. the *palat* of his mouth, he lay upon his *pallet*. *Paul*, *pal* (pall). *parson*, *person*. **pastor*, *pasture*. **praise*, *preys*, *preyeth*, *prayeth*. the common *pleas*, *please*. *Mr. *Pierce* did *pearce* it with a sword, the scholar did *parse* and construe his lesson. *she weareth her *patens*, letters *patents*. *pillars*, cater-*pillers*. *pride*, hee *pried*. **profit*, *prophet*. the *propper* of it up, a *proper* man. *he hath no *power* to *powre* it out.

R

rain, *rein*, *reign*. **reins*, *reigns*, *reigneth*, *raineth*. a noble *race*, did *rase* the wals. the *raies* of the sun, to *raise*. *ranker*, *rancour*. *red*, hast thou *read*? *a *reddish* colour, a *radish* root. **reason*, *raisin*. **reasons*, *reasoneth*, *raisins*. **ream*, *realm*. **reams*, *realms*, *Rhemes* the name of a place. *Mr. *Rice* took a *rise*, the *rice*. *rite*, *right*, *write*, a wheel-*wright*, *Wright*. **rites*, *rights*, wheel-*wrights*, *righteth*, *writeth*. *the *rine* wherein the brain lieth, the *rinde* of a pomegranate, the river *Rhine*. *Roe*, a *roe*-buck, a *row* of trees. *roes*, *rowes*, he *roweth*, a red-*rose*, *Rose*. *when there was a *rot* amongst the sheep, I *wrote* him a letter. hee *caught* [misprint for *raught*=reached] it from of (off) the shelf, when hee *wrought* with me. *a riding *rod*, when I *rode*. *I *rode* along the *road*, hard-*roed*, my daughter *Rhode*. *rowed* apace. *roads*, *Rhodes*. *the highest *room*, the city of *Rome* (roume). **round*, she *rowned* him in his ear. *a tiffany-*ruf* (ruffe), a *rough* garment. **ring*, *wring*. *rung*, *wrung*. hee *rued*, so *rude*, the cheese-*rack*, ship-*wrack*.

S

slight, *sleight*. he was no *saver* in buying, a sweet-*savour*. *savers*, *savours*, *savoureth*. *the *seas*, to *seize*. **ceasing*

from strife, *cessing* him to pay. **cease*, *cef* (cesse) him so much. *seller*, wine-*cellar*. *the one *sutler*, was *subtiller* than the other. *signe*, either a *sine* or tangent. **censor*, *censer*, *censure*. the third *centurie*, an herb *centory*. *he did *sheer* the sheep, in Buckingham-*shire*. *cite*, *sight*, *site*. *cited*, quick-*sighted*, wel *sited*. *a *syren* or mermaid, Simon of *Cyrene*. *a lute and a *cittern*, a lemon or a *citron*. Mount-*Sion*, a *scion* or graf (graffe). *a *sink* to convey the water, the *Cinque*-ports. **so*, to *sowe* the seed, to *sewe* a garment. *the *sole* of a shoo, the *soule* and body. *the *soles* of his shoos, he *soleth* his shoos. *soules* and bodies bought and *sold*, the shoos were *sol'd*. *very *sound*, he fel into a *swoun* [compare *assoon*, *a swoun* above]. *strait*, *streight*. *sloe*, *slow*. *a *sore*, hee *swore* or sware. *sly*, *Sligh*. a hedge and a *stile*, a *style* or form of writing. did *soar*, the *sower*. *to *shoot* an arrow, a *sute* of apparel, a *suit* in law, *Shute* a man's sirname. **shoots*, *sutes* of apparel, *suits* in law, *shooteth*, *suteth*, non-*suiteth*. *succour*, bloud-*sucker*. *some*, *sum* (summe). *sun*, *son* (sunne, sonne).

T

tame, *Thame*. *tamer*, *Thamar*. **tax*, *tacketh*, *tacks*. *the treble and the *tenor*, a *tenour* or form of words, the *tenure* whereby a man holdeth his land. *there*, *their*. **turkeys*, a *turquois*. *time*, *thyme*. the *tide*, *tied* together. *toe*, *towe*. *toes*, you *tose* the wool. *toad*, fingred and *toed*, he *towed* his barge. *tole* the bel, pay *tol* (toll). I *told* him. I *toled* the bel. *too*, *two*, *to*. *tract*, I *trackt* him. a *treatise*, diverse *treaties*. *I had *then* more work *than* I could do. *thrown*, *throne*. *it was *through* your help that I came *thorow*. *throat*, if he *throw't* away.

V

vain, *vein*. *a *venter* or utterer of commodities, to *venture*. **venters*, *ventures*, *ventureth*. *vial*, *viol*.

W

*a *way*, to walk in, a *weigh* of cheese. *ways*, *weighs*, *weigheth*. * *water*, *Walter*. **waters*, *watereth*, *Walters*. *wait*, *weight*. **waits*, *weights*, *waiteth*. *if you *were*, you would *wear*. a *wich*-tree, a *witch*. **wood*, *would*. *he *wooed* her, he was *woode*. *a *wad* of straw, *woad* to die withall.

Y

**yew*, *you* and I, *V* and I are vowels. **yews*, *use*. *your*, put this in *ure*, a bason and *ewre*. *yours*, basons and *ewres*, he in-*ureth* himself. *yee* that are wise, *yea*.

Such words which are so neer alike in sound, as that they are sometimes taken one for another; are also exprest by different Letters, in these examples following:

A

ask, ax, acts. Abel, able. amase, amace. al-one, alone. actions, axiomes. arrows, arras. advice, advise. Achor, acre. ant, aunt. accidence, accidents. as, as (asse).

B

(to play at) bowls, (to drink in) boles. baron, barren. barrow, borrow, borough. Boyse, boys. bath, bathe. bands, bonds. bare, bear. begin, biggin. breath, breathe. bauble, Bable, bable (babble). bile, boyl. Bruce, bruise, brewis (brews), brewhouse. (the little childe began to) batle (when his father went to the) battel. bore, boar. ar-rant, errand. bowes (and arrows), boughs. bittern, bitter. boasters, bolsters. both, boothe. best, beast. (your book is not so wel) bost, boast. boots, boats.

C

copies, copise. coughing, coffin. (when hee) cough't, caught, coat. cummin, coming. ches (chesse), chests. chaps, chops. chare, chair, cheer. capital, capitol. currents, currants. conse-quence, consequents. cost, coast. causes, causeys.

D

dun, done. (he was but a) dunse, duns. decent, descent, dissent. descension, dissension. discomfite, discomfort. (backs and) does, (one) dose. device, devise. decease, disease. dust, (why) dost (thou). dearth, death, deaf. desert, desart.

E

east, yeest. earn, yarn. (you must) either (take out of the hedge the) ether (or the stake). ears, yeers. els, else.

eminent, imminent. even now, inow, inough. Eli, Ely.

F

false, fals. froise, phrase. fares, fairs. fens, fence. fought, fault. follow, fallow. fur, fir. farm, form, fourm (to sit upon). Pharez, fairies. farmer, former. (a smal) flie (may) flee. fins, fiends.

G

gallants, gallons. garden, guardian. glaf (glasse), glof (glosse). gesture, jester. (a) jerkin, (never left) jerking (his horse).

H

Howel, howl, hole. whose, hose. homely, homilie. hallow, hollow. guef (guesse), ghests. whores, hoarse, horse. his, hif (hisse). hens, hence. holly, holy. Hepher, heifer.

I

James, jambs. ingenious, ingenuous. impassable, impossible. imply, imploy. it, yet. idol, idle. inough, inow. eyes, ice. Joice, joys.

K

know, gnaw. known, gnawn. knats, gnats.

L

lines, loyns. lowe, low. lower, (why do you) lowre. (the) lead (was) layd, (he) led. (the) leas (were added to his) lease. lies, lice. loth, loathe. leases, leassees.

M

Marie, marry, marrow, morrow. mines, mindes. mince, mints. mif (misse), mists. (to) mowe, (a) mough (of corn). maids, meads. mower, more. moles, moulds. myrrhe, mirth. (a) mouse, (barley) moughs. morning, mourning. (hawks-) mues, (a) muse. mistref (mistresse), mysteries.

N

neither, nether. nones, nonce. needles, needlef (needlesse). (his) neece (did) neese. never, neer.

O

once, ones. owner, honour. ought, oft. owne, one, on.

P

pare, peare. patens, paterns. patients, patience. pullen, pulling. passable, possible. pens, pence. pease, peace. plot, plat. principal, principle. (to) powre (out), (the) poore. prince, prints. Princes, princef (princesse). place, plaise. past, paste. presence, presents. price, prise. puls, pulse. prose, prowef (prowesse). pearce, peers. Pilate, pilot. plot, plat (of ground). parasite, paricide. poplar, popular. promises, premises. please, plays. poles, Pauls (steeple). playd, plead.

R

reed, reade. wrought, wrote, rote. rase, raise. rasour, raiser. rat, rot. real, ryal, royal. reverent, reverend. wroth, wrath, rathe.

S

(when they had filled their) sives (with onions and) cives. sithes, sighes. science, scions. signet, cygnet. cypref- (trees), cipers (hatbands), ciphers. sirra, surrey. sowe (seed), sow (and her pigs). sower, sowre (grapes). Sows, sowse. sores, sourse. sleaves, sleeves. seeth, seethe. say, sea. sex, sects. steed, stead. slowe, slough. spies, spice. saws, sause. sense, sents. seas, cease. seizing, ceasing. (why do you wear out your) shoos (to see the) shewes? society, satietie. sloes, sloughs. Sir John (sent for the) surgeon (chirurgion). Cicelie, Sicilie. Cilicia, Silesia. sheep, ship. sins, since.

T

tens, tense, tents, tenths. tongs, tongues. trough, trophie. tome, tombe. tost, toast. thy, thigh. trope, troop (troup). thou, though.

V

volley, valley, value. vale, vail. vacation, vocation. verges, verjuice. vitals, victuals.

W

wilde, wield. weary, wory (the sheep). whether, whither. wiles, wildes. (they took away the fishermens) weels (against their) wils. wines, windes. wick, week. (thou) wast, waste. wicked, wicket. wrest, wrist. (the man that was in the) wood (was almost) woode. wist, wisht.

Examples of some words, wherein one sound is exprest diverse ways in writing.

Sea-ted, con-*cei*-ted, *cea*-sing, *sei*-zing, *se*-rious, *Sce*-va, *ce*-dar, Manas-*seh*, Phari-*see*, Wool-*sey*, *sche*-dule.

See-ded, suc-*cee*-ded, *sie*-lings, over-*se*-ers, pur-*sey* or fat men, mer-*cie* (or mercy).

Si-nister, *sy*-nagogue, *Sci*-pio, *Scy*-thian, *Cy*-prian, *ci*-vil, *Ce*-cil, *Se*-vern, pur-*sui*-vant.

Si-lence, *ci*-ted, quick-*sigh*-ted, *sig*-ning, *sci*-ence, *sy*-ren, *Cy*-rene, sa-*ti*-ety.

These syllables aforegoing, may suffice, to give a taste, of al the others in this kinde.

touch is to bee pronounc't short like *tuch*.

Ra-chel, in the Old Testament, where the last syllable thereof is pronounc't like the last syllable in *sa-chel*.

ch in *architect* must not bee pronounc't like *k*: nor in any word beginning with *arch* . . . . *arch-angel* . . . is onely excepted.

win-der and *wil-der* where the first syllable in either of them must bee pronounc't long as in *wine* and *wile* . . . . some men cal the *winde*, the *wind* . . . . in the word *wil-der-nes*, it must be pronounc't like *wil*.

[*ea*] short, as in these words *head*, *read*, *stead*, *hea-dy*, *rea-dy*, *stea-dy* . . . . it is therefore . . . . . very meet to put an *e* in the end of some such words, as in *reade*, the present tense, to distinguish it from the short sound of *read*, the preter imperfect tense.

al words of more than one syllable ending in this sound *us* . . . are written with *ous*, but pronounc't like *us*, as in *glo-ri-ous*, etc.

it is our custom to pronounce *al*, like *au*, and to write it in stead thereof, as in *balk*, *walk*, *talk*, *stalk*, *chalk*, *malkin*, *calkin*, *calkers*, *falcons*; as also, in *almond*, *alms*, *halm*, *balm*, *palm*, *calm*, *shalm*, *psalm*, *malmsey*; and in like maner in these words, namely, in *calf*, *half*, *salve*, *salves*, *calve*, *calves*, *halve*, *halves*: as also in *scalp*, *scalps*.

the sound of *ee* before some letters is exprest by *ie* as in *field*, *shield*, *fiel'd*, *Priest*, *piece*, *grief*, *grieve*, *thief*, *thieve*, *chief*, *atchieve*, *brief*, *relieve*, *relief*, *siege*, *liege*, *Pierce*, *fierce*, *biere*, *lieutenant*, which is to be pronounc't like *lief-tenant*.

howsoever wee use to write thus, *leadeth* it, *maketh* it, *noteth* it, *raketh* it, perf*umeth* it, etc. Yet in our ordinary speech . . . wee say *leads* it, *notes* it, *rakes* it, perf*umes* it.

But I leave this, as also, many other things to the consideration of such as are judicious: hoping that they wil take in good part, whatsoever hath bin done, in the work aforegoing: that so, I may bee incouraged yer long, to publish a far greater, wherein such things as have bin heer omitted, shal bee spoken of at large. In the mean time (for a conclusion) I have thought it good, to give a taste thereof, in the syllables and words following; wherein are exprest the true sounds of al the vowels and dipthongs, which are proper to the English-tongue.

The true sounds of al the short and long vowels, are exprest in these examples.

ad	lad,	ade	lade		
ed	led,	ead	lead		
id	rid,	eed	reed,	ide	ride
od	lod,	aud	laud,	oad	load
ud	gud			ude	gude
ood	good	ood	food		

The true sounds of al the diphthongs, are exprest in these examples.

ai	day
eu	dew
oi	coy
oi	coi-ness
ou	cow

To the above miscellaneous remarks of Hodges, may be added the following quotation from Edward Coote's *English Schoolmaster*, 4to. 1673, the exact meaning of which it is difficult to discover, but which seems to imply some old scholastic tradition in the spelling out of words, recalling the village children's celebrated method of spelling *Habakkuk* as: (ən iitsh ə·nə AA, ə·nə bii ə·nə AA, ə nə kii ə·nə kii, ə·nə uu ə·nə kii.) Probably many similar traditions were still in existence in the "dames' schools" of a few years ago.

Rob. What if you cannot tell what vowel to spell your syllable with, how will you do to find it? as if you would write *from*, and know not whether you should write it with *a* or *o*.

Joh. I would try it with all the vowels thus, *fram*, *frem*, *frim*, *from*; now I have it.

Rob. But Good-man *Taylor* our Clerk when I went to school with him, taught me to sound these vowels otherwise than (methinks) you do.

Joh. How as that?

Rob. I remember he taught me these syllables thus: for *bad*, *bed*, *bid*, *bod*, *bud*, I learned to say, *bade*, *bid*, *bide*, *bode*, *bude*, sounding a *bed* to ly upon, as to *bid* or command, and *bid*, as *bide* long, as in *abide*; *bud* of a Tree, as *bude* long, like *rude*: for these three vowels, *a*, *i*, *u*, are very corruptly and ignorantly taught by many unskilful Teachers, which is the cause of so great ignorance of the true writing in those that want the Latin tongue.

Joh. You say true; for so did my Dame teach me to pronounce; for *sa*, *se*, *si*, *so*, *su*, to say, *sa*, *see*, *si*, *soo*, *sow*, as if she had sent me to see her *sow*: when as *se* should be sounded like the *sea*; and *su* as to *sue* one at Law.

[In a marginal note it is added:] Let the unskilful teachers take great heed of this fault, and let some good scholars hear their children pronounce these syllables.

II. *Owen Price's Table of the Difference between Words of Like Sound.*

A

Abel, *able*. *abét*, *ábbot*. *decidence*, *decident*, *incident*. *accóunt*, *accómpt*. *dcre*, *dchor* the first valley, the Israelites entred, in the land of Canaan, *dcorn*. *afféction*, *affectátion*. *all*, *awl*. *Ale*, *ail*. *dlley*, *ally*. *aim* to lèvel, *alms*. *alás* ough, wo is me, *a Lass*, *dlias*, *aloes*. *Alexander*, *alexanders*, or *alixander* a plant. *alóud*, *allówed*. *dltar*, *dlter*. *Ammon*, *Amnon*. *dmple*, *dmble*. *angel*, *dngle* to fish with hook, and line, *dncle*. *dnnual*, *dnnals*. *arrówse* to stir up, *drrowes* darts. *ascént*, *assént*, *consent*. *dss*, *ashes* any fuel burnt to dust, *ash* a tree, *ask* to enquire. *acts*, *ax*. *asp* a serpent that kills with its looks, *hasp* of door. *assémble*, *resémble*, *dissémble*. *ant*, *aunt*. *austére*, *óyster*. *awry*, *airy* windy empty. *drrant* meer, very, right, *érrand* búsiness that one goes about. *assáy* to try, prove, *éssay* a trial, attempt. *assistants*, *assistance*. *ascértain* to make sure, *a certain* sure. *attách* to apprehénd, arrést, *attáque* to face about, to charge with a ship. *attdint*, *attain*.

B

Bábble, *báble* a toy fit for children. *Bachelaur* of Arts, *báchelor* one unmarried. *bácon*, *béacon*. *badge*, *batch*, *bag*. *bail*, *bald*, *bawl*, *ball*. *bay* a colour, *bay* an harbour for ships. *baiz* thin cloth, *baies* a gárland, or leaves of bay tree. *bait* meant to allure or entice with, *make bate* that sets folks by the ears, *beat* to strike. *band* an armie, a tie, *bond* obligation, bill, imprisonment. *bane* poison, miserie, *banes* repórt made of mâtrimonie. *banner*, *pannier*. *Bárbara* a woman's name, *Bárbarie* a part of Africa, *bárberrie* a tree. *bark*, *bargue* a little ship. *battel* a fight, *battles* diet in a College. *báttlement*, *báttledore*. *bee*, *be* is, are. *béaver* castor, *béver* food eaten between dinner and supper. *been* wast, were, *binn* a hutch to keep bread in. *beer*, *bier*. *béllowes*, *béllies*. *bénefice*, *bénefit*. *berdy* defile, *bewrdy* discover, *betrdy*. *besécch*, *besiége*. *body*, *baúdy*. *boll* to wash in, *bouls* to play with, *bowls* to drink in. *boar*, *bore* to pierce, *bore* the long hole in the gun. *book* that we read in, *buck* a deer, *buck* of clothes to be washed.

boult to range meal with, *bolt* a great arrow, door bar. *bow* to shoot with, *bough*, *bow* to bend. *boys* little lads, *buoys* great logs of wood floating in the bay to guide in the ships. *burnt*, *brunt* an assâult, encounter. *bury*, *bérry*. *buy*, *by and by*. *biggin* a little coife, *begin*. *bóaster*, *bólster* a great pillow. *breach*, *bréeches*. *breed*, *bred* that is reared, *bread*. *brain*, *brawn* boar's flesh, *bran*.

C

Cábinet, *cábin*. *qualm* suddain fit, *calm* still, quiet. *Cales* or *Cadiz* a city in Spain, *Callis* a town in France, *chálice*. *caul* a dress for a womans head, *caul* of a beast, *call* to name, *cale* so the Scots call cábbage. *cánons* rules for men to walk by, *cánnon* a great gun, *canon* a Cathedral man. *capácious*, *capable*. *cápital*, *cápitol*. *carríage*, *carrets* or *carots*, *chário*t. *cárrier* one that carries, *caréir* a gallop with full speed. *cavalier* a horseman, *caviller* a wrángling, cáptious fellow. *centorie* a plant, *centurie* any 100 years of the ages of the churches. *sentinel* one that watcheth in a garrison, *kénnel*, *cánnel*, *chánnel*. *chattel* a mans personal estate, *cattel* tame beasts. *case*, *cause*. *censor* a reformer of manners, *censer* a perfuming pan. *chafe*, *chaff*. *chance*, *change*. *chapters* as those in the Bible, *chapiters* the heads of the pillars of the vail Exod: 36, 38. *chare* or chore, a small houshold business, *chear* to make merry, *cheer* countenance, or good victuals, *chair* a seat to sit on. *chap* a narrow chink, *cheap*. *chámpion*, *cámpaign* large, even fields. *check*, *chick*, *cheek* one side of the face. *chest*, *chess*, *cheese*. *child*, *chill*. *cidar* drink made of apples, *cedar*. *clamour*, *clamber*. *cittern* instrument of musick, *citron* a fruit. *cloy*, *claw*, *claws*, *close*. *clasp*, *claps* he clappeth. *coat*, *quote*, *cote* a little plat of inclosed ground, *cottage*. *choler*, *collar*, *scholar*, *collier*, *colour*. *could*, *cold*, *cool'd*. *gallop*, *collop* a rasher of bacon. *comb* to kemb ones head with, *honey-comb*, *come*. *cómment*, *comet* a blazing star. *cómma*, *common* publick, *commune* to talk, converse together, *common* a ground not enclosed, *commons* a scholars allowance in meat, *cumin* an herb, *cuminseed* the seed thereof. *complice* a partáker, *accómplish*, *confits or confects* dried sweet meats, *comfort*. *considerate*, *considerable*. *carol* a song, *coral* a red shrub that children rub their gums with. *crowner or córoner* that makes inquest after a murther, *corner* a by private place. *cólonel* a commánder of a thousand, *cólonie* a plantation. *consumption*, *consummation*. *counsel* advíce, s-e-l, *council* the Kings council, or a synod of learned men, c-i-l. *course* rough, *corse* dead body, *course* to go a hunting, *curse* to wish evil to one. *cousin*, *cózen*. *currant* that will pass, as good money, *current* a stream, *corants* small raisins. *crasie* infirm, sickly, *crased* crackt, distracted. *crócodile* monster in the river Nilus, *cóckatrice* serpent that kills with its very smell. *cox* a mans name, *cocks* do crow.

D

Defection, *defect*. *defér*, *differ*. *diamond*, *diadem*. *diary*, *dairy*. *damn* to condemn, *dam up* to stop, keep out the light, *dam* a stopping of the water before a mill, *damp* a noysom vapour out of the earth, *dame* a mistress, or any beast that brings forth young. *damsin* a little black plum, *dámosel* a brave young virgin. *decéased*, *discáse*, *decéss* depárture. *deer*, *dear*. *déitie*, *ditty*. *délicate*, *délegate*. *deméan* to behave, *demáin* the means of a Lord, or a Cathedral, *demánd*. *demúre*, *demúr*. *désart* wilderness, *desért* to forsake, *desért* merit. *descént*, *dissént*, *décent*. *desírous*, *desirable*. *discómfort*, *discómfit*. *disgést* to concóct victuals, *digest* to set in order. *dew* small drops from the skie, *due* a debt, *adieu*. *dint* or *dent*, *din*, *dine* to eat about noon. *dissolute*, *désolate*. *doe*, *do*, *dough*, *daw*. *doth* as he doth give, *doeth* he maketh. *drain*, *drawn*. *dray* a sled, *draw*. *Don* Sir, master in Spanish, *done*, *dun*. *doest* thou dost make, *dost* a sign of the second person, as thou sayest or dost say, *dust* powder.

E

Ear, wherewith one hears, *ear* to till ground, or to plough, *ears* of corn, *ere* before, *year* 12 months. *early*, *yearly*. *earn*, *yern* to be moved to compassion, *yarn*. *earth*, *hearth*. *east* where the sun riseth, *yest* barm, *ease*. *egg* to provoke, to set on, *egg* which the hen layeth, *edge*, *hedge*. *eldern* a tree, *elder* more old. *Eliézer*, *Eleázar*. *Embassador*, *embassage*. *emerauld*, *emeroids*, piles. *eminent*, *imminent*. *enedgement*, *engagement*. *epha*, *ephod*. *epoch*, *epod* a sort of verses. *Esther*, *Hester* a

Saxon Idol, *Easter*, *yesterday*. *expériment*, *expérience*. *eyes* the windows of the head, *ice*.

F

Fair, *fare*, *far*, *fear*. *fáshion* mode, manner of apparel, *fashions* or *farsy*, running botches upon horses. *fain*, *feign*. *fávourer*, *fávourite*. *félon* a thief, *fellon* a swelling sore on the finger. *fiends*, *fins*. *findes* he findeth, *fine*. *fillip*, *Philip*. *flee* to shun, avoid, *flea* to pull off the skin, *flie* a small creature that doth fly. *flea* a small skipping creature, *fleece* the wooll of one sheep. *fleet* navy, *fleet* swift, *flit* to waver, *flitch*, *flix* or *flux* bloody issue. *floor*, *flowr* fine meal, *flower* of a plant. *foal*, *fool*, *foil*, *foil'd*, *fold*. *foul*, *fowl*. *foord* a shallow passage in a river, *afford*. *fore*, *four*. *forth*, *fourth*. *friese* shag'd cloth, *freese* to congeal. *Friery* where Friers live, *fiery*, *ferry*. *froise* a small pan-cake, *phrase*. *furse* fine, hairy skins, *furz* prickly shrubs. *fundament*, *foundátion*.

G

Gantlet a souldier's buf, or iron glove, *Gantlop* two ranks of souldiers that scourge a malefactor that is condemned to run between, with his back stript. *gard* or great hem of a garment, *guard* a company of men that defend or secure ones person. *guardian* a tutor, or one intrusted with a fatherless child, *gárden* an inclosed piece of ground. *géntiles* heathens, *géntil* a magot, *géntle* mild, generous, tractable, *gentéel* curious in apparel or carriage. *gésture*, *jester*. *gist* where the King lodges in his journey, or progress, *jest*. *glútinous*, *glúttonous*. *glister*, *glyster* or *clyster*, *cluster*. *God*, *goad*. *grass*, *graze* to eat grass, *grace*. *gray* a colour, *grey* a badger, an earth hog. *Greece* a countrey, *greese* a small ascent, steps on the floor, *ambergreise* a perfume, *grist* corn brought to be grinded *grin* to wry the mouth, *grind* to bruise small, as we do corn. *groan*, *grown*. *guess*, *guest*. *gun*, *gone*.

H

Hail God save you, *hail stones*, *hale* to lug, to draw. *hair*, *heir*, *hare*. *air*, *are* they be. *hy* to make hast, *hay*, *high*, *highth* loftiness, highness. *heart*, *hart*. *hartsthorn* a long leaved plant. *hartshorn* which the hart bears. *here*, *hear*. *heard* I did hear, *hard* solid, stiff, *herd* a drove of small cattel. *hearing* giving ear to, *herring* a seafish. *heron* a man's name, *hern* a crane. *heathens*, *heavens*. *herse*, *hoarse*, *horse*. *hallow*, *hollow*, *hollo* to bawl. *holly*, *holy*. *hole*, *whole*. *home*, *whom*. *hore* a frizzling frost, *whore*. *hew* to cut, to fell trees, *hue* visage, physionomie, *hu* and cry, *hugh* a mans name.

I

Jambs, *James*. *idol*, *idle*. *jewes*, *Jewish*, *juice*. *imply*, *employ*. *impostor* a great cheater, *impositor* one that takes the names of such as are absent, or tardy. *incite*, *insight*. *inconsiderate*, *inconsiderable*. *inn*, *in*. *Joab*, *Job*. *Joice* a womans name, *rejoice*, *joist* a little beam in building. *itch*, *hitch*. *its* his, *it's* it is, *'tis* it is. *judge*, *jugs*. *judicious*, *judicial*.

K

Keen, *ken*, *kin*, *kindred*. *kill*, *chyle*. *keel*, *kiln*. *knead*, *need*.

L

Ladder, *leather*. *lamb*, *lame*. *launce*, to cut off dead, rotten flesh, *lanch* to put out a ship from harbour. *last* that they make shoes upon, *last* after all the rest, farthest, *last* to endure, hold out. *latton* tin, *Latine* Roman language. *leaden*, *Leyden*. *league*, *leg*, *liégeman*. *leaper*, *leper*, *leopard*. *lease* (with a soft, s) to pick up shottered corn. *lease* (with a hard, s) an indenture, writings, *least* smallest, *less* smaller, *lest* a note of forbidding as lest I chastise you. *leaman* concubine, whore, *lemon* a kind of an apple. *legion*, *legends*. *liturgie*, *lethargie*. *lessen*, *listen*. *lies* false tales, *lice* small, biting worms. *limber* weak, *limner* one that draws pictures. *limn*, *limb*. *line* whereby we work, or write straight, *loin* flank, hanch. *Lions* a town in France, *lion* a fierce beast, *liorn* a great cross beam. *letter*, *litter*, *licter* a sedán carried between two horses. *lose* to let go, to let slip unknown, *loose* (with a soft, s) to undo, to slack, *loose* (with a hard, s) debaucht, lewd. *lost*, *loss*.

M

Main might, chiefest, *main-* prize, suretiship, bail, *mane* of a horse. *mare* that breedes colts, *maior* the chief ruler

of a citie, *major* a commander by one degree higher then a Captain. *more*, *moor* a marsh, *moor* a man's name. *mansion* a chief house of abode, *manchet* a little white loaf. *mánner* fashion, *mánners* good carriage, *mannour* a great farm by heritage, *manúre* to dung the ground. *map*, *mop*. *march* the first moneth, *march* to go as souldiers go together, *Mars*, *marsh* a moor. *márred*, *márried*. *martin*, *martyr*. *mercer*, *merchant*. *mace*, *mass*. *mast* the biggest pole in the ship, *maste* acorn. *meat* food, *mete* to méasure, *meet* fit, convenient. *méssage*, *méssuage*. *meteor*, *metre*. *might*, *mite*. *mind*, *mine*. *mince*, *mint*. *minister*, *minster*, *minstrel*. *moat* a deep pond about a house, *mote* the least dust. *morter* made of lime and sands, *mortar* that we pound any spice in. *mo* more, *mow* rick of corn, *mowe* to cut down hay, or corn. *móuntibank*, *Móuntague*.

N

Naught bad, naughty, *nought* nothing. *Nazarene*, *Nazarite*. *neather* lower, *neathermost* lowest, *neither* none of them. *nesh* tender, effeminate, *neece* ones sister's, or brother's daughter, *nice* curious, delicate. *nay*, *neigh*, *nigh*. *nouce* of purpose, *nones* the first part of the moneth in the Roman accompt. *news*, *nose*, *noise*. *notorious*, *notable*.

O

Oar to row with. *ore* metal not refined, *o're* for over. *odour* sweet smell, *udder* the pap of a cow. *off* with a double, f, after a word of action, as to cut off, to draw off, *of* before the word it belongs to, with one, f, as the fear of God. *one* the first in number, *own*. *once*, *one's*. *our*, *Hour*. *Ho*, *o* or *ough* a note of exclaiming or bemoaning, *owe*.

P

Palate, *palliate*, *pallet* a little low bed to be roled up. *paws*, *pause*. *pails*, *pales* kind of stakes. *pale* a compass, *appale* to discourage. *panes*, *pains*. *pattern* coppie, *patent*, *pattens* wooden soals. *patient*, *patience*. *pease* a grain of corn, *poises* weights, to a clock, or jack, *peace*, *peach*, *piece* part. *peer*, *pear*. *pare*, *pair*, *repair*. *person* the word man used with some reverence, *parson* a kind of minister. *pebble*, *people*. *pens*, *pence*. *Pilate*, *pilot*, *pirate*. *pistol*, *pestil* wherewith we pound in a mortar, *epistle*. *pittious* an object of pittie, *pittiful* one given to pittie. *place*, *plaice* a little broad fish. *plad* a course cloak, such as the Hilanders wear, *plat* a small parcel of ground, *plait* to set the hair in order, *plot* a cúnning design. *play* a game, a comedie, *plea* a defence, excúse. *Common pleas*, *please*. *plush*, *over-plus*, *non-plus*. *pottle*, *bottle*. *précedent* a pattern to authorize any action, *precédent* foregoing, *President* a head of a College, or chief Ruler. *price*, *Pryce*. *prize*, *praise*. *principal*, *principle*. *private*, *privets* small trees. *privie to*, *privies*. *pórtend*. *preténd*. *poor* one in want, *pore* to fix ones eyes, and mind upon any thing. *powr* to shed, to throw down, *power* might. *pray*, *prey*, *pry*. *púppies*, *puppets*.

Q

Quárrel strife bickering, *quárel* of glass. *quarrie*, *querie*. *quench*, *quince*. *queen*, *quean*.

R

Rack, *wrack* ruine. *rays*, *raise*. *rise* (with a soft, s) when one lifts up ones self, *rise* (with a hard, s) the original, *rise* a sort of corn. *rase*, *race*. *reach* to fetch a thing to one, *retch* to stretch, *rich*, *wretch*. *refuge*, *réfuse* off-scouring. *relict*, *reliques*. *revéal*, *rével*. *revile*, *rival*, *rivel*. *rain*, *reign*. *reins* of the back, *reins* of a bridle. *raiser*, one that stirreth, *rasour* that we shave with. *read* I have read, *red*. *real*, *royal*. *réverent*, *réverend*. *right*, *rite*, *write*. *roe*, *row* as slaves do in a boat, *row* or *rew* of trees, *raw*. *Rómans*, *romdnce*. *Rome* the chiefest City in Italy, *rome* to rage, and tear all before one, *room* a space, a chamber. *rough* ruggid, course, boisterous, *ruff* plaited together, as a ruff band, *rough-cast*. *rule*, *rowel*.

S

Sale, *sayl*. *salve*, *save*. *same*, *Psalm*. *Saviour*, *savour*. *Satan*, *satten* smooth, silken stuff. *scarce*, *scars*. *scent*, *sent*. *school*, *scull*. *scholars*, *scullers* little boats. *see*, *sea* an ocean, *sea* the Pope's jurisdiction, as the sea of Rome. *seal* as to seal a letter, or writing, *siel* to plaister the roof of a room. *seasin* possession, *season* opportúnitie. *seet*, *set*. *sects*, *sex*. *seargeant* one that arresteth men, *súrgeon* chirúrgeon, that heales wounds, *Sir John* a Knight's name. *share*, *shear*, *sheer*, *shire*. *shave*, *sheave* as of corn, *sheathe*, *shive*

a slice of bread, *cieve* that we winnow corn with. *sheep, ship. shell, shield. shew* a brave sight, *shew* to manifest, *shoe. Shiloh, Siloe, Siloah. shoot, shout. shovel, shole* as a shole of fishes. *shut, soot. sink, cinque* five. *cinque-ports* haven towns. *sin, sing, sign. sited, sighted, cited* quoted. *sith* seeing that, *sithe* that we mow hay with, *seethe* to boyle. *sledge* the smith's great iron hammer, *slead* a dray that drag things in. *sloe, slow. smutch* to be-smear, as with soot, *much* a great deal, *mich* to play the trewant. *so, sew. soar* to flie high like a kite, *sore* a young deer, *sore* painful, tender, galled flesh. *some, summ* as summ total. *s-o-n* the father's son, *s-u-n* the shining sun. *Spaniard, spaniel* a shag'd dog. *sphear spear. spies, spice. spit, spittle* that we spit out, or an Almes house. *stable, staple* as staple commoditie, *staple* of the door, *staple* the length of the wool. *stars, stares* black birds that do mischief the pigeons, *stairs. stature, statute, statue. stead, bedstead, steed* a stately horse. *steel* that men edge tools with, *stile* a form, or facultie in writing. *steer* a bullock, *steer* to guide a ship. *stood* did stand, *stud* a small post in a tear wall. *storie, historie. straight* even, quickly, *streight* a distress, perplexitie. *succour, sucker. suit* to agree with, *suit* in law, or of clothes, *sewet* the fat of beef, or mutton. *swound* to faint, *sound* entire, without flaws.

T

Tales, tails. talons, tallies, talent. taber a small drum, or timbrel, *taper* a stately wax candle. *tar, tares, tears* drops from the eyes, *tear* as to tear cloth, *break, cut. teach, learn. theams* subjects that we descant upon, *teams* of horses. *thither, there, their. thorow* as to break thorow all, *through* by means of, *throw* to cast. *thrush, thrust. thyme* or *tyme*, a sweet plant, *time. tattle, title, tittle* a point. *to* a sign of a verb, *t-o-e* the foot's toe, *too*, as too much, *too* also, *two, tow. tomb, tome. tongues* languages, *tongs* a pair of tongs. *torn* that torners do make, *torn* rent, *turn* to move round. *track* the picture of ones footsteps, *track* to follow one, step, by step, *tract* a handling of this, or that point. *treaty* a parley concerning peace, *treatment, treatise, treatie* conference concerning peace. *truce, truths. truss, trust. turbant* the Turk's great linnen Cap, *turbot* a byrt, a great sea fish.

V

Vacation, vocation. v-a-i-n empty foolish, *v-e-i-n* in the body. *vail* or covering, *vale* to put off, to submit, as to vale bonet, *vale* or valley. *vetch* a sort of corn, *fetch* to bring. *volley. vial* a great cup, *viol* an instrument of musick. *visage* feature in a face, *vizard* a false kind of face, to cover ones face. *vital, victuals. umbles* the inwards of a Deer, *humble. umpire, empire. us, Uz* Job's countrey.

W

Wait, weight, waits, the citie musicians, *waites* waiteth. *Wales* the true Brittain's countrey, *wales* great thrids in hair stuffs, *walls, bewail. walk, awake, wakes* a parish festival time, *walks. wand, wan, wain. wardship, worship. way, weigh. wear, were, wears*, dams where they catch fish. *wicked, wicket. wilie* cunning, *unweldie* awkward, *wild* untame, *weild* to turn a sword about. *win, wind* that blowes, *wine. wipe* to rub off dirt, *weep* to shed tears. *witch* one that by a compact with the Devil doth bewitch, *witch* a trap to catch vermin, *which* that, who. *wo* alas, *woe* to be a suitor to a mistress. *woad* dying stuff, *wood* fewel, timber. *wrap, rap. writ, write, wheelwright. wrote, wrought, rote. wrench, rinse* to wash slightly.

Y

yea, I. yet, It, wit, yest a tree in the church yard. *ewe, you. yolk* of eggs, *yoke* that oxen draw under, *oak. yore* in old time, *ewr* a small neck'd pewter pot.

III. *Cooper's Lists of Words Like and Unlike and Introductory Remarks.*

De Variis Scripturis.

1. Quædam scribuntur vel cum *c* vel *s*; ut *dace* apua, *ice* glacies, *farce* farcio, *race* stadium, *rice* oryza, *sauce* condimentum, *cesser* censor, *scarse* vix, *scissors* *cisers* forfex, *cellar* cella, *sinders* scoria ferri, *sives* porrum sectile, *civet* zibethum, *sluse* emissarium, *sourse* fons, *syder* melites, *nourse* nutrio, *pencil* penicillus, *chace* lucus, fugo, etc.

2. Cum unicâ literâ finali, vel istâ duplicatâ, ut *fir*, *firr*, *firre*, abies; Sic *er* erro, *son* filius, *sum* summa, *star* stella, *trespass* transgressio, *war* bellum.

3. Cum *dg* vel *ege* aut *age*; ut *allege* allego, *college* collegium, *privilege* privilegium; vel *alledg* etc. *cabbidg* brasca, *saucidg* tomaculum; vel *cabbage*, *sausage*.

4. Cum *im in* vel *em en*; ut *empoverish* depaupero, *endure* sustento; vel *impoverish*, *indure*, etc.

5. Cum *ea* vel *ee*, *ea* vel *e* ut in capite 8, reg. 1 [quoted suprà p. 82], cum *ai* vel *ei* cap. 7, reg. 1 [quoted suprà p. 126], cum *au* vel *a*; ut *chance* casus, *gard* stipo, *mall* malleus; *prance* superbè salio; vel *chaunce*, etc.

6. Cum unicâ literâ vel ipsâ duplicatâ; ut *herring* halec; at *later* tardiùs, *latter* posterior distingui debent. Latini derivativa ut plurimùm primitivorum in scriptione sequuntur formam, quamvis simplex latinè auditur sonus consonæ, et anglicè duplicatur; ut *abolish* aboleo, *canel* canalis, *amity* amicitia, *minister* minister, *mariner* à mare navigator, et *liturgy* liturgia.

Si varia hominum scripta præsertim privata consulamus, tantam libertatem, tantam varietatem, tantam incongruentiam et imperitiam videamus; quod satis hujusmodi suscepti tum necessitatem tum utilitatem demonstrare possit: In quo analogia et optimè scribendi regulæ exhibeantur. Legitur

apricock abricot malum armenium
balet balad canticum
bankrupt bankrout decoctor
butcher boucher lanio
butler boiteler promus
budget bouget bulga
charet chariot currus
clot clod gleba
cumber comber impedio
curd crud coagulum
faign feign fingo
fraight frait velatura
hartechoak artichoak cynara
imposthume apostem apostema
licorice liquorish glycyrrhiza
plaight pleit plico
slabber slaver conspergo
squinsy squinancy angina
vat fat labrum
yelk yolk vitellus

Cum plurimis aliis; in quibus omnibus *relegare* literas supervacaneas, atque eas, quæ veram pronunciationem proximè attingunt, *seligere* debemus; nisi quædam alia *privata ratio* aliter *suadet*; ut in sequentibus observationibus.

I.

Voces quæ *eandem* habent *pronunciationem*, sed diversam *significationem* et scribendi *modum*.

A

All omnes, *awl* subula.
altar altare, *alter* muto
are sunt, *air* aer, *heir*, hæres, *ere long* statim
ant formica, *aunt* amita
ascent ascensus, *assent* assensus
assault invado, *a salt bit* bolus salitus

B

baies lauri, *baiz* pannus villosus
ball pila, *baul* vocifero
bare nudus, *bear* fero.
be sum, *bee* apes
berry bacca, *bury* sepelio
bil'd rostratus, *build* ædifico
bitter amarus, *bittour* butio
bows torquet, *boughs* rami, *bowze* perpoto
bread panis, *bred* nutritus
browz frondo, *brows* palpebræ
borne portatus, *bourn* rivulus
buy emo, *by* per

C

calender lævitas præsertim panni, *Calendar* calendarium
call voco, *caul* omentum
censer thuribulum, *censor* censor, *censure* judico
centory herba centaria, *century* centuria sive spatium centum annorum
chair cathedra, *chare* negotiolum
chas'd fugatus, *chast* castus
chews masticat, *chuse* eligo
clause clausula, *claws* unguis
coat tunica, *quote* cito
cozen illudo, *cousin* germanus
chord chorda subtensa, *cord* funis
collar capistrum, *choller* bilis
comming veniens, *cummin* cuminum
cool'd refrigeratus, *could* possem
coughing tussiens, *coffin* sandapila
coarse levidensis, *course* cursus
counsel consilium, *council* curia
colors colores, *cullers* ovis rejicula
car'd curabam, *card* pectino.

D

dam mater, *damn* condemno
dear carus, *deer* fera
dissension dissensio [no second word given]

doe dama, *do* ago, *dow* massa farinaria
don factus, *dun* fuscus
dew ros, *due* debètus

E

emrald smaragdus, *emrods* hæmorrhoides

F

flea pulex, *flay* vel *flea* excorio
fleam phlebotomum, *phlegm* vel *fleam* phlegma
forth ex, *fourth* quartus
fair pulcher, *fare* ligurio
fir abies, *fur* pellis, *far* longè, *furz* genista spinosa
fit aptus, *fight* pugnabat

G

gest gesta, *jest* jocus,
jester jocator, *gesture* gestus
go'st vadis, *ghost* spiritus
grone gemo, *grown* accritus

H

hair crinis, *hare* lepus
hake screo, *hawk* accipiter
hart cervus, *heart* cor
hard durus, *heard* auditus, *herd* grex
hear audio, *here* hic
holy sanctus, *wholy* totaliter
hew scindo, *hue* color
hy festino, *high* altus
higher altior, *hire* stipendium
hollo vocifero, *hollow* concavus

I

ire ira, *eyer* observator
insight prospectus, *incite* incito
i'le volo, *Isle* insula, *oil* oleum
in in, *inn* diversorium
jerkin tunica, *jirking* flagellans

L

lamb agnus, *lamm* verbero
lead plumbum, *led* ductus
lease charta redemptionis, *leash* ternio canum
leaper saltator, *leper* leprosus
lessen diminuo, *lesson* lectio
least minimus, *lest that* ne; (sed potius vice versâ *least* ne)
leman pellex, *lemon* malum hesperium
limb membrum, *limn* miniculor
lo en, *low* humilis
line linea, *loin* lumbus
lustre splendor, *luster* lustrum

M

manner mos, *manour* prædium
male mas, *mail* lorica
meat cibus, *mete* metior
message nuncium, *messuage* villa
mouse (*mouze*) mures capto, *mows* fænilia
muse meditor, *mues* accipitrem in ergastulum compingit, *sea mews* fulicæ, *mufe* cum *f* foramen per sepimentum

N

nether inferior, *neither* nec
naught malus, *nought* nihil
a notion notio, *an ocean* oceanus

O

O interjectio vocandi, *oh* doloris vel vehementiæ, *ow* debeo
oar remus, *oar ore* balluca, *o're* super
our noster, *hour* hora
own agnosco, *one* unus
order ordo, *ordure* stercus

P

pair par, *pare* rescindo, *pear* pyrus
pause pauso, *paws* ungues
pastor, *pasture* pascuum
pleas causa, *please* placeo
pickt her eam elegit, *picture* pictura
prophet propheta, *profit* commodum
pray precor, *prey* præda
plum prunum, *plumb* perpendicularis
pour fundo, *power* potestas

R

rain pluvia, *reign* regno, *reins* renes
raise suscito, *raies* radii
ranker olidior, *rancour* odium
race stadium, *rase* expungo
rare rarus, *rear* attollo
read lectus, *red* ruber
read lego, *reed* arundo
raisin uva passa, *reason* ratio
right rectus, *rite* ceremonia, *write* scribo, *cart-wright* carpentarius
ry secale, *wry* obliquus
roe capreolus, *row* series
rote memoriter, *wrote* scripsi
ruff sinus, *rough* asper

S

say loquor, *sey* pannus rasus
saver parsimonicus, *savor* sapor
seas maria, *seize* apprehendo
sell vendo, *cell* cellula
seller venditor, *cellar* cella
sight visus, *site* situs, *cite* cito
sise senio, *size* glutino
season tempestas, *seisin* possessio
seat sedes, *deceit* fraus
share pars, *shear* tondeo
shoo calceus, *shew* demonstro

slo prunum sylvestre, *slow* tardus
stairs gradus, *stares* aspectat
so sic, *sow* suo
soar subvolo, *sore* ulcus
sought quæsitus, *saw't* id vidi
spider aranea, *spi'd her* observabam ipsam
sucker antha, *succour* suppetior
some body aliquis, *sum* summa
sun sol, *son* filius
sure certus, *suer* candidatus, *sewer* prægustator
sweep verro, *swipe* tolonus

T

tacks clavi, affigit, *tach* uncina, *tax* tributum
tenor, *tenure* tenura
their suus, *there* ibi
time tempus, *thyme* thymus
tide fluxus et refluxus maris, *ti'd* ligatus
to ad, *tow* stupa
toes digitus pedis, *toze* gradatim solvo
tower turris, *towre* subvolo
tract tractatus, *track't* per vestigia secutus
throne solium, *thrown* jactus
tire lasso, *ty her* ligato illam

V

vein vena, *vain* inanis
vial phiala, *viol* pandura

W

ware merces, *wear* tero, *were* essent
weigh libro, *way* via
weight pondus, *wait* expecto, *waits* spondiaules
woo proco, *woe* calamitas
whoop ehodum, *hoop* vieo
vse usus, *use* utor, *ewe* oves fœmineæ
ewer aqualis, *ure* assuetudo
yea ita, *ye* vos

Sequentes item *distinguantur*, quas autem *omnes* non distinguunt.

bruit fama, *brute* brutum
desert meritum, *desart* eremus
down lanugo, *down* deorsum
foul sordidus, *fowl* volucris
friese pannus villosus, *frees* congelo, semper *frees* liberat
moat fossa, *mote* atomos
savoury satureia, *savoury* sapidus vel odoratus

II.

Voces quæ *diversum* habent *sonum* et *sensum* sed *eandem* plerumque *scripturam;* quæ tamen melius *hoc modo* semper distinguantur

acorn glans, *a corn* granum
attack obsideo, *attach* prehendo
bore ferebam, *boar* aper
born parturitus, *borne* latus
bow torqueo, *bowe* arcus
boul globus, *bowl* patera
convert converto, *convert* proselytes
form forma, *foorm* classis
guest hospes, *gest* gesta, *jest* jocus
get adipiscor, *jet* gagates
gives dat, *gives* compedes
lead plumbum, *leade* duco
light residi, *light* lux
live vivo, *alive* vivus; *lived* vixi, *long-lived* longævus; *lives* vivit, *lives* vitæ
mow acervus, *mowe* meto
past præteritus, *paste* pastillus
rebèl rebello, *rèbbel* rebellator
Rome Roma, *roam* vago
sow sus, *sowe* suo
sing cano, *singe* amburo
tear lacryma, *teare* lacero
tost agitatus, *toste* panis tostus
wast eras, *waste* consumo
wild efferatus, *wil'd* volui
jill triental, *gils* branchiæ

Exemplorum sequentium *priora* sonum habent *f*, *posteriora*, quæ scribuntur cum *s* finali, sonum *z*.

Vfe usus, *use* utor: *abufe* abusus, *abuse* abutor
clofe clausus, *close* claudo
crufe pocillum, *cruse* prædor
diverfe diversi, *divers* urinatores
dofe dosis, *dose* dormito
elfe præterea, *ells* ulnæ
excufe apologia, *excuse* excuso
falfe falsus, *falls* cadit
hifs sibilo, *his* suus
loofe remissus, *loose* solvo
premifes præmissæ, *præmise* præmitto
refufe quisquiliæ, *refuse* abnuo
houfe domus, *house* stabulo
moufe mus, *mouse* mures capto
loufe pediculus, *louse* pediculos capto
brafs æs, *braze* subæro
glafs vitreum, *glaze* invitreo
grafs gramen, *graze* pasco

III.

Propria nomina cum *communibus*, quæ eundem vel *affinem* habent *sonum*.

Achor, *acre* juger
Bede, *bead* corona, *bede tree* azedarach
Barbara *barberry* oxyacantha
Brux, *brooks* rivuli
Cain, *cane* canna

Diep, *deep* profundus
Francis mas, *Frances* fœmina
Joice, *joies* gaudia
Eaton, *eaten* pastus
James, *Jambs* parastades
Marshal, *Martial* Martialis
Martin, *Marten* cypselus
Mede, *mead* hydromelum
More, *moor* maurus, palus, *more* plus
Maurice vel *Morrice*, *morris dance* chironomica saltatio
Nash, *gnash* strido
Noahs, *nose* nasus
Ny, *nigh* propè
Paul, *pall* palla, *palid* mucidus
Pilate, *pilot* nauclerus
Rhode, *road* via publica, *rode* equitavi
Rome Roma, *room* spatium
Styx flumen infernale, *sticks* bacilli
Thamar, *tamer* mansuetior
Walter, *water* aqua

IV.

Voces quæ *affinem* habent *sonum* sed *diversum* sensum et *scripturam*.

A

alone solus, *a loan* vel *lone* mutuatum
advice consilium, *advise* consulo
device inventum, *devise* comminiscor
adieu vale, *adoo* conatus
àlley ambulacrum, *ally* affinis
arose resurrexit, *arrows* sagittæ

B

baren sterilis, *baron* baro
begin incipio, *biggin* capital
batle pinguesco, *battel* prælium
beholding aspiciens, *beholden* obligatus
bor'd terebratus, *board* tabula
bos't gibbus, *boast* glorior
bile ulcus, *boil* coquo
bawble nugæ, *bable* garrio

C

candid candidus, *candyed* conditus saccharo
causeys viæ stratæ, *causes* causæ
carrion cadaver, *carrying* portans
champion pugil, *champain* campus
cittern cithara, *citron* citreum
collegue socius, *colledg* collegium
colors, *colures* coluri
copies exemplar, *coppis* nemus
curants uvæ corinthiacæ, *currents* amnes
crown corona, *coroner*, *crowner* quæstor
craven pusillanimus, *craving* rogatus

D

Dauphin primogenitus regis Galliæ, *dolphin* delphinus
decent decens, *descent* descensus
doer actor, *door* ostium

E

exercise exerceo, *exorcise* conjuro

F

fellows socii, *fellies* apsides
file limo, *foil* sterno
fence sepimentum, *fenns* paludes
find invenio, *fiend* dæmon
flax linum, *flakes* flocculi
floor pavimentum, *flower* flos, *flour* pollen
fold plico, *foal'd* peperit equa
froiz vel *phrase* fricta, *phrase* phrasis

G

glister mico, *glyster* vel *clyster*
garner granarium, *gardian* gardianus, *gardener* hortulanus

H

hence hinc, *hens* gallinæ
home domus, *whom* quem
hollow cavus, *hallow* sanctifico
hose caliga, *whose* cujus

I

idol idolum, *idle* ignavus
employ impendo, *imply* intimo
ingenious ingeniosus, *ingenuous* ingenuus
inure assuesco, *in your* in vestrâ
juice succus, *joice* transtrum

L

lain positus, *lane* viculus
latin latinitas, *lattin* orichalcum
lettice lactuca, *lattice* transenna
leasour locator, *lesser* minor
laud laudo, *out-law'd* proscriptus
leaf folium, *leave* libertas

M

may'st possis, *mast* malus
medal sigillum fusile, *medle* tracto
mines fodinæ, *minds* mentes
mole talpa, *mold* humus
moan gemo, *mown* messus
mower messor, *more* plus
melon melo, *million* 1000000 sive *centum myriades*
mote atomos, *moth* tinea
mile miliaria, *moil* laboro

N

neigh hinnio, *nay* non

P

pallat pallatum, *pallet* grabatus
parasite parasitus, *parricide* homicidium
parson pastor, *person* persona
patent literæ patentes, *patine* patina, *pattens* subcalceus
peece frustum, *peace* pax, *peas* pisa
place locus, *plaice* passer marinus
poplar populus, *popular* popularis
potion potio, *portion* dos
president exemplum, *precedent* precedens
princes principes, *princess* princeps
principal principalis, *principle* principium
price pretium, *prize* præda
prowess virtus, *prose* prosa
pulls vellit, *pulse* pulsus

Q

quean scrapta, *queen* regina

R

race progenies, *raze* oblitero
rice oryza, *rise* orior, *rife* origo
wrote scripsi, *wrought* operatus
raifer suscitator, *rafor* novacula
royal regalis, *rial* nobilis rosatus
rough asper, *roof* palatum tectum

S

saphire saphirus, *safer* tutior
seam sutura, *scheme* schema
cease cesso, *cess* taxo
ceased cessatus, *seized* apprehensus
serious serius, *serous* serosus
shire comitatus, *shear* tondeo, *share* partio
sighs suspiria, *sithes* falces messoriæ
sows sucs, *souse* omasum
sex sexus, *sects* divisiones
sorel trimus, *sorrel* acetosa
spies emissarii, *spice* aromata
saws serræ, *sauce* condimentum
soled solea affixa, *sold* venditus
sound sanus, *swoon* lypothimia
sore ulcus, *sower* sator, *sour* acidus, *swore* juravi
seal sigillum, *seel* camero
steak offula, *stake* depignero
symbol -um, *cymbal* -um
stricter severior, *stricture* ligamentum

T

tongs forceps, *tongues* linguæ
treatise tractatus, *treaties* pacta
throw't projice istud, *throat* jugulum

V

vale vallis, *vail* velum
value valor, *volley* bombardarum simul explosio
vane triton, *vain* vanus
vitals vitalia, *victuals* victus

W

wer't esses, *wart* verruca
wile stratagema, *wild* indomitus
whey serum, *way* via

Y

your vester, *euer* aqualis
yield præbeo, *guild gild* societas inauro.

Quædam ex his aliter scribuntur, nec in omnibus *semper* observatur *eadem distinctio;* scribitur enim *gesses* pitacia pro *jesses;* et *gesses* cum *g* dura vel *guesses* conjecturam facit; *get jet jeat* gagates, et *get* cum *g* durâ acquiro; *gelosy jealousie jelosy* zelotypia, *girk jirk* flagello, *gelly jelly* coagulum, etc. *Corants corinths currants* uvæ corinthiacæ. Tantâ itaque *ruderis* mole semotâ; istam *scripturam* quæ *nativam* scribendi *rationem*, et linguæ *analogiam* maximè adstruit; elegi.

§ 3. *Conjectured Pronunciation of* DRYDEN, *with an Examination of his Rhymes.*

Dryden was born in 1631 and died in 1700. The date of his pronunciation, acquired when he was a young man, therefore coincided with the publication of Wallis's grammar, 1653. But as his chief poetical works did not appear till much later, it is possible that he took advantage of the change of pronunciation going on to give greater freedom to his rhymes. Still his own pronunciation must certainly be looked upon as that of Wallis or Wilkins. As

Wallis is the last of those who advocate the use of (yy) in English to the exclusion of (iu), it will be perhaps safest to assume that Dryden agreed with Wilkins and subsequent orthoepists, in saying (iu) and not (yy). He lived at a time during which long *a* passed from (ææ) to (ee), but he most probably retained his youthful habit (ææ) to the last. His use of *e*, *ea* could not have inclined more to (ii) than Jones's, perhaps not so much. But we may perhaps assume that all the words with *ea* collected above, p. 86, were generally pronounced with (ii), though in any case of necessity they retained their older sound of (ee). He probably read *ai*, *ei* always as (ee) or (EE).

With regard to Dryden's rhymes, the notices on p. 87 shew that, although he allowed himself much liberty, they were not so imperfect as our present pronunciation would lead us to conclude. But as those notes referred to a particular case of *ea*, it will be convenient here to review the rhymes in one of Dryden's most finished poems. For this purpose I select the first part of *Absalom and Achitophel*, containing about 1000 lines, written in 1681, just about the time (1685) that Cooper published his grammar.

1. *W* did not act on the following *a* to labialise it, so that *wand land*, *wars scars*, are perfect rhymes (wænd lænd, wærz skærz), and in *care war*, *declar'd barr'd* (kæər wær, deklæərd bærd) we have only a long and short vowel rhyming, as is constantly the case. *Embrac'd taste* rhymed perfectly as (embræəst· tæəst), not according to our present pronunciation.

2. With *proclaim* rhyme *name fame tame*, that is, according to Cooper, (-EEm) rhymes to (-EEəm), or, if we give the older pronunciation, (-EEm) rhymes to (-æəm), which was certainly sufficiently close for Dryden, who may even have called the first (-æim). There are only three such lines in the whole piece.

3. The rhymes *theme dream*, *please these*, *break weak*, *great repeat*, *bear heir*, are perfect (ee, ee). Again, *fears ears*, *fear hear* are perfect (ii, ii). But *fear bear* (ii, ee) is imperfect, unless he here took the liberty of giving *fear* its older sound (feer). In the rhyme *spares tears* (æə, ii), he may have also taken the liberty to say (teerz). The rhymes *care bear*, *wear care*, (æə, ee), were sufficiently close for Dryden. *Appear where* (ii, ee) present a decidedly bad rhyme, unless he chose to say (whiir), which is possible, as the pronunciation still exists dialectically.

4. The group *years petitioners*, *fears visioners*, *please images*, *please grievances*, *great yet*, *supreme them*, *declaim Jerusalem them*, must all be considered forms of (ee, e), or long and short vowels rhyming, although at that time *years fears* were (ɟiirz, fiirz). In *receive prerogative* (ee, *i*), *sweet fit* (ii, *i*), the intention was the same, the wide (*i*) being made to do duty as either (e) or (i).

5. *Civil devil* was a perfect rhyme (*i*, *i*); but *sense prince*, *pretence prince*, (e, *i*), seem to point to a well-known Irishism, and the close connection of Irish pronunciation with the XVIIth century leads us to suppose that such words would be generally accepted as rhymes.

6. The Y final seems to have been doubtful in value. From Spenser's time to our own we have found poets taking the liberty to rhyme it as (əi) or (ii), and as the Irish of the present day are said to pronounce final *y* as (ii), we may, as usual, presume that this pronunciation was rife in the XVIIth century. In the present poem we have *y* final taken as (ii) in *free liberty*, *be democracy*, *decree royalty*, *me liberty*, *degree university*, *be lunacy*; and as (əi) in *tie posterity*, *sky nativity*, *why property*, *wise enemies*, *by husbandry*, *cry theocracy*, *eye royalty*, *high extremity*, *despise indignities*, *cry tyranny*, *die posterity*, *high destiny*, *I liberty*, *cry liberty*, *try anarchy*, *by company*.

7. The following rhymes were per-

fect (əi, ɔi) according to a prevalent use in the XVII th century, *smiles toils, design join, join coin*. Gill gives (wəind) for wind, *ventus*, and poets have always taken the liberty to rhyme it, as Dryden does, with *bind, behind*. The rhyme *flight height* was perfect (əi, ɔi) according to Miege, but Cooper has (HEET), Jones (HEET, HEETTH). Clearly there was a diversity of pronunciation of which the poet availed himself.

8. The (oou) of the XVI th century, when generated by a following *l* or *w*, was so often considered as (*oo*) by the orthoepists of the XVII th century, although the usage varies, that we need feel no surprise at the rhymes *soul pole, grown throne, own throne, mould bold, overthrow foe, soul control, blow forego*. But *gold sold, gold old*, were at that time (guuld, *oo*uld *o*uld *oo*ld), and the rhymes belong to the same category as *choose depose, poor more* = (uu, *oo*), (though, as the Expert Orthographist, 1704, says that *poor* is pronounced as *o* long, the two last words may have been perfect rhymes to Dryden), or *good load, shook broke yoke, look spoke* = (u, *oo*), of which *took flock* = (u, ʌ), would scarcely be deemed a variant. Cooper heard *blood, flood* as (blud, flud), so that that pronunciation must have been sufficiently prevalent to pass the rhyming of *blood* with *flood, wood, good*. And as a *wound* is still often called a (wound), we need not wonder at finding *bound wound*.

9. No distinction was made in rhyme between (eu, iu), if indeed the distinction had not become altogether obsolete. Poets allow (iu, uu) to rhyme, considering the first as (iuu) or (juu), but the fact that they are now felt not to be genuine rhymes at once discredits the common theory that long *u* is now (juu). The first element receives so much stress that it cannot degenerate into (j). Accordingly we find the rhymes *anew pursue, Jews accuse, few true, muse choose, rul'd cool'd*.

10. The rhyme *remove love* was at that time perfect in some mouths as (ə, ə), but *thong tongue, song strung*, were probably quite imperfect as (ʌ, ə), although (thɔq, tɔq) may still be occasionally heard, and in some dialects all these words end in (-əq). But *son crown* (sən kraun) was altogether unjustifiable at that period.

11. The *r* seems to have excused many indifferent rhymes. *Afford sword*, which now rhyme as (æfood sood), then rhymed as (æfuurd suurd), but *affords words, mourn'd return'd*, were (uu, ə), *sword lord, court sort*, were (uu, ʌ), *scorn return, born turn*, were (ʌ, ə), *board abhorr'd, restor'd lord*, were (*oo* ʌ). *First curs'd* was probably perfect as (ə ə). *Art desert* was perhaps considered a perfect rhyme. In *none Absalom* the vowels perhaps agreed as (*oo*), but as the consonants were different, the result is only an assonance.

The following rhymes of Dryden, and other authors, who, having acquired their pronunciation in the XVII th century, must be reckoned in that period for the present purpose, have been taken from the appendix to Walker's Rhyming Dictionary, where they are given as "allowable rhymes," or Prof. Haldeman's Felix Ago (suprà p. 866 note), where they are cited as anomalies. The authors with their dates are as follows:

Addison,	1672—1719.	Herrick,	1591—1674.
Blackmore,	1650—1729.	Milton,	1608—1674.
Butler,	1612—1680.	Oldham,	1653—1683.
Cowley,	1618—1667.	Philips,	1676—1708.
Crashaw,	d. 1650.	Parnell,	1679—1717.
Creech,	1659—1700.	Prior,	1664—1721.
Davenant,	1605—1668.	Roscommon,	1633—1684.
Dryden,	1631—1700.	Rowe,	1673—1718.
Garth,	1672—1719.	Waller,	1605—1687.
Granville,	1667—1735.	Wycherley,	1640—1715.

The rhymes are arranged, very nearly, in the same categories as those just considered, and the numbers prefixed to the groups will therefore generally be sufficient to point out their nature. This

review will shew, that it would not be possible to infer identity of vowel sound in apparently rhyming words in the XVII th century.

1. Wan man, *Dryden*. care war, *Garth*. hard reward, *Parnell*. prepares Mars, *Granville*. marr'd spar'd, *Waller*. plac'd last, *Dryden*. haste last, *Waller*. made bad, *Dryden*. This is the common rhyme of a long and short vowel (ææ, æ).

2. Complaint elephant, *Prior*. faint pant, *Addison*. These differ only from *proclaim name* in having the second vowel (æ) short, instead of (ææ) long.

3. They sea, *Dryden*. defeat great, *Garth*. great heat, *Parnell*. neat great, *Parnell*. please ease images, *Wycherley*. praise ease, *Parnell*. train scene, *Parnell*. steal fail, *Parnell*. bears shears, *Garth*—are all practically perfect (ee, ee) or (ee, EE). State treat, *Dryden*. errs cares, *Prior*. retreat gate, *Parnell*. place peace, *Parnell*. theme fame, *Parnell*. are wear, *Wycherley*—are only (ee, ææ). here share, *Garth*. years shares, *Garth*. hear air, *Milton*—may have been taken as (ee, ææ) and (ee, ee), instead of (ii, ææ) and (ii, ee).

4. Ear, murderer, *Dryden*. great debt, *Dryden*. express cease, *Dryden*. rest feast, *Dryden*. contemns streams, *Dryden*. dress'd feast, *Dryden*. express cease, *Dryden*. eat regret, *Prior*. digest feast, *Prior*. reveal tell, *Prior*. east, west, *Addison*. threats beats, *Creech*—are all cases of (ee, e) or long and short vowels rhyming. chin unclean, *Dryden*, uses (i) for (e). distress place, *Garth*, uses (ææ) for (ee). compelled field, *Dryden*. held field, *Garth*. well steel, *Dryden*. freed head, *Dryden*—have (ii, e) for (ee, e).

5. Dress'd fist, *Dryden*. flesh dish, *Dryden*. heaven given, *Prior*—are the usual (e, i).

6. See energy, *Roscommon*.

7. Defile spoil, *Dryden*. declin'd join'd, *Dryden*. decline disjoin, *Garth*. join design, *Butler*. vine join, *Cowley*—were perfect rhymes; and weight flight, *Dryden*, may be compared with *height flight*.

8. Doom Rome, *Butler*. throne gone, *Dryden*. load abroad, *Dryden*. food good, *Parnell*—were probably perfect rhymes, and: stood blood, *Butler*, *Dryden*, may have been so, but: floods gods, *Dryden*. along hung, *Dryden*—were anomalous, yet evidently not felt as very bad; to these belong: strow'd blood, *Dryden*. rode blood, *Dryden*. and: sow plough, *Dryden*. shew bough, *Dryden*. inclose brows, *Dryden*. flow'd vow'd, *Dryden*. plow low, *Philips*. stone down, *Waller*, were perhaps felt as (*oo oou*) rather than (*oo* ou), and were therefore not far from (uu, ou) in: soon town, *Dryden*. you allow, *Blackmore*. now you, *Crashaw*. pow'r secure, *Garth*, so that they connect the former with: grout shut, *Dryden*. proud blood, *Garth*, or (ou, o). The rhyme (*oo*, uu) or (*oo*, u) is found in: home Rome, *Butler*. looks provokes, *Dryden*. gone soon, *Dryden*. store poor, *Dryden*. throne moon, *Dryden*. look yoke, *Dryden*. spoke took, *Prior*. Rome home, *Rowe*. door poor, *Parnell*. shoals, fools, *Garth*.

9. No example.

10. In: rock smoke, *Dryden*, which was really (A, *oo*), the intention was (*o*, *oo*), and this led readily to tolerating (o, *oo*) or (o, uu) in: home plum, *Dryden*. home comb gum, *Dryden*. come home, *Herrick*. struck oak, *Dryden*. grove love, *Garth*. moves loves *Waller*. come Rome, *Dryden*. come Rome, *Butler*. come Rome, *Garth*. shut foot, *Davenant*.

11. Heard bard, *Garth*, was perfect; but curd hoard, *Philips*. forth worth, *Dryden*. where clear, *Prior*. cord bird, *Dryden*—show the influence of *r*.

12. The following seem rather to be oversights than intentional anomalies: ground swoon, *Dryden*. unbought draught, *Dryden*. form man, *Dryden*. wish bliss, *Dryden*. views boughs, *Addison*. tree by, *Oldham*. I she, *Oldham*.

The character of the good parson has been selected as a specimen of the conjectured pronunciation of Dryden, because it can be compared directly with the original of Chaucer, Chapter VII, p. 704, both as to matter and sound, and Dryden's version scarcely differs from Chaucer's more in the first than in the second, if the results of the preceding investigation be adopted.

Æ Gud Pær·sn,

im·itææted fram TshAA·sər ænd enlær·dzhd.

Æ pær·ish priist wæz AF dhe pil·grim TREEN;
Æn AA·ful, rev·rend, ænd relidzh·əs mæn.
Hiz əiz difiuzd· æ VEN·ərəbl grææs,
Ænd tshær·iti itSELF· wæz in HIZ fææs. 4
Ritsh wæz HIZ sool, dhoo HIZ ætəir· wæz puur;
(Æz GAD hæd kloodhd HIZ oon æmbæs·ædər,)
FAT sətsh AN ERTH HIZ BLEST Redii·mər boor.
:Af siks·ti JIIRZ HII siimd; ænd WEL məit læst 8
Tu siks·ti moor, bət dhæt HII livd tuu fæst;
Refəind· HIMSELF· tu sool, tu kərb dhe sens,
Ænd mææd AALmoost· æ sin AF æb·stinens.
JET hæd HIZ æs·PEKT nəth·iq AF SEVEE·T, 12
Bət sətsh æ fææs æz PRAM·ist HIM sinSEE·T.
Nəth·iq REZERVD· AT səl·en wæz tu sii,
Bət swiit regæærdz· and pleez·iq sæqk·titii:
Məild wæz HIZ æk·sent, ænd HIZ æk·shən frii. 16
With EL·okwens innææt HIZ təq wæz æærmd,
Dhoo HÆRSH dhe pree·sept, JET dhe pree·tshər tshæærmd.
FAT, LET·iq dəun dhe guuld·n TSHEEN FRAM HƏI,
Hii driu HIZ AU·diens əp·wərd tuu dhe skəi: 20
Ænd AFT widh HOO·li himz HII tshæærmd dheer iirz,
(Æ miu·zik moor meloo·diəs dhæn dhe sfeerz).
FAT Dææ·vid LEFT HIM, when HII WENT tu REST,
Hiz ləiər; ænd æft·ər HIM, HII səq dhe BEST. 24
Hii boor HIZ greet komish·ən in HIZ luk,
Bət swiit·li TEM·pərd AA, ænd SAF·t'nd AAl HII spook.
Hii preetsht dhe dzhaiz AF HEV·n ænd PEENZ AF HEL,
Ænd wærnd dhe sin·ər with bekəm·iq zeel; 28
Bət AN eter·næl MER·si ləvd tu dwEL.
Hii TAAT dhe GAS·pel rædh·ər dhæn dhe LAA,
Ænd foorst HIMSELF· tu drəiv·, bət ləvd tu drAA.
FAT fiir bət friiz·ez məindz; bət ləv ləik HEET, 32
:Egzæælz· dhe sool səbləim tu siik HƏR NÆÆ·tiv seet.

Tu THRETS dhe stəb·ərn sin·ər AFT iz HÆÆRD:
Ræpt in HIZ krəimz, ægEENst dhe STARM prepæærd·;
Bət when dhe məild·ər beemz AF mer·si PLEE, 36
Hii MELTS, ænd throouz HIZ kəm·brəs klook æWEE·.
Ləit·niq ænd thən·dər (HEV·nz ærtil·ərəi).
Æz hær·bindzhərz bifoor· dh- :AAlməi·ti fləi:
Dhooz bət prəkLEEM· HIZ stəil, and disæpiir·, 40
Dhe stil·ər səund səksiidz·, ænd GAD iz dheer.

Dhe təidhz HIZ pær·ish frii·li PEED, HII tuk,
Bət nev·er siud, AT kərst with BEL ænd buk;
With pææ·shens beer·iq RAQ, bət AF·riq noon, 44
Sins ev·ri mæn iz frii tu luuz HIZ oun.

Dhe kən·tri tshərlz, ækar·diq tuu dheer kəind,
(Huu grədzh dheer diuz, ænd ləv tu bii binəind;)
Dhe les hii saat hiz af·riqz, pinsht dhe moor, 48
And preezd æ priist kanten·ted tu bi puur.

Jet af hiz lit·l hii hæd səm tu spæær,
Tu fiid dhe fæm·isht, ænd tu kloodh dhe bæær;
Far mar·tifəid hii wæz tu dhæt digrii·, 52
Æ puur·ər dhæn himself· hii wud nat sii.
Triu priists (hii seed), ænd preetsh·ərz af dhe wərd,
Wer oon·li stiu·ərdz af dheer səv·ren lard;
Nəth·iq wæz dheerz, bət aal dhe pəb·lik stoor, 56
Intrəs·ted ritsh·ez tu reliiv· dhe puur;
Huu, shud dhee steel, far wænt af hiz reliif·,
Hii dzhədzhd himself· ækam·plis with dhe thiif.

Wəid wæz hiz pær·ish, nat kantræk·ted kloos 60
In striits, bət hiir ænd dheer æ stræg·liq həus;
Jet stil hii wæz æt hænd, without· rekwest·,
To serv dhe sik, tu sək·ər dhe distrest·,
Temp·tiq, an fut, æloon, without· æfrəit·, 64
Dhe dæən·dzhərz af æ dærk tempes·tiuəs nəit.

:Aal dhis dhe gud oold mæn perfoormd· æloon·,
Nar spæærd his peenz; far kiu·rææt hæd hii noon;
Nar dərst hii trəst ænədh·ər with hiz kæær; 68
Nar rood himself· tu Poolz, dhe pəb·lik feer,
Tu tshæf·ər far prefer·ment with hiz guuld,
Wheer bish·əpriks and səi·nikiurz ær soold;
Bət diu·li wætsht hiz flak bəi nəit ænd dee, 72
Ænd fram dhe prəu·liq wulf rediimd· dhe pree,
Ænd həq·gri sent dhe wəi·li faks æwee.
Dhe prəud hii tææmd, dhe pen·itent hii tshiird,
Nar tu rebiuk· dhe ritsh afen·dər fiird. 76
Hiz preetsh·iq mətsh, bət moor hiz præk·tis raat,
(Æ liv·iq ser·mən af dhe triuths hii taat:)
Far dhis bəi riulz seveer· hiz ləif hii skwæærd,
Dhæt aal məit sii dhe dak·trin whitsh dhee hæærd. 80
Far priists, hii seed, ær pæt·ərnz far dhe rest,
(Dhe guuld af hev·n, huu beer dhe Gad imprest·)
Bət when dhe presh·əs kəin iz kept ənkleen·,
Dhe səv·reenz im·ædzh iz noo laq·gər siin. 84
If dhee bii fəul, an huum dhe piip·l trəst,
Wel mee dhe bææs·ər bræs kantrækt· æ rəst.

Dhe prel·ææt far hiz hoo·li ləif hii prəizd;
Dhe wər·li pəmp av prel·æsi despəizd·.
Hiz Sææ·viər kææm nat with æ gaa·di shoo, 88
Nar wæz hiz kiq·dəm af dhe world biloo·.

Pææ·shens *i*n wænt, ænd PAV·ərt*i* AF məind,
Dheez mærks AF tshərtsh ænd tshərtsh·men HII desəind·,
Ænd l*i*v·*i*q TAAT, ænd də*i*·*i*q LEFT biihəind·. 92
Dhe krəun HII w*oo*r wæz AF dhe point·ed THARN;
*I*n pər·pl HII wæz kriu·s*i*fəid, NAT BARN.
Dhee HUU KANTEND· FAR plææs ænd HəI digrii·,
Æər NAT H*i*z sənz, bət dh*oo*s AF Zeb·edii. 96
NAT bət HII niu dhe səinz AF ERTH·l*i* pəur
Məit WEL biikəm· SEENT Pii·tərz sək·SESər:
Dhe H*oo*·l*i* fææ·dhər H*oo*ldz æ dəb·l REEN:
Dhe pr*i*ns MEE kiip H*i*z pəmp—dhe f*i*sh·ər məst bii PLEEN. 100

Sətsh wæz dhe SEENT, HUU sh*oo*n w*i*th ev·r*i* grææs,
Reflekt·*i*q, M*oo*·zez-ləik, H*i*z Mææ·kərz fææs.
GAD SAA H*i*z *i*m·ædzh ləiv·l*i* wæz ekspREST·,
Ænd H*i*s *oo*un wərk, æz *i*n kreææ·shən BLEST. 104

It has not been considered necessary to add the original, as the orthography of the first edition was not readily accessible, and other editions are easily consulted.

As contrasted with the Shaksperian examples pp. 986–996, observe, the change of (a, aa) into (æ, ææ), the separation of (o, oo) into (A, *oo*), the entire absence of (yy) and of the guttural (kh), the complete change of (ei) into (əi), and (ou) into (əu), with the absence of (ai, au), or rather their absorption into (EE, AA).

As contrasted with our modern pronunciation, observe the existence of (ææ), still heard in Bath and Ireland, in place of (*ee*, *ee*'j), the existence of words like (HEET seet) v. 32, still heard in Ireland and the provinces, in place of (HIIT siit), and similarly (SEVEE·T S*i*NSEE·T) v. 12, *these* (dheez), the broad (EE) which has quite given way to (*ee*, *ee*'j) except before (ɪ), where it does not usually exceed (ee), the pure (iir, *oo*r, uur·) in place of our modern (*iiɪ*, ooɪ, *uuɪ*). The use of (A) in place of (ə) is probably more theoretical than real; indeed many orthoepists still regard (ə, A) as identical. The clear (æ) after (w), as in (wær), not (WAR), is noticeable, together with a few special words, as: *of* (AF) still used by elderly speakers, *last fast* (læst fæst) still often used by refined speakers in the north, *golden* (guuld·n) still heard from elderly speakers, *artillery* (ərt*i*l·ərəi) now hardly ever used in educated speech, *true* (triu), *truth* (triuth), *rule* (riul) not unfrequent, at least in intention, provincially, *sovereign* (səv·ren) an obsolescent but not quite obsolete pronunciation. *Paul's* (Poolz) is quite lost, and so is *worldly* (wər·l*i*), at least in intention. Of course many peculiarities, as pointed out in the vocabulary, do not occur in this example, such as *-ture* (-tər). The transitional character of the pronunciation is very transparent.

CHAPTER X.

Illustrations of the Pronunciation of English during the Eighteenth Century.

§ 1. *Some English Orthoepists of the Eighteenth Century.*

The pronunciation of the XVIII th century is peculiarly interesting as forming the transition to that now in use, and as being the "old-fashioned" habit of speech which we may still hear occasionally from octogenarians. Those who, like the author, can recollect how very old people spoke forty or fifty years ago, will still better understand the indications, unhappily rather indistinct, which are furnished by the numerous orthoepists of the latter half of the XVIII th century. In the present section some of those which had not been consulted in Chap. III. will be noticed, and a specimen of Buchanan's pronunciation will be given. In the next, two American orthoepists will be considered. These are especially interesting, because the pronunciation preserved in New England is older than that of the mother-country.

To Mr. Payne I am indebted for an acquaintance with Lediard's Grammar, which devotes 270 pages to a consideration of English pronunciation and orthography in 1725. As the author had studied Wallis's treatise, and explains the pronunciation by German letters, it seems advisable to give rather a full account of his conclusions.

T. Lediard's Account of English Pronunciation, 1725.

From: Grammatica Anglicana Critica, oder Versuch zu einer vollkommenen Grammatic der Englischen Sprache, in welcher .... eine neue Methode, die so schwer gehaltene Pronunciation in kurtzer Zeit zu erlangen, angezeigt . . . . . wird . . . . . durch *Thomas Lediard*, N.C.P. & Philol. Cult. Hamburg, 1725, 8vo. pp. 976, and 82 unnumbered introductory pages of dedication, preface, contents and laudatory German verses!

In the preface he complains of Theod. Arnold, who, in his Neue Engl. Grammatica, Hanover, 1718, endeavours to distinguish the (to Lediard) identical vowel sounds in: *fear dear, heap cheap, meal deal, food root, mould shoulder;* while he confuses as identities the (to Lediard) distinct vowels in: *year pear, door blood, porter border, rash watch, dead heart, seize their, feign height, few new, fewel brewer, winter pint, mother modest, Rome come, good root, foot tooth, round mourn, could mould, youth young, fume tune, burn pull, pulse bull, due spue.*

Lediard remarks that "the English pronounce more in the front of the mouth and softer, than the Germans, who rather use the back part of the mouth, while the French are intermediate. In rapidity the French are fastest, Germans slowest, and English intermediate." The following citations are abridgments, except when the words are between inverted commas, in which case they are full translations; the palaeotype and passages in [ ] are interpretations or interpolations.

A

I. 1. Long *a* like German *äh* or French *ai* in *mais;* [that is, (EE), in-

tended for (ææ), because he uses *ä* without the prolonging *h*, for *a* short in *glad*, *had*, yet this (ææ)is suspicious because of Wallis,] as *name* nähm, *shade* schähd, *face* fähs, etc. When unaccented, as short *ä* or *e*, [that is, (æ, e)], as *private* preivät, *courage* kurrädsch (ka·rædzh), *desolate* dessolät. 2. *many* mähni, *to quadrate* quähdrähte [the *e* is not meant to be sounded], *Mary* Mähri, except *water* wahter, [*ah* should be (*aa*), but is meant for (AA). Observe *many* (mææ·ni). Only the principal examples are given.] 3. *huzza* hossäh (hə·sææ). 4. *plague* plähgh. 5. In *-ange*, as *change* tschähndsch, *range* rähndsch, *angel* ändschel. In *angelical*, *orange* only as short ä (æ). 6. In *-aste*=ähst (æest), as *chaste paste*, *haste*, *waste*.

II. Like German *a*, or rather more lengthened almost like German *ah*, [meant for (AA)], 1. in *-all*=-ahl (-AAl), as *all*, *call*, *wall*, *small*. But *Mall* in the *mail* game, and *shall* have short *ä* (æ). 2. in derivatives as *already*, *walnut* wahlnot; but *challenge*, tschällendsch, *tallow*, tällo, *gallows* gällus [possibly (gæ·ləs) and not (gæ·lus), but observe *not* (gæ·looz), and see OW below], *callous* källus. 3. in *bald* bahld, *scalded* skahlded. 4. in *walk* wahlk, *talk* tahlk, *chalk* tschahlk, but in these and similar words *l* is not heard in "rapid" pronunciation. 5. in *false*, *balsom*, *palsy*. 6. in *malt*, *salt*, *halt*, *exalt*, but *shalt* schält. 7. in *-war-* in one syllable, as *war*, *warm*, *toward* tuwahrd (tuwAA·rd), *reward*, *warn*, *dwarf*; but in *warren*, *warrant* with *a* (A) short. 8. in *quart*, *quarter*.

III. These two principal sounds of A are long, and each has its short sound, as short *äh* and short *a* in German, thus: as short *ä* (æ) in *can*, *man*, *rash*, but as long *a* (AA) in *watch*, *was*, *wash* [meant for short (A), see V. below]. "The short *ä* (æ) really approaches short *a*, and has as it were a middle sound between *ä* and *a*, [that is, (æ), lies between (E) and (*a*),] and the difference is therefore best heard *ex usu* or from a native Englishman."

IV. Short *a* as a short ä (æ). 1. In monosyllables, as *glad*, *had*, *man*, *rash*, *hard* härd, *march* märtsh, *branch* bräntsch, *dance* däns [i.e. these words have short (æ), and this generally before *r*, *n*]. 2. in derivatives *German* Dschermän, *gentleman* dschentelmän; *barley* bärli, *partridge* pärtridsch, *chamber* tschämber, [compare Moore's rhyme: amber chamber, suprà p. 859], 3. in *-arge*, *-chance*. 4, in *-al*, as *general* dschenerül, *altar* altär. 5. in *a-*, as *again* ägän (ægæ·n) *abroad* äbrahd (æbrAA·d).

V. Short *a* is sometimes pronounced as German *a*, [properly (*a*), meant for (A) or (ɔ)]. 1. After *qu*, as *qualify* qualifei, *quality* qualiti, [here (kwæ) was certainly also in use, see vocabulary] *qualm* qualm, *quantity*, *quarrel*, *squabble*, *squander*. 2. after *w*, as *wad*, *wallow*, *wan*, *wand*, *wander*, *want*, *was*, *wash*, *watch*, *swab*, *swaddle*, *swallow*, *swan*. Except, *quack*, *quadrate*, *quag*, *quandary**, *quash**, *squash**, *waft**, *wag*, *waggon*, *wax*, which belong to IV., [that is have (æ); observe * words.]

E

I. Alphabetic name *ih* (ii) has the sound of long German *i*, and is then called *e* masculine. 1. in *-e*, as *be*, *he*, *me*, *she*, *we*, *ye* jih, except only *the*, which has short *e* (e), not to distinguish it from *thee*, but because it is always atonic. 2. in *e-* as *Eve*, *even*, *evil* ihvil, *Eden*, *Egypt*, *equal* ihquäl. 3. before a following vowel, as *idea* eidihä, *Chaldeans*, *Deity*, *Mausoleum* mosolihum [probably (moosolii·əm)]. 4. ending a syllable, as in *Peter* Pihter, etc. 5. in the following monosyllables *here* hier, *Mede* Mihd, *Crete* Kriht [compare Jones, 1701, suprà p. 85], *a mere*, *to mete*, *rere-admiral*, *scene* sihn, *scheme* skihm, *sphere*, *these* dhihs [pronoun]. "To these should be added *there*, *were*, *where*, which by bad habit are called dhähr, währ, hwähr." [Lediard was therefore of the school of the Expert Orthographist, suprà p. 88.] 6. in *adhere*, *austere* astihr, *blaspheme*, *cohere*, *complete*, *concede*, *concrete*, *convene*, *extreme*, *impede*, *intercede*, *interfere*, *Nicene*, *obscene* absihn, *precede*, *recede*, *replete*, *revere*, *severe*, *sincere*, *supersede*, *supreme*. Except *extremity*, *severity*, *supremacy*, *spherical*, *discretion*, etc., which have German *e* (e).

II. E masculine is pronounced short as German *i* [probably (*i*), in Hamburg and North Germany (*i*) for (i) is common in closed syllables]. 1. in *em-*, *en-*, as *embark* imbärck, *encourage* inkurredsch, *English* Inglisch, *enjoy* indschaï, *ensue* insu. Except *embers*, *emblem*, *embryo*, *emperour*, *emphasis*, *empire*, *empireal*, *encomiast*, *enmity*, *ennoble*, *enter*, *enthusiasm*, *entity*, *entrails*, *envoy*, *envy* and derivatives. 2.

Ending a first syllable, as *elect* ilect. Also in *yes*, *yesterday*, *devil*, *Sevil* [observe this (*ɟis*, *dɛ·vil*, *Sɛ·vil*), but (*ɟes*) occurs below]. 3. in *-e* when heard. 4. in the middle of polysyllables, "where it is read quite short, or is almost quite bitten off," as *atheist* äthtiist, *courteous* kortius, *every* eviri, *piety* peiiti, *righteous* reitius, *soverain* soviräin.

III. E feminine, like the French, only before *r*, where it has "an obscure sound almost like German ö (œ), or a very short obscure *e* as in *her*, *vertue*," etc.

IV. E neuter as German *e* [I interpret by (e), but really (ɛ) is common in Germany, as however Lediard uses *ä* confessedly (ɛ) for (æ), I think it best to sink (ɛ) altogether and use (æ, e) in the interpretations], as in *end*, etc. 1. in *-en* very short, bitten off, and little heard, as *open* op'n, *often* aft'n [observe the *t*]. 2. Short or elided in *-ed*.

V. [About *e* mute, *-le*, *-re*, genitive *-es*, etc.]

I

I. Long *i* as German *ei* [(ai), as many in England still pronounce, but we are not to suppose that Lediard would have distinguished (ai, *ai*, ahi, ɔi). The examples agree with present usage, except that *live-long* has *i* short in Lediard, and sometimes *i* long now]. "*Fivepence* is commonly but wrongly called fippens" (fip·ns?). In *child*, *mild*, *wild*, *find*, *bind*, *behind*, *kind*, *grind*, *blind* bleind. But *build* bild, *guild* gild, *windlass* windläss, *Windsor*, *rescind*. Use *i* when *ld*, *nd* belong to two syllables. Some call *the wind* wind, others weind. 4. before *gh* which is then mute. "The Scots, and some Northerners retain the guttural sound of *gh*, but this is considered a fault and should not be imitated. In *sigh*, *gh* is by some pronounced in the throat, but with a sound not unlike English *th*" [suprà p. 213, note]. *Diamond* deymond [in two syllables]. 9. *Fire* feier, etc., but *shire* schihr, *cashire* kaschihr, *frontire* frantihr [that is *cashier* (kashii·r), *frontier* (frantii·r)]. 10. *Christ* Kreist, *climb* kleim, *indictment* indeitment, *pint* peint, *tith* teith, *writh* reith [now (tɔidh, rɔidh)].

II. [Short *i* generally possesses no interest. Notice] long *ih* (ii) in *Frice* [explained as German *boy*, a kind of baize], *gentile* or *genteel*, *oblige* some say obleidsch according to rule, *pique*, *shire*, *fatigue* fatiegg, *intrigue* intriegg.

III. A middle sound between French *e* feminine and German ö, before *r* only, as in *bird*, etc. In *sirrah*, *i* is almost pronounced as short *ä* (sær æ), in *hither*, *thither*, *arithmetic*, *mithridate*, the *i* before *th* is almost short *e*. The *i* is quite "swallowed" in *business* bissness, *chariot* tscherrot (tsher·ɔt), *carriage* kärredsch, *marriage*, *medicine* medsin, *parliament*, *ordinary* ahrdinärri, *spaniel* spännel, *venison* vensen.

O

I. As a "long German *o* or *oh*, a Greek ω, or the French *au*" [probably (*oo*), possibly (oo), certainly not (*oou*)]. 1. [The usual rule], as *alone* älohn, etc. Exc. *above*, *dove*, *glove*, *love*, *shove*, with "a short *u*, but somewhat obscure, almost as a middle sound between short *o* and short *u*" [that is, (ə, ɤ) as between (o, *u*).] Also except in *atome*, *come*, *custome*, *done*, *none*, [not (noon) but (nən)], *shone* (shən), *some*. Except when *o* sounds as long German *u* or *uh* (uu) in *behove*, *move*, *remove*, *prove*, *approve*, *disprove*, *improve*, *reprove*, *lose*, *done*, *Rome*, *whose*; and as *a* in *gone* gan (gan). 5. In *-dome*, *-some* as (ə). 3. Use *o* in *o*, *bo*, *fro*, *go*, *ago*, *ho*, *lo*, *mo*, *no*, *pro*, *so*, *to*, *unto*, *tho'* *altho'*; "the words *to*, *unto* seem to belong to the other rule [II. ?]; but as the majority bring them under this rule, I content myself with noting the difference" [this sound of *to* as (too) or (to) should be noted, it is not uncommon still in America]. Except, *to do*, *two*, *who* with long *u* (uu); *twopence* is tuppens (ta·pns). Use *o* long [and not the diphthong (ou, ɔu)] in *old*, *bold*, etc., and *o* long, not short, [that is (*oo*) not (ʌ, ɔ) or (ʌʌ)] in *ford*, *hord*, *sword*, *divorce*, *force*, *porch*, *forge*, *pork*, *form* a bench, *forlorn*, *shorn*, *sworn*, *torn*, *worn*, *forth*, *fort*, *port*, *deport*, *effort**, *export*, *import**, *purport**, *support**, *transport**, *sport*, except when the * words are accented, as by some, on the first syllable.

II. Short *o* like short German *o* [properly (o), or (ɔ), not (ʌ) or (ɔ), and Lediard clearly means to distinguish the sounds]. 1. at the end of an unaccented syllable, as *absolute* äbsoluht, 2. in *o-*, as *obey* obäh, etc. 3. "In the beginning and middle of the following words, although they have the short accent, and must hence be

excepted from rule III.; *obit, ocean, omen, once, onion, oral, other, toward, towardly, associate.*" [That is, these words have (ə) or (o) *short*, not *long*, (oo), nor (ə), as some have now, and not (ʌ, ɔ), as in the next rule.]

III. Short *o* is pronounced as "a short quick German *a*, not as M. Ludwig thinks from the palate, but from the throat, like German *a*, but short and quick" [properly (*a*), meant for (ʌ) or (ɔ)]. 1. *on* an, *ox* achs, etc., except *omber, ombrage* and *only*. 2. in *com-, con-, contra-, cor-, non-*, except when *com-* is followed by *b* or *f*, as in *combat*, combine*, comfit, comfort*, etc., and also in *compact*, company, compass, compassion*, compatible*, compendious*, compile*, complexion*, comply*, compleat*, compliance**, etc., in which *o* is an obscure *u* (ə) [the * words have now (ɔ)]. In other words short *a* is used, as *competent* kampetent, *complement, comprehend*, etc. *Conduit* kundit (kə·ndit). 2. [Rules for *o* before two consonants as (ʌ, ɔ)] except the following when *o* is a short *u* (ə), borough, *brother, chronicle*, colony*, colour, columbine*, cony, coral*, covenant, covet, dozen, florin*, govern, hony, mony, mother, plover, sloven, smother*, [the * words have now (ɔ)] *woman* "in which *o* is not so obscurely uttered as in the others," except *women* wimmen. 5. [Much is passed over as of no interest, hence the numbers of the rules, which are those of the original for convenience of reference, are not always consecutive.] The short *u* (ə) is also heard in *affront, among, amongst, attorny, Monday, monger, mongrel, monkey, pommel* [as now].

IV. English *o* is pronounced as a short obscure *u* (ə). 1. in *-dom, -som*, 2. see exceptions to I. 1. 3. after w, as *wolf* [this and *woman* seem to belong to the same category, but *wood* is further on said to have short *u*, so that short *u* (*u*) and short *obscure u* (ə) are sometimes confused by Lediard], *won, wonder, word*, etc., except *wove* wohv, *won't* wohnt, *worn* wohrn, *wont* want [often (wont)], *wot* wat, *womb* wuhm. 6. Rather short and obscure in the last syllables of *almond, bishop, buttock*, etc. 7. In *front* [some say (front) even now], *monk, month, son, sponge, gongue* [?], *yolk* [(jolk) ?].

V. English *o* is a long *u* or *uh* (uu), 3, in *tomb, womb, whom*, and words otherwise excepted.

VI. "Finally English *o* is pronounced like German *e*, but very short, obscure and almost bitten off." 1. in *-on*, including *-ion, -or, -ot*, as *bacon* bähken or bähk'n, *button* butt'n, *lesson* less'n, *anchor* ank'r, *senator* senat'r, *faggot* fagg't. 2. in the terminations *-dron, -fron, -pron, -tron*, in which *ro* is pronounced as *er*, but rather quick and obscure, as *chaldron* tshädern [(tshæ·dərn)?], *saffron* saffern [(sɔ·fərn)?] *apron* äpern, *citron** sittern, *patron** pättern [no longer usual in the * words]. The *o* is almost mute in *damosel* dämsel, *faulconer* fahkner, *ordonnance* ordnäns, *poysonous, prisoner, reasoning, reckoning, rhetorick, seasonable*; and *one, once*, are wun, wuns (won, wons).

U

Rule (*a.*) Long U is pronounced *iu* (iú) after *b, c, f, g, h, j, m, p, s*, but *su* may sometimes be *suh*.

Rule (*b.*) Long U is a long German *u* or *uh* (uu) after *d, l, n, r, t*. In *gradual, valuable, annual, mutual, u* may be either *iu* or *uh*.

I. Long English *u* is pronounced as *iu, u*, or *uh*, more or less rapidly according to accent. 1. according to rule (*a.*) as *iu* in *abuse* abjuhs, *huge* hiuhdsch, *June* Dschiuhn, as *uh* in *seduce* seduhs, *exclude, minute* minuht, *rude, Brute, conclude, obtrude*. 2. as *iu* or rather *juh* (juu) in the beginning of words, as *union* juhnion. 3. except *ducat, punish, pumice, study, tuly* [?], short and like obscure *o* (ə), in *busy* bissi, *bury* berri.

II. English short *u* has an obscure sound between German *u* short, and *o* short (ə) [in the usual places, I only mark a few]. 2. in *bulk, bumbast*; except where it is a German short *u* (*u*), as in *bull, bullace, bullet, bullion, bullock, bully, bulrush, bulwark, bush, bushel, butcher, cushion, full, fullage, fuller, fully, pudding, pull, pullet, pully* [all as now]. 3. in *-um, -us*.

III. English short *u* is very short, obscure, and almost like an obscure *e*, in *-ule, -ure*, as *glandule, globule, macule*, pustule, schedule, spatule, verule*; *adventure, benefacture, censure, conjecture, conjure** magically, *disposure, failure, future, grandure, inclosure, manufacture, nature, perjure*, posture, rapture, scripture, sculpture, tincture, torture, venture, verdure, vesture*, etc. [all now with (iu) except the * words occasionally]. Except *rule** and the following in *-ure*, which follow rule

(*a.*), *abjure, adjure, allure, assure, azure, conjure* entreat, *cure, demure, dure, endure, epicure, impure, insure, inure, lure, mature, obscure, procure, pure, secure, sure** [all now with (iu) except the * words (ruul, shuuɪ)].

[After thus going through the vowels by the spelling, he proceeds to describe their formation; but as he has scarcely done more than translate Wallis, apparently ignorant that Wallis's pronunciation was a century older, I feel it useless to cite more than the following remark in an abbreviated form.] "According to Mr. Brightland and others, the English express the sound of French *u* by their long *u*, and sometimes by *eu* and *ew*. I cannot agree with this opinion, for although the English perhaps do not give the full sound of German *u* to their long *u* after *d, l, n, r, t*, yet their sound certainly approaches to this more closely than to the French *u*, which has induced me to give the German *u* as its sound, contrary to the opinion of some writers. After other consonants English long *u* is *iu*, and has nothing in common with French *u*."

Digraphs.

Æ, as *ih* or *ie* (ii) in: *æra* ihra, *Cæres, Cæsar* ssihsär, *perinæum*, etc.; as *e* (e) in *æquinox*, equinox, *æstival, cæcity, cælibate, quæstor, præmunire*, etc.; as *i* short, when unaccented, in *æquator, æquilibrious, æquinoxial, ænigmatical.*

AI, "as *äh* or English long *a*, with a little aftersound of a short *i*" [is this from Wallis, suprà p. 124? it is very suspicious]. 1. in *aid* ähd, *ail, aim, air*, etc. 2. in *affair* affähr, *bail, complain*, etc. Except as *e* (e) in *again, against, wainscot* wennskät; as short *ä* (æ) in *railly* rälli, *raillery* rälleri; as long *e* (ee) in *raisins* rehsins, and as *ie* (ii) in *chair* tshier (tshiir). As a short *e* or *i* or a sound between them in the middle or end of words, especially in *-ain*, as *complaisance* kamplisäns (kompli-sæ·ns), *curtail* körtil (ko·rtil), *captain* käptin, *chamberlain* tshämberlin (tshæ·mberlin), *fountain, mountain, plantain, purslain, villain*, etc. *Afraid* is erroneously called äfierd (æfii·rd).

AU. I. like *ah* (AA) in *audience, vault*, etc.; like *äh* [(æ·), marked long] in *aunt* ähnt, *daughter*[?], *daunt* dähnt, *draught* drähft, *flaunt, haunt, jaunt, laugh, saunter, taunt, vaunt;* like short *a* (A, o) in *faucet* fasset, *sausage* sassidsch (so·sidzh). Some call *St. Paul's Church* Pohls Tschortsch, but it is a pure corruption of pronunciation among the vulgar [but see suprà p. 266]. II. unaccented, like short German *a*, as *causality* kasälliti.

AW as AU, but *Lawrence* is Larrens.

AY as AI, in *Sunday, Monday*, etc., the *ay* is very short, almost like a short *e* or *i*, as also in *holy-day* hallide (ho·lide.)

EA. I. The commonest pronunciation of *ea* is that of German *ih* or *ie* (ii), when long and accented, als *appeal, appease, bead, bequeath, cheap, conceal, dear, decease, eat, entreat, feast, feaver, grease, hear, heave, impeach, leaf, league, mead, measels, near, pea, peace, queaziness, reap, reason, sea, season, teach, treason, veal, vear, weak, weapon*, yea*, year, zeal*, etc. [see suprà p. 88, observe the * words.] "Most grammars err greatly in the pronunciation of this diphthong, but rather where this first rule applies, than where, in the opinion of some, *ea* should be pronounced *eh* (ee). Perhaps, as Mr. Brightland observes, this, with an aftersound of English *a*, was the old natural pronunciation. I know also that at the present day *ea* is so pronounced in the north of England. For the usual pure pronunciation of English, however, it is a *vitium*. . . . How Herr König, . . . who had been established for many years as a teacher of languages in London, could have missed it, I cannot understand." Except in *bear, beard*, break, earl*, early*, great, pear, steaks, swear, wear*, which are pronounced with long *e* (ee). [Observe the * words.] II. Short, or unaccented, like short German *e* (e), as, *already, bread, cleanse, dead, endeavour, feather, head, lead, leather, lineage* [?], *meadow, pleasure, potsheard, realm, sergeant, steady, tread, treasure, wealth, weather.* III. But if short *ea* is followed by *r*, it is called *ä* (æ), as *earn** ärn, wrongly pronounced jern (jərn) by some, *earnest*, earth*, hearken, heart, hearth, learn*, pearl*, etc. [Observe the * words.]

EAU, is *juh* (juu) in *beauty* biuhti, etc., but *beau* is boh (boo).

EE, generally long, as *ih, ie* (ii), as in *bleed* blihd, etc.; short or unaccented as short *i* (i) in *been** bin, *creek** krick, *breech, screech* owl* skritsch-aul, *sleek*, three-pence, coffee, committee*, congee*, eleemosinary, floree, levee*, pedigree*,

Pharisee, raree-show, Saducee*;* [Observe the * words, here and in future.]

EI, 1. as *ih* or *ie* (ii) in *conceit, conceive, deceit, deceive, inveigle** invihgel, *leisure**, *perceive, receit, receive, seize* [observe * words]; 2. as *eh* (ee), or as some say *äh* (ææ) in *deign, eight, feign, freight, heinous, heir, inveigh, neigh, neighbour, reign, rein, streight straight strait, their, vein, weigh, weight.* 3. as *ei* (ai) in *eilet-hole, height, sleight slight.* 4. as short *e* (e) in *either*, edher, *neither* nedher, *foreign* farren, *heifer.* 5. as short *i* (*i*) in *counterfeit, forfeit, surfeit, seignior.*

EO (e) in *Geoffrey* Dscheffri, *jeopardy, leopard*, (ii) in *people*, (AA) in *George* Dschahrdsch; *yeoman* jemman or jieman (je·man, jii·man).

EU, EW, as long U, namely (iu) or (uu) according to preceding consonant, but in *chew*, sew, shew, sewer*, by some as *oh* (oo).

EY, accented as (ee) in *convey, grey, obey, prey, purvey, survey, they, whey;* as (ai) in *eylet-hole, hey-day*;* and as (ii) in *key;* unaccented as (*i*) in *abbey* ähbi, etc.

EYE, as (ai) in *eye.*

IE. I. as (ai) in *crie, die, drie, fie, flie, lie, pie, tie, trie, vie*, etc.; *cries*, etc.; *to allie, certifie, defie, denie*, etc.; II. as (ii) in *aggrieve, atchieve, belief, believe, chief, cieling, field, grief, grieve, liege, mischievous* (mistshii·vəs), *piece, relieve, shriek, thief, thieve, wieldy, yield*, longer in the verbs in *-ieve*, than in the substantives in *-ief.* As short (*i*) in *mischief, orgies, friend*. Handkerchief* hänkertcher. III. as short (*i*) in *armie, bodie*, etc., better written with *-y.*

IEU, only in foreign words, as (iu) in *lieu, adieu*, as (ii) in *monsieur*, and as (if) in *lieutenant*.

IEW also as (iu), as in *view* viuh.

OA as (oo) in *abroach*, etc.; as AA in *broad, abroad, groat* graht; as (ææ) in *goal, goaler*, which [according to Lediard, p. 94, n. 55] is the right spelling, not *gaol;* as (A) short, in *oatmeal** attmihl, and as *e* (ə) in *cupboard* cobbert.

OE, initial as (ii), as *oeconomy;* final as (oo), as *croe* [a crow-bar], *doe, foe, roe, sloe, toe, woe;* as (uu) in *canoe, to coe* [to coo], *shoe, to woe* [to woo].

OI, OY, "are pronounced as *aey* [possibly (*a*+ai), meaning (ai)] in one sound," as *avoid, boisterous, choice, cloister, exploit, moist, noise, oister, poise, rejoice, soil; boy* baey, *coy, destroy, employ, hoboy* [hautbois], *joy, toy, Troy*, etc. Except as *ei* (ai) in *anoint* anneint, *appoint* äppeint, *boil* beil, *broil* breil, *coil* keil, *coin* by some kuein (kwain), *embroil, foil, hoist, join, joint, joiner, jointure, joist, loin, loiter, point, poison, rejoinder, spoil, toilet* by some tueilet (twai·let).

OO never at end of a word except *too;* long as (uu) in *aloof, galoon, patacoon*, etc.; as (oo) in *door, floor, moor* mohr; short as (*u*) in *book, brook, foot, forsooth, good*, etc. [as now]; as short *o* (ə) in *blood, flood* sometimes written *bloud, floud. Swoon* ssaun [(saun), or (swaun)? which is common now] and its derivatives.

OU. I. long and accented as German *au* (au), in *about, doughty, drought*, plough, a wound*, etc.* Except as *o* or *oh* (oo) in *although, boulster, boult, controul, course, court, courtier, discourse, dough, four, fourth, joul*, joult, mould, mouldy, mourn, moult, moulter, poulterer, poultice, poultry, to pour, recourse, shoulder, slough** a bog, for *slow*, not quick, has a *w, soul, souldier, though;* and as long *a* or *ah* (AA) in *fourty, fourtieth, cough, trough, bought, brought, nought, ought, sought, thought, wrought;* and as long *u* or *uh* (uu) in *to accoutre, bouge*, cartouch, could, gouge, groupe, rendevous, should, surtout, through, would, you, your, youth.* It is now customary to write *cou'd, shou'd, wou'd* and pronounce as *cood, shood*, and *wood* with the short accent. *Coup, scoup, soup, troup* are now written with *oo.* II. as an obscure *u* or middletone between *o* and *u* (ə), 1. in *adjourn, bloud blood, country, couple, courage, double, enough, floud flood, flourish, journy, nourish, rough, scourge, touch, tough, trouble, young.* 2. In *-our, -ous* as *armour, behaviour* behähviur, *courteous* kurtius, *dubious* duhbius, etc.; except *devour* divaur, *hour* aur, *flour* flaur, *our* aur, and *diflour* diflohr, *four* fohr, *pour* pohr. 3. In *-mouth* as in *Dartmouth*, etc. In *borough, concourse* as short *o.*

OW. I. as *au* (au) in *advow, bow* bend, *rowel*, etc. [as now], except as (oo) in *bow* arcus, *bowl* a cup, *jowl, shower* [one who shews?, meaning not given, and others as now]. II. as short (*o*) in *arrow, gallows* [written (gə·los), under A. II. 2, the rest as now]. *Knowledge* hnalledsch, *acknowledge* ackhnalledsch.

OWE, now generally *ow.*

UE at end of words, as long U.

UI as (iu) in *cuirass* kiuhrass, *juice*,

pursuit, *suit* siuht, *suitor* siutor, etc., "although these last three may be just as correctly pronounced *pursuht*, *suht*, *suhtor*," [that is (suu) as well as (siu)]; as (uu) in *bruise*, *bruit* bruht, *cruise*, *fruit*, *recruit* rekruht; as short (*i*) in *build* bild, *circuit* sörkit, *conduit* kundit, *verjuice* verdschis.

UOY is pronounced by some *aey* (ai) and by others incorrectly *ey* (ai), only found in *buoy*.

UY as (ai) in *buy*, etc.

YE, used to be written for *ie* in *dye*, *lye*, etc.

Consonants.

[Of the consonants it is not necessary to give so full an account, but a few words may be noted.]

C. *Verdict* verdit, *indict* indeit, *victuals* vittels. *Ancient* änschi-ent, *species* spieschi-es, *ocean* osche-an. *Vicious* visschi-us, *physician* phisisschi-en, *sufficient* suffisschi-ent, *precious* presschi-us, but *society* sosseietie. *Scene* ssien, *scepter* ssepter, but *sceleton* sskeleton, *sceptick* sskeptick. *Drachm* dräm, *yacht* jät (jæt). *Schism* ssissm.

D. *Almond* amon, *handsome* hänsum, *friendship* frennschip, *ribband* ribbän, *wordly* [worldly?] worlli, *hand-maid* hänmähd, *Wednesday* Wensdäh. *Come and see* kum än sih, *go and fetch* goh än fetsch, *stay and try* stäh än trey, etc.

F. In *housewife*, *sherrif*, *f* is soft like *v*, and in *of* the *f* is omitted, and *o* is pronounced as a very rapid *a* (A). *Gemini* dschemini.

G = (g) in *gibbous*, *heterogeneous*, *homogeneous*. GH initial (g), final, or followed by *t* is not pronounced, except in *cough*, *chough*, *enough*, *rough*, *tough*, *trough*, *draught*, where it is *ff* (f), and *sigh**, *drought**, *height**, where it is *th*. *Apothegm* äppothem, *phlegm** flihm (fliim). Initial *g* before *n* sounds as an aspiration or *h*, not like a hard *g*, as *gnash** hnäsch not gnäsch, *gnat** hnät not gnät, *gnaw** hnah not gnah, *gnomon*, *gnostick*. See under K. G is hard (g) in *impugn*, *oppugn*, *repugn*. In *bagnio*, *seignior*, *gn* retains the sound of Spanish ñ, Italian gn (nj).

H is not pronounced in *heir*, *honest*, *honour*, *hospital*, *hostler*, *hostile*, *hour*, *humble*, *humour*, *Humphrey* and derivatives, but is pronounced by some in *hereditary*; *herb* is called erb by some, and hyerb in one sound, (yharb ?) by others. H is also not pronounced in *John*, *Ah*, *Shiloh*, *Sirrah*, etc.

K before *n* at the beginning of a word is only aspirated, and spoken as an h; as *knack* hnäck, *knave* hnäve, *knife* hneif, *knee* hnie, *knot*, *know*, *knuckle*, etc. "M. Ludwick says that *k* before *n* is called *t*; Arnold and others declare that it is pronounced *d*. But any one experienced in English pronunciation must own, that only a pure gentle aspiration is observable, and by no means so hard and unpleasant a sound as must arise from prefixing *d* or *t* to *n*." Did he mean (nhnii) for *knee*? Compare Cooper, suprà p. 208 and p. 544, n. 2.

L is not pronounced in *calf*, *half*, *balk*, *talk*, *walk*, *folk*, *balm*, *calm*, *calve*, *to halve*, etc., *almond*, *chaldron*, *falcon*, *falconer*, *falchion**, *malkin**, *salmon*, *salvage**, *solder*, *halfpenny-worth* häh-poth (hææ·pəth). In *could*, *should*, *would*, *l* is heard only in sustained pronunciation.

N is not pronounced in *-mn*, in *kil(n)*, in *tene(n)t*, *gover(n)ment*.

PH is *p* in *phlebotomy**, *diphthong*, *triphthong*, and *v* in *nephew*, *phial vial*, *Stephen*. *Phantasm*, *phantastick*, *phantasy*, are now written with *f*.

QU is *k* in *banquet**, *conquer*, *conqueror*, *liquor*, *equipage**, *exchequer*, *masquerade*, *musquet musket*, *paraqueto*, *piquet*, *piquant*, and a few others. C is now written in *quoil*, *quines coines*, *quoit*, *quintal*, but *que* remains in *cinque*, *opaque*, *oblique*.

R agrees entirely with German *r*, except that it is not heard in *marsh*, *marshy*, *harslets haslets*; nor in the first syllable of *parlour*, *partridge*. RH in *rhapsody*, *rhetorick*, *rhime*, *rhomb*, *rhume*, etc., is pronounced as *r*.

S is hard = (s) in *design*, *resign*, *cisar*, *desolate*, *lysard* [lizard], *rosin*, *pleasant*, *visit* [this is according to a rule, certainly not now observed, that *s* after a short accented vowel or diphthong is doubled in pronunciation]. S is hard = (s) in *dis-arm*, *trans-act*, *wis-dom*. In *island*, *viscount*, *s* is mute and *i* = (ai). S is hissed, almost like German *sch* (sh) in *sue*, *suet*, *suit*, *sugar*, *sure*, and compounds, but some say *ssiu* (siu) and others *ssuh* (suu); and in *nauseate*, *nauseous*, *Asia*, *Silesian*, *enthusiasm**, *enthusiast**, *effusion*, *occasion*, *hosier*, *rosier*, and their derivatives **Asiatick*, etc.; also in *Persia*, *transient*, *mansion*, *Russia*, *passion*. "After a shortly accented vowel or diphthong the reduplication of sch must be observed, especially in the termination *sion*, as in *decision*,

provision." [Did he say (disi·shən) and not (disi·zhən) ?]

T is sounded (sh) in *patience*, *portion*, etc., but (t) in *fustion*, *mixtion*, etc., and as (tsh) in *righteous* reitschius, *courteous*, *bounteous*, *covetous* kovatschius, *virtuous* vörtschius, etc., and is not pronounced in *facts* fäks, *neglects* and similar *-ets*, nor in *-ften*, *-sten*, *-stle*, as *often* ahf'n, *soften* sahf'n, *hasten* hähss'n, *listen*, *castle* käss'l, *pestle*, *whistle*, *bustle*, etc., and also in *malster*, *mortgage*. [There is no mention of *-ture*, *-dure* = (tsher, dzher), but the inference from the *u* rules is that they were called (-tər, -dər), and this is confirmed by *gesture* dschester, *ordure* ahrdur, *pasture* pästur, *century* ssenturi, given below, p. 1049, in the *words of the same sound*, etc.]

TH in "rapid speech" is pronounced as *d* or *dd* in *apothecary**, [*t* not *d* below] *burthen*, *fathom**, *fother*, *murther*, *pother**. *Th* is "for euphony" pronounced *t* in *fifth**, *sixth**, *twelfth**. *Th* is (th) in *with*. *Th* is (dh) in *than*, *that*, *tho'* *though*, etc. [that is, (thoo), as in Scotch, was unknown to him.] *Th* is (t) in *Thames*, *Thanet**, *Theobald**, *Thomas*, *Thomson*, etc., in *thill*, *thiller*, [till, tiller ?], *thyme*, and, "according to some," in *anthem**, *apothecary**, [see *th* as (d) above], *authority**, *authorize** [not *authour* ?].

"*V*, in English called ju consonant, is not merely much softer than *f*, but also than the German *v*, but not so soft as the English or German *w*, and is therefore better to be explained as French *v*. German beginners in French find some difficulty with this French *v*. All German grammars which I have seen express English *w* by German *w*, without indicating any distinction. But I find a sensible difference, namely, that the English *w* is not so hard, so that I am able to regard German *w* as a middle sound between English *v* and *w*, and hence, in order to indicate the sound of German *w* to an Englishman, I would express it in English by *vw*, and I am certain that he would hit it off better than if I were to write a simple *w*. Pronounce *p* and allow the breath to escape from the mouth, and you have *f*, *ph* or Greek *φ*. Pronounce *b*, and allow the breath to escape through a horizontal slit or split, and you form *v*. The difference between German and English *v* consists in the greater compression of the breath, and its passage through a narrower opening for the German sound, which makes it harder, so that it approaches *f* more nearly." [He really heard the same sound for German *v* as for *f*.] "On the contrary, the English in pronouncing their *v* give the breath greater freedom and compress it less, on allowing it to escape. The Spaniards make such a little difference between their *b* and *v* in speaking, that they often use them promiscuously in writing. This sound was unknown in Greek, where *φ* most nearly approaches it. The English *w* is made by allowing the breath to escape by a round hole. The German *w* seems to be a medium between English *v* and *w*, the air escaping through a rounder hole than for English *v*, and a flatter hole than for English *w*." [See the descriptions of (w, bh, v) supra p. 513, note 2. I have quoted this passage at length from pp. 149 and 156 of Lediard, because his observations were made at Hamburg, and Lepsius and Brücke ascribe the sound of (v) instead of (bh) to North German *w*. This careful distinction shews that (bh) was certainly heard in Hamburg in 1725.]

W is not pronounced in *answer* änser, *aukward** ahkerd, *huswife housewife* hossiv, *sweltry* ssultri, *swoon** ssaun, *sword* ssohrd, "but in *swear*, *swore*, *sworn*, some consider it to be distinctly spoken."

In WR the *w* is "little or scarcely heard, as in *wrack*, *wrench*, *wrist*, *wrong*, *wrung*, in which I can only find a soft aspiration (*eine sehr gelinde aspiration*) before *r*, so that *w* must not be pronounced, as Herr Ludwick thinks, like *wr* in the Germ. Wrangel" (bhra·ql).

"WH is pronounced as *hw*, or rather as German *hu*, but so that the *u* rapidly yields to the sound of the following vowel, as *what* huat, *when* huen, *which* huidsch [?], *who* huuh [?], *why* huey." Except *whole*, *wholesome*, *whore*, in which *w* is not pronounced.

X is ksch (ksh) in *complexion* kumplekschion, *anxious* ankschius [? ä], etc.

"Y as a consonant at the beginning of a word, or syllable, sounds as German *jota*, but somewhat softer, and not so guttural as it is heard from some Germans especially in Saxony, but almost like a short German *i* when it is rapidly pronounced as a separate syllable, as *yard*, *yes*, *you*, järd, jes, yuh, or better

i-ärd, i-es, i-uh, with a very rapid and scarcely perceptible *i*" [that is (*j*) and not (*gh*)].

Z is a soft (*gelindes*) sch [that is (zh)] in *brazier*, *glazier*, *grazier*, *ozier*.

Accent.

[As some 50 pages are devoted to accent, I shall note all those words in which any peculiarity is observable. He distinguishes a *long accent* which he marks â with the grave, but as in a note he says that others use the circumflex â, employing the grave for his á acute or short accent, I shall for convenience use â for his long, and á for his short accent. I do not consider it necessary to give his rules. I merely cite the words.]

Hârd [observe that he has always made the vowel in *ar* short], lând, shôrt. Acérb, aêrial, agâin [where he made the vowel short], áfter, anchôve, anémone. Balcôny, bôisterous, bôrder. Carât, cockâll, colóss, coróllary. Dócible. Eâger, éarnest, éaster [?], êilet, éither, émpirick, empiricism, enígm, éssay, éternize, êucharist, éuphony [?]. Fôuntain. Górgeous. Heteróclite, hûmane. Levîathan, lodemânage. Mâcerate [?], mandûcable, mausolêum [modern American mausôleum, mûseum], methêglin. Orángery, orchéstre. Phantástry, philâuty, placâet [?], plebêjan, presbýtery [the accent is not written when it falls on a y] púlmonary, py'romancy. Quádrangle, quadripartite [?]. Rápier, rambôoze, rhétorick, rítual. Sepûlchral, simîlitude, sólemnize, státuary, stomáchick, strangúllion, sy'llogism. Tâbernacle, tabéllion, tantivy, tarpâwlin, thêater. Valedictory, valetûdinary, venénous, vernácular. Volûptuary [û ?], vûlnerary.

Ágitate, ávery, âbdicate, âbject, âblative, &c., âccessory, âdjuvate, âdversary, âggrandise, ingravate, alcôve, âlcali, ânarchy, ândiron, âppanage, archângel, archdûke, cóercion, cóercive, [? ô], collêague, cómmissary, cómplaisance, cómplaisant, cóngy, cónsistory, cónstellate, cóntrarily, cóntrariwise, cóntrary, cóntroversy, cóntumacy, cóntumely, cónversant, cónvoyed, córrigible, córrosive, córrosiveness. Déspicable, déstined, désuetude, dîligence, dîligent, dîmissory, dîocess, directory, dívident disciplinable, díscretive, dissoluble, distribute, distributive. E'dict, édifice, égress, éligible, émissary, épicene, épicure, épilepsy, évent, évidence, évident, éffort, émpirick, essôin, éxcellency, éxecrable, éxorcism. Fórfeit, fôrecast, fôrecastle, fôredoor, fôrefathers, fôrefinger, etc., forthcóming, forthwíth. Ignominy, illápse, illústrate, ímmanent, íncensory, índustry, ínfinite, íntricacy, ínventory. Míschief, míscreancy. Nefándous, nonéntity, nónage. Objéct v., óbdurate, óbligatory, occúlt, óffertory, ôutlandish. Pérfect, pérspirable, pósthume, préamble, prébend, précedent, précept, précinct, prédicament, préfatory, prémunire, prépuce, présage, préscience, préscript, prêvious, prócess, prócuracy, pródigally, próduct, prófile, prófligate, prógress, próject, prólogue, prótocol, púrsuivant, púrvieu. Récent, récitative, récommence, récreant, récreate, réfectory, rêgency, régicide, régiment, rêgion, régister, rélegate, réliquary, répertory, rétribute. Sécret, sécretary, súblunary, súbterranny, surcéase, surnâme v., súrcingle, súrcoat, súrname n., súspicable. Tráditive, tráverted, transpôrt v. tránsport n. Viceádmiral, vicechâncellour, vîceroy, víscount for vîcecount, víscountess.

Specífick, herôick, satúrnal. Calámity, sanguinity, majority.

Extravâsate, extrâneous, extrávagance. Rétrograde. Benefáctor, académick, legislâtour.

Debonâir, românce, levânt, bombârd, usquebâugh, octâve, cochenêal, huméct, apogîe, raperîes, intîre, turmôil, memôirs, chamôis, ragôo, scrutôre, tambôur, capûch, cadûke, ridicûle, importûne, noctúrn. Avowêe, grantêe, legatêe, etc.

Stupefactive, benefáctor, pomânder, legislâtour, nomenclâture, uténsil, chimêra, doméstiey, clandéstine, muschêto, doctrînal, agricúlture, bitûmen.

Philâctery, amphithéater, celêbrious, celébrity, comêdian, acadêmian, solémnial, stupéndious, homogêneal, homogênuous, hymênial, dyséntery, majéstative, longévity, libidínous, fastídious, concupíscible, chirúrgeon, chirúrgery, epicûrian.

Vesícatory, modíficable. Propitiatory, superérogatory, mónosyllable, réferendary, spiritualize. Cónscionableness, párliamentary.

Cônjure conjûre, âugust n. augûst a., âbject n. abjéct, cément n., cónserve n., cónsult n., cónvoy n. convôy v., éssay n. essây v., frêquent a. frequént v., mânure n. manûre v., ôvermatch n. overmâtch

v., ôutlaw n. outlâw v., rébel n. rebél v., triûmph n. triûmph v.

Words of same (or different) sound and different (or same) spelling. [I cite only some of those that Lediard has written in German letters.]

Ahgust ahgost, *augúst* agost. *Bable bauble* bahbel, *bable* bäbbl. *Báth* bähdh, *báth* bäth. *Born* (natus) bahrn, *born* (latus) bohrn. *Bów* (flectere) bau, *bów* (arcus) boh. *Bréath* breth, *bréath* briedh. *Denier* (denarius) denihr, *denier* (negator) deneyer. *Géntile* (paganus) dschentil, *gentile genteel* dschentiel. *Jób* dschab, *Jób* dschohb. *Léad* (plumbum) led, *léad* lied. *Liver* (jecur) livver, *livre* (French coin) leiver*. *Lives* leivs, *lives* livs. *Loose* (laxus) luhss, *loose* (perdere) luhs. *Lóth* lohdh (to have a disgust at), *lóth* lath (unwilling). *Móuse* (mus) maus, *móuse* v. mauhs, *móuth* n. mauth, *móuth* v. maudh, *mow* (meto) moh, *mow* (to make a face) mau. *Réad* ried, *réad* red. *Sewer* (a carver) ssuer, (a drain) schohr. *Singer* (who sings) singer, (who singes) sindscher. *Sów* (sus) ssau, *sów* (sero) ssoh. *Téar* (lacryma) tier, (lacerare) tehr. *Tóst* (of bread) tohst, *tóst* (tossed) tasst. *Week* (seven days) wiek, *week* (wick of a candle) wick.

Alley (street) älli, (friend) älley; *ant* änt, *aunt* ähnt; *arrant* ärrent, *errand* erränd; *barley* bärli, *barely* bährli. *Centaury* ssentori, *century* ssenturi* *centry sentry* ssentri. *Chair* tschähr and tschier (tshæer, tshiir), *chare* tschähr (tshæer). *Chear cheer* tschier, *jeer* dschier. *Chains* tschähns, *chance* tschänss, *change* tschähndsch, *chin* tschinn, *gin* dschinn. *Decent* dess-ssent, also diessent, *descent* des-ssent. *Duke* duhk, *duck* dock. *Each* ihdsh [?], *edge* edsch. *Fair* fähr, *fare* fähr, *fear* fihr. *Fir* för, *fur* for. *Grace* grähs, *grass* grüss, *grease* grihs. *Grote* (grotto) gratt, *groat* gräht [? graht]. *Gesture* dschestur, *jester* dschester. *Haven* hähvn, *heaven* hevvn. *Heard* hiehrd (HIIRD), *herd* herd. *Hoar* hohr (HOOR), *whore* huohr (whoor); *hole* hohl, *whole* huohl (whool); *holy* hohli, *wholly* huolli (who·li), *holly* halli (HA·li). *Knave* hnähv, *nave* nähv; *knead* hnied, *need* nied; *knight* hneit, *night* neit; *knot* hnat, *not* natt. *Manner* männer, *mannour* (manor) männor, *manure* männur, [theoretic distinctions, all (mæ·nur)]. *Message, messuage*, both messedsch. *Morning* mahrning, *mourning* mohrning. *Muscle* mosskel, *muzzle* mossel. *Order* ahrd'r, *ordure* ahrdur*. *Pastor* pästor, *pasture* pästur*. *Peace, piece*, piehss, *peas* piehs. *Precédent* (exemplum) pressiedent, *president* pressident. *Quarry* quärri, *query* quieri. *Quean* quienn, *queen* quiehn. *Retch wretch*, both retsch. *Rome, room*. *Seizin* ssiesin, *season*, ssies'n. *Sewer* (drain) schoer [schohr, in last list], *shore* schohr. *Só* sso, *sów* (sero) ssoh. *Vial* veyäl, *viol* veyol, *vile* veyl. *Wales* wähls, *whales* huähls (whæælz). *Which* huitsch, *witch* witsch. *Wrap* hräp, *rap* räp; *wrest* hrest, *rest* rest; *wry* hrey, *rye* rey. *You* ju, *ew* iuh, *yew* iuh; *your* jur, *ewer* iuhr. *Ye, yea.*

As Lediard agrees so much with the Expert Orthographist in respect to EA, it is interesting to compare the two following extracts, one only 1 year later, and the other about 30 years later. These diversities of opinion and experience are most instructive in shewing, first the overlapping of pronunciations, and secondly the ignorance of orthoepists as to varieties of pronunciation, or their habit of simply discrediting as "vulgar" or "faulty" all pronunciations with which they are themselves not familiar.

I. From "An introduction to the English Tongue. By *N. Bailey* φιλόλογος." 8vo. 1726. pp. 96, 60. Part 2, p. 15.

T. What is the proper sound of the diphthong *ea ?*

L. *Ea* has the sound of *â* long, in *bear, pear, near, swear, wear*, etc. [that is, as *a* in *mate, pate*, etc.]

2d. *A* short in *earl, heart, learn, pearl, search* [that is, as *a* in *mat, mart, cart*].

3d. *Ea* has the sound of *e* long in *appear, dream, read, sea, seam, speak, veal*, [Bailey has not mentioned what the sound of *e* long is, but as he says *e* is sounded like *ee* in certain words, *he, me, we, here, these, even, besom, Ely, Eve, fealty, Peter*, we must presume he means (ee), and not (ii)]; but some of this last kind have the *a* changed with the *e* final, as *compleat* [complete], *supream* [supreme; this confirms the view just taken, compare also 5th.]

4th. *Ea* has the sound of *e* short in *brĕast*, etc.

5th. *Ea* has sometimes the sound of *ee* in *beam*, *dear*, *hear*, *stead*, *year*. [This is therefore the exceptional, not the general pronunciation, compare 3rd.]

II. From a "Narrative of the Journey of an Irish Gentleman through England in the year 1752, p. 156. Privately printed for Mr. Hy. Huth, 1869." Mr. Furnivall, who kindly furnished me with this extract, remarks that the Additional MS. 27951 in the British Museum is probably by the same writer, and gives an account of his visits to England in 1758, 1761, and 1772. "By listening to her conversation [that of a lady passenger, in whom "the court lady reigned in every action"], I gained a better taste for the polite world, excepting one point in pronunciation, to wit, that of calling A E, and saying EE for E; but this was a thing I could not readily reconcile myself to, for I remember when I first went to school my mistress made me begin with my great A. Whether it was that the letter was bigger in dimensions than its brother vowel E that follows it, I cannot tell; but I am very certain she never made me say E. I was so very defective, or [failed] by too blunt a clipping, that my fair tutoress said she was afraid I would never make any hand on't. She assured me she was not above eight or ten months arriving at that perfection, which I am sure would cost me my whole life without making half the progress."

Buchanan has already been frequently referred to. He was much ridiculed by Kenrick,[1] who is particularly severe on his Scotticisms, and very unnecessarily abuses his method of indicating sounds. Kenrick himself is not too distinct; but as he does not trust entirely to key-words, and endeavours to indicate sounds by a reference to other languages,—the sounds of which he probably appreciated very indifferently,—it will be best to give extracts from his explanations of the vowels. The conjectured values are inserted in palaeotype, and some passing observations are bracketed. Among these remarks are introduced a few quotations from Granville Sharp.[2]

DR. KENRICK'S VOWEL SYSTEM, 1773.

1. cur sir her monk blood earth =(ə)
2. town noun how bough ... =(ʌu)
3. bull wool wolf push .. ... =(u)
4. pool groupe troop ... ... =(uu)
5. call hawl caul soft oft George cloth ... ... =(ʌʌ)
6. new cube duty beauty =(eu, yy)
7. not what gone swan war was =(ʌ)
8. no beau foe moan blown roan =(oo)
9. boy joy toil ... ... =(ʌi)
10. hard part carve laugh heart =(aa)
11. and hat crag bar ... ... =(a)
12. bay they weigh fail tale... =(ee)
13. met sweat head bread ... =(e)
14. meet meat deceit ... ... =(ii)
15. fit yes busy women English guilt ... ... =(i)
16. why nigh I buy join lyre hire =(ai)

Add to the above the indistinct sound, marked with a cypher thus [o], as practised in the colloquial utterance of the particles *a* and *the*, the last syllables of the words ending in *en*, *le* and *re*; as *a garden*, *the castle*, etc., also in the syllable frequently sunk in the middle of words of three syllables, as *every*, *memory*, *favourite*, etc., which are in

[1] *William Kenrick, LL.D.* A New Dictionary of the English Language; containing not only the *Explanation* of Words, with their *Orthography*, *Etymology*, and *Idiomatical Use* in WRITING; but likewise their *Orthoepia* or Pronunciation in SPEECH, according to the present Practice of polished Speakers in the Metropolis, which is rendered obvious at sight in a manner perfectly simple and principally new. Lond. 1773. 4to.

[2] An English Alphabet for the use of Foreigners, wherein the pronunciation of the Vowels or Voice-letters is explained in Twelve Short general Rules with their several Exceptions. 1786. 8vo. pp. 76.

versification sometimes formally omitted in writing, by the mark of elision.

Under one or other of the numbers composing the above table, are comprehended all the species of distinct articulate sounds contained in the English language. Not that they differ altogether equally in quality; several differing only in time. There are no more than eleven distinct vowel sounds of different qualities in English; ten of the numbers specified in the table being expressed by the long and short modes of uttering our five vowels; as exemplified in the following words:

A.	short in	barr'd	long in	bard
E.		met		mate
I.		hit		heat
O.		not		naught
U.		pull		pool

The other six sounds are either always short as *u* in *cur*, or always long as *o* in *note*, or double as *i* or *y* in *hire lyre; u* in *lure; ow* in *town* and *oi* in *joy*: most of which long sounds seem to partake of two qualities, not so equally blended in them all, as to pass without our perceiving the ingredients of the compound. Thus *I* or *Y* appear to be a commixture of the long *e* [previously defined as *a* in *mate*] and short *i* [in *hit*]; U of the long *e* [*a* in *mate*] and short *u* [in *pull*]; OW of the short *o* [in *not*] and long *u* [*oo* in *pool*]; and OI most palpably of the short *o* [in *not*] and *i* [in *hit*].

[Dr. Kenrick's appreciation of diphthongs was evidently very inexact. See numbers 2, 6, 9, 16, in the following explanatory remarks on the vowels in preceding table.]

1. [U in *cur*.] It is always short, and bears a near, if not exact, resemblance to the sound of the French *leur, cœur*, if it were contracted in point of time. [It is not to be supposed that the sound was exactly the French (œ) or (ɔ). It is more probable that Kenrick pronounced the French sounds as (ə) or (ɜ). G. Sharp says: "O has the sound of a short *u* in *af-front*, etc. (In the dialects of Lancashire and some other places the *o* is pronounced according to rule in many of these words) . . . . *cóv-er* . . . . etc., and their compounds, etc., except *dis-cóv-er, re-cóv-er*, which are pronounced according to rule. . . . . *One* is pronounced as if spelt *won*."

2. [OW in *town*.] The long and broad *ow, ou*, and *u*, as in *tòwn, nòun, cùcumber* [the old sound of this word remaining, notwithstanding the change of spelling. Sharp also says: "U is like the English *ou* in the first syllable of *cu-cumber*," p. 13.] This sound greatly resembles the barking of a full-mouthed mastiff, and is perhaps so clearly and distinctly pronounced by no nation as by the English and the Low Dutch. The nicer distinguishers in the qualities of vocal sounds consider it as a compound; but it has sufficient unity, when properly pronounced, to be uttered with a single impulse of the voice, and to pass for a distinct sound or syllable, I consider it only as such.

3. [U in *bull*.] The French have this sound in *fol, sol, trou, clou;* the Italians I think everywhere in their *u*.

4. [OO in *pool*.] Nearly as the sound of *douze, epouse, pouce, roux, doux*, and the plurals, *sols, fols*, do from *sol, fol, trou*, etc. [The difference between 3 and 4 is only meant to be one of length. The French generally recognize the lengthening of the vowel as the mark of the plural. G. Sharp says: "OO is not pronounced so full, but partakes a little of the sound of a short *u* in *blood, flood, foot, good, hood, stood, soot, wood* and *wool*. *OO* has the sound of *o* long in *door* and *floor*. *Door* and *floor* are pronounced by the vulgar in the Northern parts of England as they are spelt, for they give the *oor*, in these words, the same sound that it has in *boor, moor, poor*," and "O is sounded like *oo* in *tomb* and *womb*, (wherein *b* is silent,) *lo-ser, gold, whom*, and *whose*. In the northern parts of England the words *gold, who, whom*, and *whose*, are pronounced properly as they are spelt."]

5 and 7. [A in *call* and O in *not*.] This sound is common in many languages, although the distinction of long and short is preserved in few or none but the English. The French have it exactly in the words *ame, pas, las*, etc. [This is a distinct recognition of the English habit of pronouncing French. See Sir William Jones's phonetic French, suprà p. 835. But it does not follow that the French said anything broader than (*a*). Mr. Murray, a native of Hawick, informed me that when he and a friend first studied my Essentials of Phonetics, they were exceedingly puzzled with the distinction I drew between (aa) and (AA). They could find no distinction

at all, and thought it must be fancy on my part. Mr. Murray now recognizes that he then pronounced (*aa*) in place of both sounds. Compare Prof. Blackie's confusion of (aa, AA), suprà p. 69, n. 3. G. Sharp calls the French *a* the "English diphthong *aw*," and says that *a* "has a medium sound between *aw* and the English *a*, in *fa-ther*, and the last syllable of *pa-pa*, *mam-ma*, and also in *han't* (for *have not*), *mds-ter* and *plds-ter;* and is like *aw* in *hal-ser* (wherein *l* is mute), *false* and *pal-sy*. *A* has the sound of *aw* likewise before *ld* and *lt*, as in *bald*, *cal-dron*, *al-tar*, etc., in all primitive monosyllables ending in *ll* (except *shall* and *mall*, which are pronounced according to rule), as in *all*, *gall*, *fall*, etc., and before *lk* (wherein *l* is mute), as *balk*, *stalk*, *walk*, *talk*, etc., but before *lf*, *lm*, *lve*, and before *nd* in words derived from the Latin word *mando*, it is sounded like the Italian *a*, only somewhat shorter, as in *half*, *calm*, *salve*, *command*, *demand*, etc." Here "English a" seems to mean (*ee*) and (aa) to be considered intermediate between (*ee*) and (AA).]

6. [EW in n*ew*.] This sound, variously denoted in letters, by *u*, *eu*, *ue*, *ew*, and even *eau*, as in *duty*, *feud*, *true*, *new*, *beauty*, when slowly uttered, is evidently a compound of the long *i* [*ea* in *heat*] and short *u* [*u* in *pull*]; but when pronounced sharp and quick with a single effort of the voice, is no longer a diphthong, but a sufficiently single and uniform syllable; whose quality is distinctly heard in the words above mentioned; as also in the French words *du*, *une*, *unir*, *prune*, *eu* (yy). [Now here we observe first that the analysis of the diphthongal sound is (iu), instead of (eu), as before, suprà p. 1051 c. 1, and secondly that the recognition of French *u* does not perhaps imply more than that the diphthong became extremely close (that is, both the elements and the connecting glide very short), and that Dr. Kenrick did not know any better way of pronouncing French *u*. That Dr. Kenrick generally recognized a close and open pronunciation of the diphthongs is evident from his remarks on 2 and 16. Still the cropping up of the French *u* a century after Wallis had apparently noted it for the last time, is curious and interesting. I have myself heard it sporadically, not reckoning provincialisms.]

8. [O in n*o*.] The French have it in *Dôme*, *os*, *repos*, *faûne*, *maux*, *faulx*. [This indicates a long (*oo*).]

9. [OY in j*oy*.] This sound approaches the nearest to a practical diphthong of any in our language. . . . A vicious custom prevails, in common conversation, of sinking the first broad sound entirely, or rather of converting both into the sound of *i* or *y*, No. 16; thus *oil*, *toil*, are frequently pronounced exactly like *isle*, *tile*. This is a fault which the Poets are inexcusable for promoting, by making such words rhime to each other. And yet there are some words so written, which, by long use, have almost lost their true sound. Such are *boil*, *join*, and many others; which it would now appear affectation to pronounce otherwise than *bile*, *jine*. [This is important in reference to rhymes.]

10, 11. [A in h*a*rd and *a*nd.] The French have it short in *alla*, *race*, *fasse;* long in *abattre*, *grace*, *age*, etc. The Italians have it long in *padre*, *madre*, and short in *ma*, *la*, *allegro*, etc. It is somewhat surprising that men of letters, and some of them even residing in the Metropolis, should mistake the simple and genuine application of this sound. "The native sound of A," says Dr. Bayly, "is broad, deep and long, as in *all*, *aw*, *war*, *daub;* but it hath generally a mixed sound, as in *man*, *Bath*, *Mary*, *fair*, which are sounded as if written *maen*, *baeth*, etc." But who, except flirting females and affected fops, pronounce *man* and *Bath* as if they were written *maen*, *baeth*, or like *Mary*, *fair*, etc. [Dr. Kenrick would seem therefore to have really pronounced (a) and not (æ), considering the latter sound as effeminate. It is curious to see Gill's *Mopseys* and Smith's *malierculæ* and *urbaniùs loquentes* (suprà p. 90) cropping up as Kenrick's *flirting females* and *affected fops*. In all ages refinement has apparently led to the same mincing, that is, closer form of vowel sounds, with the tongue more raised, or brought more forward. G. Sharp ought to agree with Kenrick, when he says: "*A* has a short articulation of the English *aw*, or rather of the Italian *a*, as in *add*, *bad*, *lad*, *mad*," for this seems to preclude (æ). He also says that *e* is like short *a* in *yellow*, known yet, but only as vulgarism.]

12, 13. [AY in b*ay* and E in m*e*t.] The short sound is nearly or quite the

same as the French give to their *e* in the words *elle*, *net*, *poët*, etc. At the same time it is observable they give it to the combinations *ei* and *ai* and *oi*, as in *pleine*, *plaine*, *disoit*. The French extend it also nearly as much as the English long sound in the words *nès*, *dez*, *clefs*, *parler*, *fondès*, *amai*, *dirai*, etc. . . . . The protracted or long sound of the short *e* as in *met*, *let*, etc., is in fact the slender sound of the *a*. [This confuses the close and open sounds, and renders it probable that Kenrick pronounced (ee, e), and not (*ee*, *e*).] *Break* is generally sounded like *brake*, *make*, *take*, but few, except the natives of Ireland or the provinces, say *ate*, *spake;* but *eat*, *speak*, agreeably to No. 14. [Here we have a recognition of the (ee) sound of *ea* still remaining, and of the occasional (ii) sound of *ea* in *break*, suprà p. 89. G. Sharp says that "*a* is like the French *ai* in *dn-gel*, *bass*, *cdm-brick*, *Cdm-bridge*, *ddn-ger*, and *mdn-ger*:" that *are* is spoken "as if spelt *air*," and that in *a-ny*, *ma-ny*, *a* "sounds like a short *e* or foreign *e*."]

14. [EE in m*ee*t. This was clearly (ii).]

15. [I in f*i*t.] A contraction of the long sound of *e* or *ee* in *me* or *meet*. This is plain by repeating the words *fit* and *feet*, *pit* and *peat*, *mit* and *meat;* in which the similarity of sound is very perceptible. [This ought to give (i) and not (*i*), yet there is very little doubt that (*i*) was said, and the distinction not recognized. G. Sharp says that *e* is like *i* short in *England*, *pretty*, *yes* and *yet*.]

16. [Y in wh*y*.] As at present uttered by the best speakers in the metropolis, it is the sharpest, shrillest, and clearest vowel in our language; altho it has the appearance, when slowly pronounced, of being a compound of the *a* or *e* and *i*. I do not know that any other language has it equally clear, single and distinct. I have elsewhere observed that our Scotish linguists say it has the sound usually denoted by *awee*, but the errour of this is obvious to every Englishman. The French however come near it in the interjection *ahi!* which they pronounce quickly as one syllable, without the nasal twang that attends the words *fin*, *vin*, and some others, bearing a near resemblance. [Kenrick is very peculiar about his diphthongs. Many Englishmen, however, as we have seen in the case of Smith (p. 112) and Gill (p. 114), considered long *i* as a single sound. Kenrick's admissions point to (ai), rather than (æi) as his diphthong. G. Sharp is very peculiar, and would seem to have two pronunciations, possibly (ei, ai), or thereabouts, as in the present Scotch-English; he says: "There are two ways of sounding the long *i* and *y* (though both long), the one a little different from the other, and requiring a little extension of the mouth, as may be seen by comparing the following words, viz. *I* and *aye*, *high* and *high-ho*, *by't* (for *by it*) and *bite*, *sigh'd* and *side*, *strive* and *strife*, etc., but this difference, being so nice, is not to be attained but by much practice, neither is it very material. . . *I i* English, or long, like the Greek ει, or something like the French *i* before *n* in *prince*."]

It did not enter into the scheme of either Buchanan or Kenrick to give specimens of pronunciation in a connected form, but an example of their two systems of pronunciation is furnished by the following transcription of the passage from *As you Like it*, which was given in Shakspere's conjectured pronunciation on p. 986, and is here rendered according to the best interpretations I can effect of the symbolized pronunciation of each separate word in Buchanan's Vocabulary and Kenrick's Dictionary.

BUCHANAN, 1766.	KENRICK, 1773.
:AAl dhii wərld -z æ steedzh	:AAl dhii wərld-z ee steedzh
ÆEnd AAl dhii men ænd wim·in miir·li plee·irz.	And AAl dhii men and wim·en miir·li plee·ərz:
Dhee HÆv dheer ek·sits ænd dheer en·trinsez,	Dhee HAV dheer eg·zits ænd dheer en·transez,

BUCHANAN.	KENRICK.
Ænd wæn mæn *i*n HI*z* təim pleez mæn·*i* pæærts,	And wən man in HIZ taim pleez man·i paarts
H*i*z ækts bii·*i*q sev·n eedzh·ez. Æt fərst dhii *i*n·f*i*nt	Hiz akts bii·iq sev'n eedzh·ez. At fərst dhii in·fant
Miu·l*i*q ænd piuk·*i*q *i*n HI*z* nərs·ez æærmz,	Myyling and pyyk·iq in dhii nərs·ez aarmz.
Ænd dhen dhii whəin·*i*q skuul·boi w*i*dh HI*z* sætsh·*i*l	And dhen dhii wain·iq skuul·BAI with[2] HIZ satsh·el
Ænd shəin·*i*q MARN·*i*q fees, kriip·*i*q ləik sneel	And shain·iq MAAR·niq fees, kriip·iq leik sneel
ƷNw*i*l·*i*ql*i* tu skuul. Ænd dhen dhii ləv·*i*r	ƷNwil·iqli t*oo*[3] skuul. And dhen dhii ləv·ər
Səith·*i*q[1] ləik fər·n*i*s w*i*dh æ w*oo*·ful bæl·*i*d	Sai·iq ləik fər·nas, with a w*oo*·fəl bal·ad
Meed tu HI*z* m*i*s·tr*i*s əi·brəu. Dhen, æ səuld·JI*r*	Meed t*oo* HIZ mis·tris ai·brau. Dhen ee s*oo*l·JƏR
Ful ɔv streendzh *oo*dhz, ænd beerded ləik æ pærd,	Fuul AV streendzh *oo*dhz[4] and biird·ed[5] laik dhii paard,
Dzhel·əs ɔv ɔn·*i*r səd·n ænd kw*i*k *i*n kwær·*i*l	Dzhel·əs in HAN·ur,[6] səd·en ænd kwik in kwAA·rel,
Siik·*i*q dhii bəb·l repiutee·shən	Siik·iq dhii bəb·'l repyytee·shən
Iiv·n *i*n dhii kæn·ənz məuth. Ænd dhen dhii dzhəst·*i*s	Ii·v'n in dhii kan·ənz MAUTH. And dhen dhii dzhəs·tis,
*I*n feer rəund bel·*i* w*i*dh guud keep·n ləind,	In feer RAUND bel·i with guud keep·'n laind,
W*i*dh əiz siviir· ænd beerd ɔv fəər·m*i*l kət,	With aiz seviir· and biird AV FAAR·mal kət,
Ful ɔf wəiz SAAZ ænd mɔd·*i*rn *i*n·st*i*nsez,	Fuul AV waiz SAAZ and MAD·ərn in·stansez;
Ænd s*oo* HII pleez HI*z* pæært. Dhii s*i*kst eedzh sh*i*fts	And s*oo* HII[7] pleez HIZ paart. Dhii siksth[8] eedzh shifts
*I*n·tu dhii liin ænd sl*i*p·*i*rd pæntæluun·,	INTA dhii liin and slip·ərd pan·taluun,
W*i*dh spek·t*i*klz ɔn n*oo*z, ænd pəutsh ɔn səid,	With spek·tak'lz AN n*oo*z and PAUTSH AN said,
H*i*z JUUth·ful H*oo*z wel seevd, æ wərld tuu wəid	Hiz JYYth·fəl[9] H*oo*z, wel seevd, ee wərld tuu waid
Fər HI*z* shrəqk shæqk, ænd HI*z* b*i*g mæn·l*i* vois,	FAR HIZ shrəqk shaqk; and HIZ big man·li VAIS,
Tərn·*i*q ægen· tu tshəild·*i*sh treb·l, pəips	Tərn·iq ægen· t*oo*rd[10] tshaild·ish treb·'l, paips
Ænd wh*i*s·lz *i*n HI*z* səund. Læst siin ɔv AAl,	And wis·t'lz[11] in HIZ SAUND. Last siin AV AAl,
Dhæt endz dh*i*s streendzh ivent·ful H*i*s·tər*i*	Dhat endz dhis streendzh event·fəl HIS·TARI
*I*z sek·ənd tshəild·*i*shnes ænd miir *o*bliv·JƏN,	Iz sek·ənd tsheild·ishnes, and miir ABliv·iən,[12]
Sanz tiith, sanz əiz, sanz teest, sanz ev·r*i* th*i*q.	Sanz tiith, sanz aiz, sanz teest, sanz ev·'ri thiq.

Notes on the Preceding Specimens.

[1] This is the first sound Buchanan gives, but he adds that (səi·iq) is a better pronunciation.

[2] Kenrick says (with) or (widh), hence the first must be regarded as the pronunciation he prefers.

[3] Kenrick says (*too*) or (tʌ), by the latter possibly meaning (*to*).

[4] Kenrick gives (*oo*th) as the singular, but says nothing of the change of the sound of *th* in the plural. He notes the change in the plural of *youth*, but not in those of *half*, *wolf*.

[5] "(Biird), and sometimes, but I think wrongly (bərd)."—Kenrick.

[6] Kenrick marks *h* mute in *honest*, but not in *honour*. This is probably the misprint of a Roman H for an italic *H*.

[7] Kenrick has neglected to mark the pronunciation of this word.

[8] Kenrick merely says: "from the adjective," and hence leaves it in doubt whether he said (sikst) or (siksth).

[9] The initial (ɹ) is retained, as Kenrick has not marked it mute.

[10] Kenrick writes: "To`WARD, To`WARDS," and adds: "This word is not usually pronounced as one syllable." But then immediately writes "To-WARDS," which should imply one syllable having the vowel in *no*.

[11] Kenrick writes WH, but as he has nowhere explained what he means by this combination, and as almost all the words beginning with *wh* are spelled W*H*, where the *H* indicates that it is silent, it has been so assumed here.

[12] "Or (ʌbliv·jən)."—Kenrick.

JOSHUA STEELE'S VOWEL SYSTEM, 1775.

Joshua Steele was an ingenious orthoepist, who, with much success, endeavoured to write down speech in respect to accent, quantity, emphasis, pause and force. It did not enter into his scheme to represent quality, but in the preface to his work he makes the following remarks, already partially quoted (suprà p. 980, note 1, col. 1), for the recognition of the French *u* in English, and worth preserving in their connection.

The complete title of the work is: Prosodia Rationalis; or, an Essay towards Establishing the Melody and Measure of Speech, to be expressed and perpetuated by Peculiar Symbols. The second edition amended and enlarged. 4to. pp. xviii. 243. London, 1779. With dedication to Sir John Pringle, Bart., President of the Royal Society, from *Joshua Steele*, the author, dated Margaret Street, Cavendish Square, Sept. 25, 1775. It is in the form of remarks on "the *musical part* of a very curious and ingenious work lately published at Edinburgh, on *The Origin and Progress of Language*," and correspondence with the author of the same, who is not named, but only called 'his l—p." A transcription of some of his examples of writing the melody of speech is given in my paper on Accent and Emphasis, art. 20, n. 1, Philol. Trans. 1873-4, p. 129. The following extract is from the preface of Steele's work, pp. viii-xiii.

The puzzling obscurity relative to the *melody and measure* of speech, which has hitherto existed between modern critics and ancient grammarians, has been chiefly owing to a want of terms and characters, sufficient to distinguish clearly the several properties or accidents belonging to language; such as, *accent*, *emphasis*, *quantity*, *pause*, and *force*; instead of which *five terms*, they have generally made use of *two* only, *accent* and *quantity*, with some loose hints concerning *pauses*, but without any clear and sufficient rules for their use and admeasurement; so that the definitions required for distinguishing between the expressions of *force* (or loudness) and *emphasis*, with their several degrees, were worse than lost; their difference being tacitly felt, though not explained or reduced to rule, was the cause of confounding all the rest.

In like manner, there still exists another defect in literal language of a similar kind; that is, there are in nature, neither more, nor less, than seven *vowel sounds*, besides diphthongs; for which seven sounds, the principal nations in Europe use only five characters (for the *y* has, with us, no sound distinct from the *i*), and this defect throws the orthography and pronunciation of the whole into uncertainty and confusion.

In order to distinguish what are VOWELS and what are not, let this be the definition of a *vowel sound; videlicit*, a simple sound capable of being continued invariably the same for a long time (for example, as long as the breath lasts), without any change of the organs; that is, without any movement of the throat, tongue, lips, or jaws. [Mr. Melville Bell, to whose kindness I am indebted for the knowledge and use of this curious book, apparently had this passage in view when he wrote (*Visible Speech*, p. 71): "A 'Vowel' is a syllabic sound moulded by a definite and momentarily *fixed*, or tense, configuration of the free channel of the mouth, and creating no oral sibilation or friction in its emission. A vowel without a 'fixed' configuration loses its syllabic effect, and becomes a 'glide'; and a 'glide' with sibilation or friction in the oral channel becomes a 'consonant.' Consonants, like glides, are merely transitional sounds; but their configurations may be 'held' so as to receive syllabic impulse, in which case a consonant without a vowel has the effect of a syllable. All vowels make syllables." Both definitions miss the distinctive character of vowels, given suprà p. 51, and now capable of further discrimination, by Donders's and Merkel's recognition of a constant pitch for each vowel which modifies the *timbre* of the vowel at other pitches.]

But a *diphthong sound* is made by blending two *vowel sounds*, by a very quick pronunciation, into *one*.

So that to try, according to the foregoing definition, to continue a diphthong sound, the voice most commonly changes immediately from the first vowel sound of which the diphthong is composed, by a small movement in some of the organs, to the sound of the vowel which makes the latter part of the said diphthong, the sound of the first vowel being heard only for one instant. For example, to make this experiment on the English sound of U, as in the word USE, which is really a *diphthong* composed of these two English sounds EE and OO; the voice begins on the sound EE, but instantly dwindles into, and ends in, OO. [Presumably (iu).]

The other English sound of U, as in the words UGLY, UNDONE, BUT and GUT, is composed of the English sounds AU and OO; but they require to be pronounced so extremely short and close together that, in the endeavour to prolong the sound for this experiment, the voice will be in a continual confused struggle between the two component sounds, without making either of them, or any other sound, distinct; so that the true English sound of this diphthong can never be expressed but by the aid of a short energetic aspiration, something like a short cough, which makes it very difficult to our Southern neighbours in Europe. [Here he seems to confuse a diphthong, in which there is a real succession of vowel sounds and a connecting glide (suprà p. 51), with the attempt to pronounce two vowels simultaneously. Hence this sound of U should rather be written (A*u) with the link (*) p. 11, than (Au), which is a diphthong into which we have seen that many orthoepists analyse *ow*, certainly a very different sound from any value ever given to *u*. Now (A*u), if we omit the labial character of both vowels, as there is certainly nothing labial in *u*, gives nearly (Œ*œ), which can scarcely differ from the sound (ɜ), which lies between them, as may be seen best by the diagrams on p. 14. Hence we must take this sound to be (ɜ), which still exists in very wide use.]

To try the like experiment on the English sound of I or Y, as I in the first person, and in the words MY, BY, IDLE, and FINE (both of which letters are the marks of one and the same *diphthong sound* composed of the English sounds AU and EE), the voice begins on the sound AU, and immediately changes to EE, on which it continues and ends. [Presumably (ʌi), as defined also by Sheridan. It is curious that Steele has altogether omitted to notice *oy*, and hence escaped falling under the necessity of distinguishing *by*, *boy*, for example. Possibly he would have written (bʌii, bʌʌi), suprà p. 107, l. 4 from bottom of text. He was presumably an Irishman.]

The English sound of E, in the words *met*, *let*, *men*, *get*, is a diphthong composed of the vocal sounds A and E (being the second and third vowels in the following arrangement), and pronounced very short. [Here again his diphthong is used for a link, and the result seems meant for (a*e), and although this should give (ah), it is possible he meant (E), see diagrams p. 14. He does not seem to have been

aware of the sound of (æ), or at any rate to have confused the sounds (a, æ).]

In order the better to ascertain the tones of the seven vocal sounds, I have ventured to add a few French words in the exemplification; in the pronunciation of which, I hope, I am not mistaken. If I had not thought it absolutely necessary, I would not have presumed to meddle with any living language but my own; the candid reader will therefore forgive and correct my errors, if I have made any in this place, by substituting such other French syllables as will answer the end proposed. [A palaeotypic interpretation is annexed. We must suppose that his French pronunciation was imperfect.]

The *seven natural vowel sounds* may be thus marked and explained to sound

in English as the words.	*in French as the words.*
a = all, small, or, for, knock, lock, *o*ccur = (A, ɔ)	en, grande.
a = man, can, cat, rat = (a)	Paris, *ha*bit, *par*don.
e = may, day, take, nation = (*ee*)	ses, et.
i = *e*vil, keen, it, be, *iniquity* = (ii)	Par*is*, hab*it*, ris, dit, il.
o = *o*pen, only, broke, hole = (*oo*)	*sol*dat, *cô*tes, *o*ffrir.
ω = fool, two, rule, tool, do = (uu)	ou, vous, jour, jal*oux*.
u = { *su*perfl*u*ous, tune, *su*preme, credulity ..... } { *very rare in English* } = (y)	du, plus, une.

Diphthong sounds in English.

αi = I, *fi*ne, h*i*re, l*i*fe, r*i*de, sp*y*, fl*y* (a long sound) = (Aii)
ae = met, let, get, men (a short sound) = (a*e, E)
iw = you, use, new, due, few (a long sound) = (iuu)
αω { makes the English sound of *un* or *ug*, and is pronounced extremely short } *un*kind, *un*done, beg*un* *u*gly, b*u*t, sh*u*t, g*u*t } = (A*u, u)
oω = how, bough, sow, hour, gown, town (this diphthong is sounded long, dwelling chiefly on the latter vowel) = (Auu).

The letters and sounds, which in modern languages pass under the names of diphthongs, are of such different kinds, that they cannot properly be known by any definition I have seen: for, according to my sense, the greatest part of them are not diphthongs. Therefore, that I may not be misunderstood, I will define a *proper diphthong* to be made in speech, by the blending of *two vowel sounds* so intimately into *one*, that the ear shall hardly be able to distinguish more than one uniform sound; though, if produced for a longer time than usual, it will be found to continue in a sound different from that on which it began, or from its *diphthong sound*. [This shews a perfect confusion between linking two sounds into one, and gliding on from one sound on to another.]

And therefore the vowels, which are joined to make diphthongs in English, are pronounced much shorter, when so joined, than as single vowels; for if the vowel sounds, of which they are composed, especially the initials, are pronounced so as to be easily and distinctly heard separately, they cease to be diphthongs, and become distinct syllables.

Though the grammarians have divided the vowels into three classes; long, short, and doubtful; I am of opinion, that every one of the seven has both a longer and shorter sound: as

α is long in *all*, and short in *lock* and *oc* (lack and αc) = (AA, A ?).
A is long in *arm*, and short in *cat* = (aa, a ?).
E is long in *may* and *make*, and short in *nation* = (*ee*, *e* ?).
I is long in *be*, and short in *it* = (ii, i ?).
O is longer in hole than in *o*pen [often (ɔp·n) dialectally]; long in corrode, short in corrosive [which Lediard accents córrosive suprà p. 1048, c. 1, l. 5 from bottom.] = (*oo*, *o* ?).
ω is long in *fool*, short (by comparison) in *fo*olish = (uu, u ?).
U is long in tune and plus, and short in *su*per and *du* = (iu, y ?).

But the shortest sounds of ο, ω, and υ are long in comparison with the short sounds of the four first vowels [that is, are medial ?].

The French, the Scotch, and the Welsh, use all these vowel sounds in their common pronunciation; but the English seldom or never sound the υ in the French tone (which I have set down as the last in the foregoing list, and which, I believe, was the sound of the Greek ὑπσιλὸν), except in the more refined tone of the court, where it begins to obtain in a few words.

I have been told the most correct Italians use only five vowel sounds, omitting the first and seventh, or the α and the υ. Perhaps the Romans did the same: for it appears by the words which they borrowed from the Greeks in latter times, that they were at a loss how to write the η and the υ in Latin letters.

As the Greeks had all the seven marks, it is to be presumed that at some period they must have used them to express so many different sounds. But having had the opportunity of conversing with a learned modern Greek, I find, though they still use all the seven marks, they are very far from making the distinction among their sounds which nature admits of, and which a perfect language requires: but all nations are continually changing both their language and their pronunciation; tho that people, who have marks for seven vowels, which are according to nature the competent number, are the least excusable in suffering any change, whereby the proper distinction is lost.

§ 2. *Two American Orthoepists of the Eighteenth Century.*

i. Benjamin Franklin's Phonetic Writing, 1768.

Dr. Franklin's scheme of phonetic writing (suprà p. 48), though hasty and unrevised, is too interesting to be omitted. His correspondence with Miss Stephenson contains a common sense, practical view of the necessity and usefulness of some phonetic scheme, and gives short convincing answers to the objections usually urged against it. The spelling would have required careful reconsideration, which it evidently never received. But in the following transcript it is followed exactly. As a specimen of the English pronunciation of the earlier part, although written after the middle, of the XVIII th century, it is of sufficient importance to justify the insertion of the paper at length in this place. The symbols are, as usual, replaced by their palaeotypic equivalents, and for convenience of printing the following table given by Franklin is somewhat differently arranged, although the matter is unaltered.

Table of the Reformed Alphabet.

Names.	*Manner of Pronouncing the Sounds.*
(o)	*o*ld. The first VOWEL naturally, and deepest sound; requires only to open the mouth and breathe through it.
(A)	John, *o*lly; *aw*l, b*a*ll. The next requiring the mouth opened a little more, or hollower.
(æ)	m*a*n, c*a*n. The next, a little more.
(e)	m*e*n, l*e*nd, n*a*me, l*a*ne. The next requires the *tongue* to be a little more elevated.
(i)	d*i*d, s*i*n, d*ee*d, s*ee*n. The next still more.
(u)	t*oo*l, f*oo*l, r*u*le. The next requires the *lips* to be gathered up, leaving a small opening.
(ə)	*u*m, *u*n; as i*n* *u*mbrage, *u*nto, etc., and as in *er*. The next a very short vowel, the sound of which we should express in our present letters, thus *uh*; a short, and not very strong *aspiration*.
(HƏ)	*h*unter, *h*appy, *h*igh. A stronger or more forcible aspiration.
(gi)	*gi*ve, *g*ather. The first CONSONANT; being formed by the *root of the tongue*; this is the present hard *g*.

(ki) *kee*p, *kick*. A kindred sound; a little more acute; to be used instead of hard *c*.

(*i*sh) [sh] *sh*ip, w*ish*. A new letter wanted in our language; our *sh*, separately taken, not being the proper elements of the sound.

(*i*q) [ng] i*ng*, repeati*ng*, amo*ng*. A new letter wanted for the same reason. These are formed *back in the mouth*.

(en) *en*d. Formed *more forward* in the mouth; the *tip of the tongue* to the *roof* of the mouth.

(r) *ar*t. The same; the tip of the tongue a little loose or separate from the roof of the mouth, and vibrating.

(ti) *tee*th. The tip of the tongue more forward; touching, and then leaving, the roof.

(di) *dee*d. The same; touching a little fuller.

(el) *ell*, *tell*. The same; touching just about the *gums* of the *upper teeth*.

(es) *essence*. This sound is formed by the breath passing *between* the moist end of the *tongue* and the *upper teeth*.

(ez) [es] wag*es*. The same; a little denser and duller.

(eth) [th] *th*ink. The tongue under, and a little *behind*, the upper teeth; touching them, but so as to let the breath pass between.

(edh) [dh] *th*y. The same; a little fuller.

(ef) *eff*ect. Formed by the *lower lip* against the upper teeth.

(ev) *ever*. The same; fuller and duller.

(b) *bees*. The *lips full together*, and opened as the air passes out.

(pi) *pee*p. The same; but a thinner sound.

(em) *em*ber. The *closing* of the lips, while the *e* is sounding.

REMARKS [by Franklin, on the above table].

(*o*) to (нэ). It is endeavoured to give the alphabet a *more natural order;* beginning first with the simple sounds formed by the breath, with none or very little help of tongue, teeth, and lips, and produced chiefly in the windpipe.

(g, k). Then coming forward to those, formed by the roof of the tongue next to the windpipe.

(r, n, t, d). Then to those, formed more forward, by the forepart of the tongue against the roof of the mouth.

(l, s, z). Then those, formed still more forward in the mouth, by the tip of the tongue applied first to the roots of the upper teeth.

(th, dh). Then to those, formed by the tip of the tongue applied to the ends or edges of the upper teeth.

(f, v). Then to those, formed still more forward, by the under lip applied to the upper teeth.

(b, p). Then to those, formed yet more forward, by the upper and under lip opening to let out the sounding breath.

(m). And lastly, ending with the shutting up of the mouth, or closing the lips while any vowel is sounding.

In this alphabet *c* is *omitted* as unnecessary; *k* supplying its hard sound, and *s* the soft; *k* also supplies well the place of *x* [evidently a misprint for *q*], and with an *s* added in the place of *x*: *q* and *x* are therefore omitted. The vowel *u* being sounded as *oo* (uu) makes the *w* unnecessary. The *y*, where used simply, is supplied by *i*, and where as a dipthong [so spelled in the original], by two vowels: that letter is therefore omitted as useless. The jod *j* is also omitted, its sound being supplied by the new letter (sh) *ish*, which serves other purposes, assisting in the formation of other sounds;—thus the (sh) with a (d) before it gives the sound of the jod *j* and soft *g* as in "James, January, giant, gentle" (dsheems, dshænueri, dshəiænt, dshentel); with a (t) before it, it gives the sound of *ch*, as in "cherry, chip" (tsheri, tship); and with a (z) before it, the French sound of the jod *j*, as in "jamais" (zshæme). [Dr. Franklin's knowledge of the French sound must have been very inexact.] Thus the *g* has no longer *two different* sounds, which occasioned confusion, but is, as every letter ought to be, confined to one. The same is to be observed in *all* the letters, vowels, and consonants, that wherever they are met with, or in whatever company, their sound is always the same. It is also intended, that there be *no superfluous* letters used in spelling; i.e. no letter that is not sounded; and this alphabet, by six new letters [meaning

(A, ə, sh, q, th, dh)], provides that there be no distinct sounds in the language, *without letters* to express them. As to the difference between *short and long vowels*, it is naturally expressed by a single vowel where short, a double one where long; as for "mend" write (mend), but for "remain'd" write (remeen'd); for "did" write (did), but for "deed" write (diid), etc.

What in our common alphabet is supposed the third vowel, *i*, as we sound it, is as a *dipthong*, consisting of two of our vowels joined; (ə) as sounded in "unto" and (i) in its true sound. Any one will be sensible of this who sounds those two vowels (ə i) quick after each other; the sound begins (ə) and ends (ii). The true sound of the (i) is that we now give to *e* in the words "deed, keep." [Here the editor observes: "The copy, from which this is printed, ends in the same abrupt way with the above, followed by a considerable blank space; so that more perhaps was intended to be added by our author. B. V."]

EXAMPLES.

So[1] HUEN SƏM ENDSHEL, bəi divəin KAMÆND,
UIDH RƏIZIQ TEMPESTS SHEEKS E GILTI LÆND;
(SƏTSH ÆZ AV LEET *or* PEEL BRITÆNIÆ PÆST,)
KÆLM AND SIRIIN HI DRƏIVS DHI FIURIƏS BLÆST;
AND, PLIIZ'D DH' ALMEITIS ARDƏRS TU PƏRFARM,
RƏIDS IN DHI HUƏRLUIND AND DƏIREKTS DHI STARM.

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[1] Dr. Franklin is not consistent in marking the long and short vowels. His peculiarities and errors are here all reproduced. Sir William Jones (Works, 4to. ed. 1799, i. 205), after giving his analysis of sound for the purpose of transliterating the Indian languages, adds: "Agreeably to the preceding analysis of letters, if I were to adopt a new mode of *English* orthography, I should write *Addison's* description of the angel in the following manner, distinguishing the *simple breathing* or first element, which we cannot invariably omit, by a perpendicular line above our first or second vowel:

Sò hwen sm énjel, bai divain cămánd,
Widh raisiṅ tempests shécs a gilti land,
Sch az ăv lét ór pél Britanya pást,
Cálm and sirín hi draivz dhi fyúryas blást,
And plíz'd dh' ālmaitiz ārderz tu perfórm,
Raids in dhi hwerlwind and dairects dhi stārm.

This mode of writing poetry would be the touchstone of bad rhymes, which the eye as well as the ear would instantly detect; as in the first couplet of this description, and even in the last, according to the common pronunciation of *perform*."

The following is probably the meaning to be attached to Jones's symbols, leaving his errors as they stand, but supplying the (ə) occasionally omitted in accordance with Sanscrit custom, and not inserting accents. It is very possible that though he *wrote* signs equivalent to (a, i, ee, r), he actually *said* (æ, *i*, *ee*, ɹ).

(S*oo* HWEN SƏM EENDZHEL, bai divain KAMAAND,
Widh raisiq tempests sheeks a gilti land,
Sətsh az AV leet *oo*r peel Britan-JA paast,
Kaalm and siriin HI draivz dhi fruurJas blaast,
And, pliizd dh- AAlmaitiz AArderz tu perf*oo*rm,
Raids in the HWerlwind and dairekts dhi STAARM.)

So dhi piur limpid striim, HUEN FAUL with steens
AV rəshiq TArents ænd disendiq Reens,
Uərks itself kliir; ænd æz it rəns rifəins,
Til bəi digriis, dhe flotiq mirər shəins,
Riflekts iitsh flAur dhæt AN its bARdər groz,
And e nu HEV'n in its feer Bəzəm shoz.

CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN MISS STEPHENSON AND DR. FRANKLIN.

Diir Sər, Kensiqtən, Septembər 26, 1768.

əi HÆV trænskrəb'd iur ælfæbet, &c., HUITSH əi think məit bi AV sərvis tu dhoz, HU uish tæ ækuəir æn ækiuret prənənsieshən, if dhæt kuld bi fiks'd; bət əi si meni inkANviiniensis, æz uel oz difikəltis, dhat uuld[1] ætend dhi briqiq iur letərs and ARthAgræfi intu kAmən iæs. AAl AUR etimAlodshiz uuld be lAst, kANsikuentli ui kuld nAt asərteen dhi miiniq AV meni uərds; dhi distinkshən tu, bituiin uərds AV difərent miiniq ænd similær sAund uuld bi distrAəid, ænd AAl dhi buks ælredi riten uuld bi[2] iusles, ənles ui liviq rəiters pəblish nu iidishəns. In shART əi biliiv ui məst let piipil spel AN in dheer old ue, ænd (æz ui fəind it iisiiest) du dhi seem AURselves. *With ease and with sincerity I can, in the old way, subscribe myself, Dear Sir, Your faithful and affectionate Servant,*

Dr. Franklin. *M. S.*

ANSWER TO MISS S * * * *

Diir Mædæm,[3]

dhi Abdshekshən iu meek to rektifəiiq AUR ælfæbet, dhæt it uil bi ætended widh inkANviniensiz ænd difikəltiz, iz e næturæl uən; fAR it Aluæz Akərz HUEN eni refAR-

Probably the difference between Franklin and Jones was more apparent than real. In *perform*, however, Franklin evidently adopted the pronunciation which Jones disliked. On Jones's sensitiveness to rhyme see suprà p. 866, note, where a line has been unfortunately omitted. For the sentence beginning on l. 7, col. 2, of that note, read: "THE SEVEN FOUNTAINS of 542 lines has only *afford-Lord*. THE PALACE OF FORTUNE of 506 lines has only *shone-sun*, and *stood-blood*."

The passage selected as an example by both Franklin and Jones is from Addison's *Campaign*, lines 287–291; and is parodied thus in Pope's Dunciad, 3, 261–264:

Immortal Rich! how calm he sits at ease
'Mid snows of paper, and fierce hail of pease;
And proud his Mistress' orders to perform
Rides in the whirlwind and directs the storm.

[1] Probably meant for (wuld). It is one of the inconveniences of the use of (i, u) for (J, w), together with (ii, uu) for the long vowels, as in Franklin's scheme, that *ye*, *woo* (Jii, wuu) must be written (ii, uu) or (iii, uuu). The latter form I have never seen employed. Hence there is always an ambiguity in such words.

[2] The words (distrAəid, ænd AAl dhi buks ælredi riten uuld bi) are omitted in the copy of this letter in Franklin's works, vol. 2, p. 361, and are here restored from the quotations of Miss Stephenson's words in Dr. Franklin's reply, pp. 364–5, so that they contain his spelling rather than hers.

[3] There are several letters preserved in Franklin's works addressed to Miss Stephenson or Stevenson. One dated 17th May, 1760, begins: "I send my good girl the books I mentioned to her last night," and gives advice in reading, shewing that she was then very young, but that Franklin had been in the habit of talking with her about literature and language.

meshən iz pro*p*oz*e*d; HUedhər in rilidshən, gəvernment, LAZ, and iven dAun æz lo æz ro*d*s ænd HUil kæridshiz. dhi tru kuestshən dhen, is NAT HUedhHUər dhæer uil bi no difikəltiz AR inkanviniensiz, bət HUedher dhi difikəltiz mê NAT bi sərmAunted; and HUedheər[1] dhi kanviniensiz uil NAT, AN dhi HUol, bi grêtər dhan dhi inkanviniensiz. In dhis kes, dhi difikəltiz er onli in dhi biginiq AV dhi præktis: HUen dhê er uəns ovərkəm, dhi advantedshez er læstiq.—To əidhər iu AR mi, HU spel uel in dhi prezent mod, əi imædshin dhi difikəlti AV tshendiq[2] dhat mod FAR dhi nu, iz NAT so grêt, bət dhæt ui məit pərfektli git ovər it in a uiiks rəitiq. Æz to dhoz hu du NAT spel uel, if dhi tu difikəltiz er kəmpêrd, viz., dhæt AV titshiq dhem tru speliq in dhi prezent mod, ænd dhæt AV titshiq dhem dhi nu ælfæbet ænd dhi nu speliq ækardiq to it, əi æm kanfident dhæt dhi lætər uuld bi byi[3] fær dhi liist. dhê nætərəli fAl into dhi nu methəd ælreadi, æz mətsh æz dhi imperfekshən AV dher ælfæbet uil ædmit AV; dhêr prezent bæd speliq iz onli bæd, bikAZ kantreri to dhi prezent bæd ruls: əndər dhi nu ruls it uuld bi gud.—dhi difikəlti AV lərniq to spel uel in dhi old uê iz so grêt, dhæt fiu ætên it; thAuzænds ænd thAuzænds rəitiq AN to old edsh, uidhAut ever biiq ebil to ækuəir it. 'Tiz, bisəidz, e difikəlti kantinuæli inkriisiq, æz dhi SAund græduæli veriz mor ænd mor fRAm dhi speliq; ænd to farenərz[4] it mêks dhi lərniq to pronANS AUR læquedsh, æz riten in AUR buks, ælmAST impASibil.

NAU æz to dhi inkanviniensiz iu menshən.—dhi fərst iz, dhæt AAL AUR etimAlodshiz uuld bi LAST, kansikuentli ui kuld NAT asərteen dhi miiniq AV meni uərds.—etimAlodshiz er æt present veri ənsərteen; bət sətsch æz dhê er, dhi old buks uuld stil prizərv dhem, ænd etimolodshiz[5] uuld dhêr fəind dhem. Uərds in dhi kors AV tyim,[6] tshendsh dher miiniqs, æz uel æz dher speliq ænd pronənsieshən; ænd ui du NAT luk to etimAlodshi fAR dher prezent miiniqs. If əi shuld kAL e mæn e Neev ænd e Vilen, HI uuld HUærdli bi sætisfəid with[7] məi teliq HIM, dhæt uən AV dhi uərds oridshinæli signifəid onli e læd AR sərvænt; ænd dhi ədhər, æn əndər plAumæn, AR dhi inhæbitænt AV e viledsh. It iz fRAM prezent iusedsh onli, dhi miiniq AV uərds iz to bi detərmined.

[1] This word seems to have exercised the Doctor very much, this is the third orthography in a few lines. He meant (whedh·ər) of course.

[2] Meaning (tsheendzh·iq) *changing*.

[3] Franklin's character for (ə) is *y*, and consequently his printer easily confuses it with *y*; (byi) is an error for (bəi). Several of the errors here copied may be due to his printer, and cannot be corrected by the original MS.

[4] "Dr. Franklin used to lay some little stress on this circumstance, when he occasionally spoke on the subject. 'A dictionary, formed on this model, would have been serviceable to him, he said, even as an American;' because, from the want of public examples of pronunciation in his own country, it was often difficult to learn the proper sound of certain words, which occurred very frequently in our English writings, and which of course every American very well understood as to their meaning. B. V."—Note to Dr. F.'s Works, vol. 2, p. 363.

[5] Meaning, probably *etymologists* (etimAlodshists) in his spelling.

[6] Meaning (təim) *time*. See above, note 3.

[7] The (w) and the (th) are both slips. He meant (uidh) in his spelling.

Iur sekənd inkanviniens iz, dhæt dhi distinkshən bituiin uərds av difərent miiniq and similær saund uuld bi distraəid.—dhæt distinkshən iz alreadi distraəid in pronaunsiq dhem; ænd ui riləi an dhi sens ælon av dhi sentens to æsərteen, huitsh av dhi severæl uərds, similær in saund, ui intend. If dhis iz səfishent in dhi ræpiditi av diskors, it uil bi mutsh mor so in riten sentenses, huitsh mê bi red lezshurli, ænd ætended to mor pærtikulærli in kes av difikəlti, dhæn ui kæn ætend to e pæst sentens, huəil e spikər iz həryiiq[1] əs ælaq uith nu uəns.

Iur thərd inkanviniens iz, dhæt aal dhi buks ælredi riten uuld bi iusles.—dhis inkanviniens uuld onli kəm an græduæli, in e kors av edshes. Iu ænd əi, ænd ədhər nau liviq ridərs, uuld hærdli farget dhi ius av dhem. Piipil uuld long lərn to riid dhi old rəitiq, dho dhê præktist dhi nu.—Ænd dhi inkanviniens is nat greater, dhæn huæt hes æktuæli hæpend in æ similær kes, in Iteli. Farmerli its inhæbitænts aal spok and rot Lætin: æz dhi læquedsh tshendshd, dhi speliq falo'd it. It iz tru dhæt æt prezent, e miir ənlærn'd Italien knat[2] riid dhi Lætin buks; dho dhe er stil red ænd əndərstud bəi meni. Bət, if dhi speliq hæd nevər bin tshendshed, hi uuld nau hev faund it mətsh mor difikəlt to riid and ryit[3] hiz on laquædsh; far riten uərds uuld hev hæd no rilêshən to saunds, dhe uuld onli hev stud far thiqs; so dhæt if hi uuld ekspres in rəitiq dhi əidia hi hez, huen hi saunds dhi uərd *Vescovo*, hi məst iuz dhi leterz *Episcopus*. —In shart, huætever dhi difikəltiz ænd inkanviniensiz nau er, dhe uil bi mor iizili sərmaunted nau, dhan hiræftər; ænd səm təim ar ədhər, it məst bi dən; ar aur rəitiq uil bikəm dhi seem uidh dhi Tshəiniiz, æz to dhi difikəlti av lərniq and iuziq it. Ænd it uuld ælredi hev bin sətsh, if ui hæd kantinud dhi Saksən speliq and rəitiq, iuzed bəi our forfadhers. əi æm, məi diir frind, iurs æfekshənetli, B. Franklin.

Ləndən, Kreven-striit, Sept. 28, 1768.

ii. Noah Webster's Remarks on American English.

Noah Webster's *English Dictionary* has so recently become popular in England that we can scarcely look upon him as belonging to the xviii th century. But having been born in Connecticut in 1758, his associations with English pronunciation in America are referable to a period of English pronunciation in England belonging quite to the beginning of the xviii th, if not even to the latter half of the xvii th century. The recent editions of the Dictionary all shew a "revised" pronunciation, so that the historical character of the work in this respect is destroyed. The following extracts from a special and little known work by the same author are valuable for our purpose, as they convey much information on the archaisms which were at least then prevalent in America, and distinguish in many cases between American and English pronunciation.

[1] Either (hərəiiq) meaning (hər·əi,iq) or (həriiq) meaning (hər·i,iq).

[2] Probably (kænat) *cannot*.

[3] Meaning (rəit) *write*, see p. 1062, n. 3.

Title. Dissertations on the English Language: with notes, historical and critical. To which is added, by way of Appendix, an Essay on a Reformed Mode of Spelling, with Dr. Franklin's Arguments on that Subject. By Noah Webster, Jun., Esquire. Printed at Boston for the Author, 1789. 8vo., pp. xvi., 410. Press-mark at British Museum, 825 g. 27. Dedicated "to his Excellency Benjamin Franklin, Esq., LL.D., F.R.S., late President of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania," Hartford.

In Franklin's Works (London, 1806, vol. 2, p. 351), under date 26 Dec. 1789, there is a letter from Franklin to Webster, acknowledging and praising this book, and drawing attention to the following Americanisms as having been adopted subsequently to 1723. *Improved* for employed or used, as "a country house many years *improved* as a tavern; a country gentleman for more than thirty years *improved* as a justice of the peace." "A verb from the substantive *notice*. I should not have *noticed* this, were it not that the gentleman, etc. Also another verb from the substantive *advocate:* The gentleman who *advocates* or who has *advocated* that motive, etc. Another from the substantive *progress*, the most awkward and abominable of the three: the committee having *progressed*, resolved to adjourn. The word *opposed*, though not a new word, I find used in a new manner, as, the gentlemen who are *opposed* to this measure, to which I have also myself always been *opposed*. If," continues Franklin, addressing Webster, "you should happen to be of my opinion with respect to these innovations, you will use your authority in reprobating them." The words are still all in use in America; and *to notice*, *to advocate*, and *opposed* are common in England, where even *to progress* is heard. The point of interest is that in the use as well as in the pronunciation of words, elderly people are being continually offended by innovations which they look upon as deteriorations, but which constantly prevail in spite of such denunciations.

In the following paragraphs all is Webster's writing, except the passages between brackets and in palæotype. The pages of the original are also inserted in brackets as they arise.

[Note at back of contents, p. xvi.]

The sounds of the vowels, marked or referred to in the second and third dissertations, are according to the Key in the First Part of the Institute. Thus:

	a	e	i	o	u	y
First sound,	late,	feet,	night,	note,	tune,	sky
Second	hat,	let,	tin,		tun,	glory
Third		law,	fraud			
Fourth		ask,	father			
Fifth		not,	what			
Sixth		prove,	room			

[p. 83] Thus *i* in *fit* has the same quality of sound as *ee* in *feet*. . . . The other vowels have also their short or abrupt sounds; *a* in *late* [p. 84] has its short sound in *let;* *a* in *cart* has its short sound in *carry;* *a* in *fall* has its short sound in *folly;* *oo* in *fool* its short sound in *full*. *O* is sometimes shortened in common parlance, as in *colt;* but the distinction between *o* in *coal* and *colt* seems to be accidental or caused by the final consonant, and not sufficiently settled or important to require a separate consideration. . . . . [Here we have the usual difficulties (ii, i) or (ii, *i*)? (aa, a) or (aa, æ)? (ʌʌ, ʌ) or (ʌʌ, ɔ); (uu, u) or (uu, *u*)? Perhaps *colt* was (kolt), not (kɔlt), in the pronunciation referred to. This point will be again alluded to when touching on present American English, Chap. XI. § 1.]

The letters, *i*, *u* and *y* are usually classed among the vowels; but the first or long sound of each requires, in pronunciation, two positions of the organs of speech, or rather a transition from the position necessary to form one simple sound, to the position necessary to form another simple sound. We begin the sound of *i* nearly with the same aperture of the glottis, [a mere error arising from necessary ignorance of the mechanism of speech, the glottis being closed for all vowels,] as we do the broad *a* or *aw*. The aperture however is not quite so great. We rapidly close the mouth to the position where

we pronounce *ee*, and there stop the sound (*ai*?). This letter is therefore a dipthong.

U also is not strictly a vowel; nor is it, as it is commonly represented, composed [p. 85] of *e* and *oo*. We do not begin the sound in the position necessary to sound *ee*, as is obvious in the words *salute, salubrious, revolution;* but with a greater aperture of the mouth and with a position perfectly easy and natural. From that position we pass to the position with which we pronounce *oo*, and there close the sound. It must however be observed that when these letters *i*, *u*, are followed by a consonant, the two sounds of the dipthong are not clearly distinguishable. We do not, in *fight*, hear the sound of *ee;* nor the sound of *oo* in *cube*. The consonant compresses the organs and closes the sound of the word so suddenly, that the ear can distinguish but a simple vocal sound. And notwithstanding these letters are dipthongs, when considered by themselves, yet in combination with consonants, they are often marks of simple sounds or vowels. [This may only indicate an insufficient power of analysis. The diphthongs were perhaps only much shorter in these cases, that is, had the second element, and the connecting glide much shorter, giving a compressed effect. But *cube*, which is now really (kiúub), with a long second element, may have been squeezed into (kyb), by the "linking" of its elements as (i*u=y) very nearly. Similarly *fight* may have reached (fɛt), as (a*i)=(ɛ) very nearly. See further remarks on long *u* near the end of these extracts, infrà p. 1069.]

The short sound of *i* and *y* is merely short *ee*. The sound of *u* in *tune* is a separate vowel, which has no affinity to any other sound in the language. [Can this be (yy)? Compare Steele's *tune*, p. 1057, and Kenrick, p. 1052, No. 6.]

The sound of *oi* or *oy* is dipthongal, composed of the third or broad *a* and *ee*. [We have then the old difficulty in separating long *i* from *oy*, both being made (ʌi) or (*ai*). p. 86] The sound of *ou* or *ow* is also dipthongal, compounded of third *a* and *oo*. The sound however does not require quite so great an aperture of the mouth as broad *a*; the position is more natural, and the articulation requires less exertion (au?).

[p. 88] The vowels therefore in English are all heard in the following words, late, half, hall, feet, pool, note, tun, fight, truth. The five first have short sounds or duplicates, which may be heard in let, hat, hot, fit, pull; and the letters *i* and *u* are but accidentally vowels. The pure primitive vowels in English are therefore seven.

The dipthongs may be heard in the following words: lie or defy, due, voice or joy, round or now. To these we may add *ua* in *persuade*; and perhaps the combinations of *w* and the vowels, in *well*, *will*, etc.

[p. 92 Webster remarks that *i* has its first sound in bind, find, mind, kind, blind, grind. But *wind* has the second short sound of *i*. Then in a footnote, p. 93, he adds:] On the stage, it is sometimes pronounced with *i* long, either for the sake of rhime, or in order to be heard. Mr. Sheridan marks it both ways; yet in common discourse he pronounces it with *i* short, as do the nation in general.

[C*a*mbridge, d*a*nger, and perhaps m*a*nger. Also *a*ngel, *a*ncient have (*ee*).] In this all the standard authors [p. 94] agree, except Kenrick and Burn, who mark *a* in *ancient* both long and short. The English pronunciation is followed in the middle and southern states [of America]; but the eastern universities have restored these words to the analogy of the language, and give *a* its second sound (æ). It is presumed that no reason can be given for making these words exceptions to the general rule, but practice; and this is far from being universal, there being many of the best speakers in America, who give *a* in the words mentioned the same sound as in *anguish*, *annals*, *angelic*, *antiquity*.

In the word *chamber*, *a* has its fourth sound (aa). It is necessary to remark this, as [p. 95] there are many people in America who give *a* its first sound (*ee*), which is contrary to analogy and to all the English authorities. [Mr. White, suprà p. 968, c. 1, in a note on LL 5, 1, 5 (150, 22), says: "The isolation of the Englishmen of New England, and their consequent protection from exterior influences, caused changes in pronunciation, as well as in idiom, to take place more slowly among them than among their brethren who remained in the mother-country; and the orthoepy for which the worthy pedant contends, is not very far removed from that of the grandfathers

and great-grandfathers of the present generation in the more sequestered parts of the eastern states. The scholars among these, as well as those who had received only that common-school education which no Yankee is allowed to lack, did not, for instance, in Holofernian phrase, speak *coud* and *woud* fine, but pronounced all the consonants, *could* and *would;* they said *sword*, not *sored;* they pronounced 'have' to rhyme with 'rave,' not *hav*, —'jest,' which used to be written *jeast*, *jeest* to rhyme with 'yeast,'— 'pert,' which of old was spelled *peart*, *peert:* and in compound words they said for instance 'clean-ly,' not *clen-ly*, and, correctly, 'an-gel,' 'cham-ber,' 'dan-ger,' not *ane-gel*, *chame-ber*, *dane-ger*. Their accents yet linger in the ears of some of us, and make the words of Shakespeare's pedagogue not altogether strange." As regards *chamber* see Moore's rhyme: amber chamber, suprà p. 859, col. 1.]

[p. 96] I consider these terminations *tion*, *sion*, *cion*, *cial*, *cian*, as single syllables.

[p. 103] In the eastern states there is a practice prevailing among the body of the people of prolonging the sound of *i* in the termination *ive*. In such words as *motive*, *relative*, etc., the people, excepting the more polished part, give *i* its first sound (*ai*?). This is a local practice, opposed to the general [p. 104] pronunciation of English on both sides of the Atlantic. . . . . [In footnote to p. 104] The final *e* must be considered as the cause of this vulgar dialect. It is wished that some bold genius would dare to be right, and spell this class of words without *e*, *motiv*. . . . .

[p. 105] In the middle states . . . many people pronounce *practise*, *prejudice* with *i* long. I know of no authority for this beyond the limits of two or three states.

Another very common error, among the yeomanry of America, and particularly in New England, is the pronouncing of *e* before *r*, like *a;* as *marcy* for mercy. This mistake must have originated principally in the name of the letter *r*, which, in most of our school-books, is called *ar*. This single mistake has spread a false pronunciation of several hundred words among millions of people. [In a footnote] To remedy the evil in some degree, this letter is named *er*, in the Institute. In a few instances this pronunciation is become general among polite speakers, as clerks, sergeant, etc. [In text] To avoid this disagreeable singularity, some fine speakers have run into another extreme, by pronouncing *e* before *r*, like *u*, *murcy*. This is an error. The true sound of the short *e*, as in *let*, is the correct and elegant pronunciation of this letter in all words of this class. [But (MER-si) can now only be heard in Scotland.]

[p. 106] There is a vulgar singularity in the pronunciation of the eastern people, which is very incorrect, and disagreeable to strangers, that of prefixing the sound of *i* short or *e*, before the dipthong *ow;* as *kiow*, *piower* or *peower*. This fault usually occurs after *p*, *c* hard, or those other consonants which are formed near the seat of *ee* in the mouth. . . . But the most awkward countryman pronounces *round*, *ground*, etc., with tolerably propriety.

[Webster then remarks on the New England drawl, and attributes it to its "political institutions" !]

[p. 108, note, he speaks of] the surprising similarity between the idioms of the New England people and those of Chaucer, Shakespear, Congreve, etc., who wrote in the true English style.

[p. 109, he speaks of] the very modern pronunciation of *kind*, *sky*, *guide*, etc., in which we hear the short *e* before *i*, *keind*, *or kyine*, *skey*, etc. [he compares it to the eastern *keow*, *veow*, and adds:] Yet, strange as it may seem, it is the elegant pronunciation of the fashionable people both in England and America [but he strongly disapproves of it].

[p. 110] Some of the southern people, particularly in Virginia, almost omit the sound of *r*, as in *ware*, *there*. In the best English pronunciation the sound of *r* is much softer than in some of the neighbouring languages, particularly the Irish and Spanish, and probably much softer than in the ancient Greek. . . . [This omission of the *r*, or its degradation to (ɪ, ə, '), is still very prevalent in America as in England, if we may judge from Yankee books of drollery, but its prevalence in Webster's time indicates that it was at least well known in England in the XVII th century. See suprà p. 974.]

It is a custom very prevalent in the middle states, even among some well-bred people, to pronounce *off*, *soft*, *drop*,

crop, with the sound of *a*, *aff*, *saft*, *drap*, *crap*. [p. 111] This seems to be a foreign and local dialect; and cannot be advocated by any person who understands correct English. [In a note on this passage, p. 383, he adds:] The dialect in America is peculiar to the descendants of the Scotch Irish. [In Sheridan's *Trip to Scarborough*, acted in 1777, a refashionment of Vanbrugh's *Relapse*, 1697, we still meet with, *rat*, *lard*, *stap*, *Gad* in oaths, and *Tam* in an address; *egad* is in the *School for Scandal*, and may be heard still, and in Dorsetshire we shall find many such cases.]

[p. 111] In the middle states also, many people pronounce a *t* at the end of *once* and *twice*, *oncet* and *twicet*. This gross impropriety would not be mentioned, but for its prevalence among a class of very well educated people; particularly in Philadelphia and Baltimore.

Fotch for *fetch* is very common, in several states, but not among the better classes of people. *Catched* for *caught* is more frequent, and equally barbarous.

Skroud and *skrouge* for *croud*, are sometimes heard among people that should be ashamed of the least vulgarism.

Mought for *might* is heard in most of the states, but not frequently, except in a few towns.

Holpe for *help* I have rarely heard, except in Virginia, [where, in a note, p. 384, he says] it is pronounced *hope*. "Shall I hope you, sir?"

Tote is local in Virginia and its neighbourhood. In meaning it is nearly equivalent to *carry*.

Chore, a corruption of *char*, is perhaps confined to New England.

[In a note on this passage, p. 385, he remarks the use of *dern* pronounced *darn* for *great*, *severe* in New England; also *ax* for *ask* there.]

[p. 388] *Shet* for *shut* is now become vulgar. In New England we frequently hear *becase* to this day. It is pronounced *becaze*. The vulgar pronunciation of *such* is *sich*.

[p. 112] The pronunciation of *w* for *v* is a prevailing practice in England and America; it is particularly prevalent in Boston and Philadelphia. [p. 113] Many people say *weal*, *wessel*, for *veal*, *vessel*. [In a footnote he says:] I am at a loss to determine why this practice should prevail in Boston and not in Connecticut. The first and principal settlers in Hartford came from the vicinity of Boston. Vast numbers of people in Boston and the neighbourhood use *w* for *v*, yet I never once heard this pronunciation in Connecticut.

[p. 114] The words *shall*, *quality*, *quantity*, *qualify*, *quandary*, *quadrant*, are differently pronounced by good speakers. Some give *a* a broad sound as *shol*, *quality*, and others its second sound as in *hat*. With respect to the four first almost all the standard writers [who in a footnote are named as Kenrick, Sheridan, Burn, Perry and Scott] agree to pronounce *a* short as in *hat*, and this is [p. 115] the stage pronunciation. It is correct, for it is more agreeable to the analogy of the language; that being the proper sound of the English *a* which is heard in *hat* or *bar*. [Hence Webster *ought* to have said (нat) and not (нæt), like Kenrick.] With respect to the two last, authors differ; some give the first (*ee*), some the second (æ), and others the fifth sound (ɔ). They all pretend to give us the court pronunciation, and as they differ so widely, we must suppose that eminent speakers differ in practice. In such a case, we can hardly hesitate a moment to call in analogy to decide the question, and give *a* in all these words, as also in *quash*, its second sound (æ). [In a footnote he observes:] The distinction in the pronunciation of *a* in *quality* when it signifies the property of some body (ɔ ?), and when it is used for high rank (æ ?), appears to me without foundation in rule or practice.

[p. 115 text] The words *either* *neither*, *deceit*, *conceit*, *receipt*, are generally pronounced by the eastern people *ither*, *nither*, *desate*, *consate*, *resate*. These are errors; all the standard authors agree to give *ei* in these words the sound of *ee*. This is the practice in England, in the middle and southern States.

[p. 116] *Importance* is by a few people pronounced impo'rtance, with the first sound of *o* (*oo*). . . . It seems however to be affectation, for the standard writers and general practice are opposed to it.

Decis-ive for *deci-sive* is mere affectation.

Reesin for *raisin* is very prevalent in two or three principal towns in America.

Leisure is sometimes pronounced

leesure and sometimes *lezhure;* the latter is the [p. 117] most general pronunciation in America.

Dictionary has been usually pronounced *dicsonary*.

One author of eminence pronounces *defile* in three syllables *def-i-le*. In this he is singular; . . . all the other authorities are against him.

With respect to *oblige*, authorities differ. The standard writers give us both *oblige* and *obleege*, and it is impossible to determine on which side the weight of authority lies.

[p. 118] Some people very erroneously pronounce *chaise*, *sha* in the singular and *shaze* in the plural. [The pronunciation (poo shee) for *post chaise* was familiar to me in London fifty years ago.]

Our modern fashionable speakers accent *European* on the last syllable but one. This innovation has happened within a few years. [p. 119] Analogy requires *Euro'pean* and this is supported by as good authorities as the other. [Footnote p. 118] *Hymenean* and *hymeneal* are, by some writers, accented on the last syllable but one, but erroneously; other authorities preserve the analogy.

[p. 119] *Rome* is very frequently pronounced *Room*, and that by people of every class. The authors I have consulted give no light upon this word except Perry, who directs to that pronunciation. The practice however is by no means general in America. There are many good speakers who give *o* its first sound (*oo*). It seems very absurd to give *o* its first sound (*oo*) in *Romish*, *Romans*, and pronounce it *oo* in *Rome*, the radical word.

[p. 120] In the pronunciation of *arch* in many compound words, people are not uniform. The disputed words are *archangel*, *archetype*, *architecture*, *architrave*, *archives*. . . . The sound of *ch* in *chart* is likewise disputed.

[p. 121] There are many people who omit the aspirate in most words which begin with *wh*, as *white*, *whip*, etc., which they pronounce *wite*, *wip*, etc. To such it is necessary to observe that in the pure English pronunciation both in Great Britain and New England, for it is exactly the same in both, *h* is not silent in a single word beginning with *wh*. In this point our standard authors differ; two of them aspirating the whole of these words, and three marking *h* in most of them as mute. [Kenrick always marks *h* as mute, or *wh*=(w).] But the omission of *h* seems to be a foreign corruption; for in America it is not known among the unmixed descendants of the English. . . In this class of words *w* is silent in four only, with their derivatives; viz. *who*, *whole*, *whoop*, *whore*.

[p. 122] One or two authors affect to pronounce *human* and about twenty other words beginning with *h*, as though they were spelt *yuman*. This is a gross error. The only word that begins with this sound is *humor*, with its derivatives. In the American pronunciation *h* is silent in the following, *honest*, *honor*, *hour*, *humor*, *herb*, *heir*, with their derivatives. To these the English add *hospital*, *hostler*, *humble;* but an imitation of these, which some industriously affect, cannot be recommended, as every omission of the aspirate serves to mutilate and weaken the language.

[p. 123] The word *yelk* is sometimes written *yolk* and pronounced *yoke*. But *yelk* is the most correct orthography, from the Saxon *gealkwe* [spelled *geoleca*, *geolca*, from *geolu* yellow, in Ettmüller, p. 418]; and in this country it is the general pronunciation.

Ewe is, by the English, often pronounced *yo*; which is sometimes heard in America. But analogy and the general corresponding practice in this country, . . . decide for *yew*.

The English speakers of eminence have shortened the vowel in the first syllable of *tyranny*, *zealous*, *sacrifice*, etc. . . . [that is, made it (*i*, e, æ) respectively, as is now the general English custom]. This pronunciation has not spread among the people of this country [that is, presumably, they make it (*ai*, ii, *ee*) respectively]. . . . Many people in America say *pat-ron*, *mat-ron*; whereas the English say either *pa-tron* or *pat-ron*, *ma-tron* [p. 124] or *mat-ron*, but all agree in saying *pat-ronage*. In *patriot*, *patriotism*, the English give *a* its long sound, but a great part of the Americans, its short sound. [This is similar to the use of *pro-verbs* for *prov-erbs* which Mr. White, Shakspere's Works 3, 226, says "still lingers in New England."]

Wrath the English pronounce with the third sound of *a* or *aw* (AA), but the Americans almost universally preserve the analogous sound, as in *bath*, *path* [(aa) or (æ)?].

[p. 125] In the middle and southern states, *fierce*, *pierce*, *tierce*, are pronounced *feerce*, *peerce*, *teerce*. To convince the people of the impropriety of this pronunciation, it might be sufficient to inform them, that it is not fashionable on the English theater. [p. 126] The standard English pronunciation now is *ferce*, *perce*, *terce* [which is now, 1871, unknown in the South of England; see suprà p. 105, n. 1], and it is universal in New England.

The English pronounce *leap*, *lep;* and that in the present tense as well as the past. Some of our American horsemen have learnt the practice; but among other people it is almost unknown.

In the fashionable world, *heard* is pronounced *herd* or *hurd*. This was almost unknown in America till the commencement of the late war [that of Independence], and how long it has been [p. 127] the practice in England I cannot determine. . . . That *herd* was not formerly the pronunciation, is probable from this circumstance; the Americans were strangers to it when they came from England, and the body of the people are so to this day. To most people in this country the English pronunciation appears like [p. 128] affectation, and is adopted only in the capital towns. [It is implied that the Americans say *heerd*, like Dr. Johnson, suprà p. 624, note, c. 2.]

Beard is sometimes, but erroneously, pronounced *beerd*. General practice, both in England and America, requires that *e* should be pronounced as in *were*, and I know of no rule opposed to the practice.

Deaf is generally pronounced *deef*. It is the universal practice in the eastern states, and it is general in the middle and southern; though some have adopted the English pronunciation *def*. The latter is evidently a corruption.

[p. 131] *Gold* is differently pronounced by good speakers. [He decides for (goold) in preference to (guuld).]

[p. 133] Similar reasons and equally forceable are opposed to the modern pronunciation of *wound* [as (wuund); he decides for (waund). p. 134] There is but a small part even of the well-bred people in this country, who have yet adopted the English mode [(wuund)].

[p. 136] *Skeptic* for *sceptic* is mere pedantry. [He apparently refers only to the spelling, but as he instances the spelling *scene*, *scepter*, he perhaps said (sep·tik).]

[p. 137] *Sauce* with the fourth sound of *a* (aa), is accounted vulgar; yet this is the ancient, the correct and most general pronunciation. The *aw* of the North Britons is much affected of late; *sawce*, *hawnt*, *vawnt;* yet the true sound is that of *aunt*, *jaunt*, and a change can produce no sensible advantage.

[He decides in favour of accenting *advertisement*, *chastisement* on the last syllable but one, and *accéptable*, *admirable*, *dispútable*, *compárable* on the last but two, and says, p. 141:] The people at large say *admi'reable*, *dispu'teable*, *compa'reable*, and it would be difficult to lead them from this easy and natural pronunciation, to embrace that forced one of *ad'mirable*, etc. The people are right, and, in this particular, will ever have it to boast of, that among the unlearned is found the purity of English pronunciation. [He admits *rep'utable* as an exception. He decides for *access'ary*, p. 142.]

[p. 143] *Immedyate* is so difficult, that every person who attempts to pronounce it in that manner will fall into *immejate*. Thus *commodious*, *comedian*, *tragedian*, are very politely pronounced *commojus*, *comejan*, *trajejan* [which he denounces, and requires *-di-* to form a distinct syllable].

[On pp. 147–179, he has a disquisition on the pronunciation of *d*, *t*, and *s* before *u*, as (dzh, tsh, sh), to which he is strongly opposed. The argument goes to shew that it was then common in England and not in America. But the only parts which it is necessary to quote are the following. After citing Wallis's account of long *u* (suprà p. 171), he says on his p. 151:]

This is precisely the idea I have ever had of the English *u*; except that I cannot allow the sound to be perfectly simple. If we attend to the manner in which we begin the sound of *u* in *flute*, *abjure*, *truth*, we shall observe that the tongue is not pressed to the mouth so closely as in pronouncing *e*; the aperture of the organs is not so small; and I presume that good speakers, and am confident that most people, do not pronounce these words *fleute*, *abjeure*, *treuth*. Neither do they pronounce them *floote*, *abjoore*, *trooth;* but with a sound formed by

an easy natural aperture of the mouth, between *iu* and *oo*; which is the true English sound. This sound, however, obscured by affectation in the metropolis of Great Britain and [p. 152] the capital towns in America, is still preserved by the body of the people in both countries. There are a million descendants of the Saxons in this country who retain the sound of *u* in all cases, precisely according to Wallis's definition. Ask any plain countryman, whose pronunciation has not been exposed to corruption by mingling with foreigners, how he pronounces the letters *t*, *r*, *u*, *th*, and he will not sound *u* like *eu*, nor *oo*, but will express the real primitive English *u*. Nay, if people wish to make an accurate trial, let them direct any child of seven years old, who has had no previous instruction respecting the matter, to pronounce the words *suit*, *tumult*, *due*, etc., and they will thus ascertain the true sound of the letter. Children pronounce *u* in the most natural manner; whereas the sound of *iu* requires a considerable effort, and that of *oo*, a forced position of the lips. Illiterate persons therefore pronounce the genuine English *u* much better than those who have attempted to shape their pronunciation according to the modern polite practice. [p. 189] In modern times, we have, in many words, blended the sound of *u* with that of *ew*, or rather use them promiscuously. It is indifferent, as to the pronunciation, whether we write *fuel* or *fewel*. And yet in this word, as also in *new*, *brew*, etc., we do not hear the sound of *e*, except among the Virginians, who affect to pronounce it distinctly, *ne-ew*, *ne-oo*, *fe-oo*. This affectation is not of modern date, for Wallis mentions it in his time and reprobates it [suprà p. 139].

*[It would be difficult to imagine the sound from the above description. Years ago the sound was a source of great difficulty to me, because Americans refused to consider *u* as (iu) or (ɹu). I have not been able to study the sound sufficiently, but it sometimes seems to be (eu), at others (yu) or (ɹu). See suprà p. 980, n. 1. Webster says in a footnote, p. 127:] The company that purchased New England was, indeed, called the *Plymouth Company*, being composed principally of persons belonging to the County of Devon. But many of the principal settlers in these states came from London and its vicinity; some from the middle counties, the ancient kingdom of Mercia; and a few from the northern counties. [And he adds:] There is not the least affinity between the languages of New England and the specimens of the Devonshire dialect given in the English Magazines. [But this sound of *u* seems to be in favour of a West of England origin; as it is not pure XVII th century. The next point of importance is, p. 156:]

But another inconsistency in the modern practice is the introducing an *e* before the second sound of *u* in *tun*; or rather changing the preceding consonant; for in *nature*, *rapture*, and hundreds of other words, *t* is changed into *tsh*; and yet no person pretends that *u* in these words has its dipthongal sound. . . . [p. 157] I believe no person ever pretended that this sound of *u* contains the sound of *e* or *y*, . . . and I challenge the advocates of the practice to produce a reason for pronouncing *natshur*, *raptshur*, *captshur*, which will not extend to authorize not only *tshun*, *tshurn* for *tun*, *turn*, but also *fatshal* for *fatal* and *immortshal* for *immortal*. Nay the latter pronunciation is actually heard among some very respectable imitators of fashion; and is frequent [p. 158] among the illiterate, in those states where the *tshu's* are most fashionable. . . . I am sensible that some writers of novels and plays have ridiculed the common pronunciation of *creatur* and *natur* by introducing these and similar words into low characters, and spelling them *creater*, *nater*, [which he considers a mistake, because the sound is *-ur* and not *-er* final, even when written *a*, *e*, *i*, *o*; adding, p. 159:] Liar, elder, factor are pronounced *liur*, *eldur*, *factur*, and this is the true sound of *u* in *creature*, *nature*, *rapture*, *legislature*, etc. [See suprà p. 973, under URE.]

§ 3. *Noteworthy Pronunciations and Rhymes of the Eighteenth Century, collected from the Expert Orthographist* 1704, *Dyche* 1710, *Buchanan* 1760, *Franklin* 1768, *and Sheridan* 1780, *and various poets.*

NOTEWORTHY PRONUNCIATIONS OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

To form a better notion of the melting of the pronunciation current in the XVII th century into that of the XVIII th, which is the direct source of the pronunciation now in use, I have collected many noteworthy pronunciations from the writers above named.

1) The EXPERT ORTHOGRAPHIST, 1704, exhibits an early form of the genuine XVIII th century pronunciation, which partly was an anticipation of what became current fifty years later, and partly retained the old forms. The marked peculiarity is in the words containing *ea*, which were forced into (ii) beyond what afterwards received the sanction of use. Not too much value is to be attributed to this writer as representing the general pronunciation of the period. At most he bears the same relation to Jones, that Hart did to Smith in the XVI th century. But there is this difference, that Hart was a travelled, educated man, and the Orthographist was evidently a third-rate English teacher, unused to educated society.

2) DYCHE, 1710, is of but very limited use, as he merely describes the sounds in the accented syllables of a few words, and does not symbolize them with sufficient accuracy. The sounds here given are therefore rather guesses than transcripts in several instances.

3) BUCHANAN, 1766, was not only a Scotchman, but had many Scotch proclivities, which render his vocabulary suspicious in parts. Thus, it cannot be supposed that the English language had short (i) and not (*i*), in competition and similar words, which is a thoroughly Scotch peculiarity, or that any but a Scotchman called *drunken* (drək·n). There seems reason to suppose that many, perhaps most, perhaps all, of Buchanan's short *o*'s, here marked as (o), were pronounced by him as (*o*), thus *post* could hardly have been (pɔst), although it could not be marked otherwise in accordance with his notation, as this pronunciation will not harmonize at all with (puust, p*oo*st) given by others, whereas (p*o*st) would only be a Scotch pronunciation of (p*oo*st). Nevertheless, the completeness and early date of this attempt to "establish a standard for an elegant and uniform pronunciation of the English language," has rendered it necessary to go through the whole, and select such words as on any account seemed worthy of preservation.

4) FRANKLIN, 1768, has only left us the fragment printed in the preceding section. A few words have here been selected, and their orthography has been corrected so as to represent what Franklin apparently meant to convey.

5) SHERIDAN, 1780, commences a series of pronouncing dictionaries, which will here be carefully passed over, but his near approach to Buchanan and Franklin, and his peculiarities, which must represent some pronunciations current during that period, dashed

though they be with his own orthoepistic fancies, rendered him the proper termination of these researches. All the words taken from Buchanan have therefore been compared with Sheridan. Kenrick's peculiarities can be sufficiently judged from his descriptions of the vowels, given above. Hence it has not been thought necessary to add his pronunciations to Sheridan's, with which they were so nearly contemporary.

Lediard's were collected subsequently to the completion of this index, and have not been added, they are however so arranged on pp. 1040–9, that they can be easily referred to.

The letters O, D, B, F, S, placed after the pronunciations, refer to these authorities in order. The transcript has been made after much consideration, but there are some doubtful points. It is probable that the (ɔ) assigned to the Orthographist and Dyche, did not differ from Sheridan's (ʌ). It is only Buchanan who seems to make a difference between (ɔ) and (ʌ), and, as we have seen, this may have arisen from his saying (*o*) and (ʌ).

A

abeyance æbii·ɪæns S
ablution æbliu·shən B, S
abroad abrʌʌd· B, S, O
abstruse æbstriuz· B, æbstruus· S
absume æbsium· B, S
abundant æbənd·ínt B, æben·dænt S
academial ækædem·ɪíl B, ækædiim·ɪæl S
academician ækædemish·ín B, ækædeemísh·æn S
acclaim ækleem· B, S
acclamation æklímee·shən B, æklæmee·shen S
acclivity ækliv·ítí B, æklív·iti S
ache eek B, S
acknowledge æknəl·ídsh B, æknʌl·ɛdzh S
acres ee·kərz O, B, S
actual æk·tiuíl B, æk·tiuæl S
adagio ædee·dzhío B, ædææ·dzhoo S
adhere ædhiir· O, B, S
adjudicate æddzhuu·dikeet B, S
adjure æddzhuur· B, S
adulation ædɪulee·shən B, S
adventure ædvent·yər B, ædvɛn·tshər S
aerial eeiir·ɪíl B, æii·rɪæl S
aerie eeir·í B, ee·ri S
again ægen· O, B, S
agio eedzh·ío B
ah ææ B, S
alien æl·ien O, eel·ɪín B, ee·lɪɛn S
all ʌʌl B, S
almond ʌʌ·mənd O, ææl·mənd B, ææ·mənd S
almoner ææl·munír B, æl·mooner S
almost ʌmoost· D, ʌʌlmoost B, S
alms æælms B, ææmz S
alternate ʌʌlter·nít B, æltɛr·næt S
amatory ee·mætorí B, æm·ætəri S
amber æm·br B, æm·bər S
amenable æmin·íbl B, æmii·næbl S
amiable ee·mɪíbl B, ee·mɪæbl S
amnesty æn·stí B, æm·nɛsti S
among æməq· O, S
amour æmoor· B, æmuur· S
anarch ee·nærk B, æn·ærk S
angel æn·dzhíl B, een·dzhel F, een·dzhɛl S
anoint ænəint· O, ænɔint· B, ænʌʌint· S
answer æn·sər B, æn·sɛr S
ant ænt B, S
antic æn·tík B, S
antique æn·tík B, æntiik· S
anxious æqk·shəs B, æqk·sɪəs S
any æn·í B, S
aorist ee·ɔrist B, ee·oorist S
apostle æpɔs·l B, æpʌs·tl S
appoint æpɔint· O, æpɔint B, æpʌʌint S
apparel æper·íl B, æpær·æl S
approve æprəv· O, æpruuv· B, S
April ee·prəíl B, ee·pril S
apron ee·pərn O, æp·ərn B, ee·prən S
aquatic ækwæt·ík B, S
arable eer·íbl C, ær·æbl S
arch æærtsh B, S
architect ær·kítekt D, B, æær·kítekt S
are er B, eer F, ær S
area eer·iæ B, S
arm æærm B, S
armada æærmee·dæ B, S
arsenal eers·níl B, æærs·næl S
Asia æsh·íæ B
ask æsk B, S
askance æskʌns· B, æskæns· S
aslant æslæænt· B, æslænt· S
ass æs B, S
asthma æst·mæ D, B, æs·mæ S
asylum æs·íləm B, æsʌí·ləm S
athletic æthlii·tík B, æthlɛt·ík S

atrocious ætroo·shəs B, S
augury AA·gəri B, AA·giuri S
aunt ænt D, æænt B, ænt S
austere AAstiir· O, B, S
avenue æv·niu B, æv·iiniu S
avoirdupoise æv·erdəpɔiz· B, æverdepaaiz· S
await eweet· B, æweet· S
awkward AAk·ird B, AA·kərd S
awl AAl B, S
axiom æk·siəm B, æk·shəm S
azure eez·jər B, ee·zhər S

B

bacchanals bæk·ínilz B, bæk·ænælz S
bacon beek·n B, S
bagnio bæn·jɔ B, bæn·joo S
balcony bal·koni B, bælkoo·ni S
bald baald D, B, S
balderdash bal·dirdæsh B, baal·dərdæsh S
ball baal D, B, S
balm bææm B, S
banquet bæqk·et D, bæqk·it, B, bæqk·wit S
baptize bæptəiz· B, bæptaiz· S
bard bæærd B, S
barrier bæriir· B, bær·jer S
base bees B, S
basin bees·n B, S
basis beez·iz B, bee·sis S
bass bææs *in music*, bos *a mat*, S
baste beest B, S
bastion bæst·jən B, bæs·tshən S
bath bæth B, bææth S
bathe beedh D, B, S
bear beer O, B, D
beard berd O, beerd B, berd S
Bede Biid O
behove biituuv O, S
benign binəin· B, biinain· S
bequeath bikweedh· B, biikwiidh· S
besom bii·zən D, biiz·əm B, S
bestiality bestjaa·liti B, bestshæl·iti S
beyond bijənd· O, biijənd· B, biijand· S
bind bəind D, baind S
bird bərd B, S
blanch blæænsh B, blæntsh S
blank blææqk B, blæqk S
blast blæst B, S
blaspheme blæsfiim· O, B, S
blood bləd O, B, S
boatswain boo·sin B, boo·sn S
boil bəil O, bəil B, bail S
bold bould B, boold S
boltsprit boo·sprit B, S
bolster bol·stir B, bool·stər S
bolter boulter boul·tər O, bool·tər S
bombard bombærd· B, bombæærd· S
bombasine bombæziin· B, S
book buuk B, S
borage bər·idzh B, S
border bar·dir B, baar·dər S
bore boor B, S
born barn B, baarn S
borne buurn O, boorn S
borough bər·ɔ B, bər·oo S
bosom bəz·em B, bəz·em F, buu·zəm S
bough boo B, bau S
bought boot O ?, bat B, baat S
boult boult B, boolt S
bourn bərn B, buurn S
bouze bouz B, buuz S
bouze boose buuz B, S
bow boo bou B, boo bau S
bowl bəul O, (*globe*) bəul, (*vessel*) bool D, boul B, bool S
boy bəi B, baai S
branch braansh O, bræænsh B, brænsh S
brass bræs B, S
brasier breez·jir B, bree·zhər S
bravo bræv·ɔ B, bree·voo S
break briik O, B, S
breakfast brek·fæst O, brek·fist B, brek·fæst S
breeches breetches britsh·iz B, S
Bristol Bris·to O, D
broad brood B, braad S
brocade brəkeed· B, brookeed· S
broil brəil O, brəil B, brail S
brooch bruutsh B, S
broth brəth B, braath S
brought broot O ?, brat B, braat S
bruise briuz O, bruuz B, S
brute bruut B, S
brumal briu·mil B, bruu·mæl S
build bild O, B, S
buoy bəi B, bwii S
burgh bər·ɔ B, bər·oo S
burglary bər·gleeri B, bər·glæri S
burial bir·iæl D, ber·i,il B, ber·jæl S
bury bir·i D, ber·i B, ber·i S
bush bush B, S
bustle bəs·l B, S
busy biz·i B, biz·i S
butcher butsh·ir B, butsh·ər S

C

cabal kæbaal· B, kæbæl· S
cadaverous kædæv·rəs B, kædæv·eerəs S
cadet kee·dit B, kædet· S
cadi kædii· B, kee·di S
Calais kæl·is D
calculate kæl·kjiuleet B, kæl·kiuleet S
caldron kæl·drən B, kaal·drən S
calf kaaf O, kææf B, S
caliber kæl·ibir B, kælii·bər S
calk kaak B, S
call kaal D, B, S
calm kaam O, kææm B, kælm F, kææm S

calx kaAlks B, kælks S
cambric kæm·brík B, keem·brík S
Canaan kee·næn D
canine keenəin· B, kænain· S
canoe kænoo· B, kænuu· S
cantata kæntee·tæ B, S
capacious kæpæsh əs B, kæpee·shəs S
capillary kæpíl·eeri B, kæpíl·æri S
capouch kæpoutsh· B
caprice keepriis· B, kæpriis· S
capricious kæprish·əs B, S
capture kæp·tər B, kæp·tshər S
capuchin kæp·iushiin D, kæpəshiin· B, kæpiushiin· S
capricorn kee·prikərn B, kæp·rikarn S
carabine kær·æbəin B, kæær·bain S
carabineer kærıbınıir· B, kærbiniir· S
caract kær·it B, kær·æt S
caravan kær·æváen B, S
caraway kær·wee B, kær·æwee S
card kæerd B, S
carmine kær·mín B, kæær·main S
carnelion kærnel·jən B, kærnii·ljən S
carte-blanche kært-blænsh B, kæert blæntsh S
cartouch kærtəush· B, kærtuutsh· S
carriage kær·eedzh O, kær·idzh D, kær idsh B, S
carrion kær·in B, kær·jən S
castle kæs·tl B, kæs·l S
casual kæz·iuil B, kæz·iuæl S
casually kæz·iulí B, kæz·iuæli S
casualty kæz·iultí B, kæz·iuælti S
casuist kæz·iuíst B, S
catarrh kæt·ær B, kætær· S
causeway kaa·sí B, kaas·wee S
cavil kæv·l B, kæv·íl S
ceiling CIEILING sii·lin B, sii·liq S
cement n. sim·ínt B, SEM·ENT S
cement v. siment· B, siiment· S
censure sen·sər B, SEN·shər S
centenary sen·tneeri B, SEN·tiinəri S
ceruse sii·rəs B, SER·ius S
chaff tshæf B, S
chagrin shægriin· B, S
chair tsheer B, S
chaise sheez D, B, S
chaldron tsaa·dərn D, tshaa·drín B, tshaa·drən S
chamber tshææm·bír B, tshææm·bər S
champaign shæmpeen· B, S
chandelier CHANDELER shandeeliir· S
chandler tshæn·dlír B, tshænd·lər S
change tsheendzh D, tsheendsh B, tsheendzh S
chant tshæænt B, tshænt S
chaos kææ·əs B, kee·as S
chaplain tshæp·lín D, B, S
chaps tshæps B, tshaps S
charriot tshær·it D, B, tshær·jət S
charrioteer tshærıtiir· B, tshærjootiir· S
chart kæert B, S
charter tshæær·tír B, tshæær·tər S
chasm kæs·m B, kæz·m S
chasten tshæst·ín B, tsheest·n S
chastisement tshæstəiz·mínt B, tshæs·tíz-MENT S
charlatan tshær·lítín B, tshæær·lætæn S
charcoal tshær·kəl B, tshæær·kool S
Cherubim Tsher·iubím D, B, TSHER·iu-bím S
chevalier shevæliir· D, SHEVÆliir· S
chew tshuu B, tshuu tshaa S
chicane tshikeen· B, shikeen· S
chicanery tshikeen·rí B, shikee·nəri S
chicken tshík·n B, tshík·ín S
chimera kəimii·ræ B, kaimii·ræ S
china tshin·i B, tshee·ni S
Chinese Tshəiniiz· F
chirp tshírp B, tsherp S
chives tshəivz B, shəivz S
chocolate tshok·lít B, tshak·ələt S
choir kwəir D, kəír B, kwair S
choler koo·lír B, kal·ər S
cholic kol·ík B
chord kard B, kaard S
chorister kwír·istər O, D, kəi·rístír kər·istír B, kwer·istər S
chorus kər·əs B, koo·rəs S
chough tshəf B, S
Christ Krəist B
christen krís·ín B, krís·n S
-cial = -shæl O
-cian = -shæn O
-cient = -shent O
-cious = -shəs O
circuit ser·kit O, sír·kiut B, SER·kiut S
citron sít·ərn O, sít·rən B, S
civet sív·it B, S
civil sív·l D, B, sív·íl S
civilly sív·lí B, sív·íli S
claret klər·it B, klær·it S
Claude klood D
cleanly kliin·lí B, kliin·li S
cleanse kliinz B, klenz S
clerk klerk B, klæærk S
climb kləim D, B, S
close klooz B, S
closely kləs·lí B, kloos·li S
cloth kloth B, klaath S
clothe kloodh B, S
clothes klooz, B, S
clyster glis·tír B, glís·tər S
cockswain kok·sín B, kak·sən S
cohere kooniir· O, B, S
coin kəin O, kəin B, kaain S
colander kəl·ændər O, kəl·índər S
cold kəuld B, koold S
colon kəl·ín B, koo·lan S
colonel kər·onel D, kər·nıl B, kər·nel S
colony kəl·əní O, kəl·əni B, kal·ənii S
colour kəl·ər O, kəl·ír B, kəl·ər S

colt kəlt B, koolt S
colter kəul·tər B, kool·tər S
columbine kəl·əmbəin O, kəl·əmbəin B, kal·əmbain S
comb kuum O, koom D, B, S
combat kəm·bæt O, kəm·bít B, kəm·bæt S
comfort kəm·fərt O, B, S
command kəmaand O, kəmæænd· B, kamænd· F, kəmæænd· S
committee kəmít·ii B, kəmít·i S
companion kəmpæn·jən B, kəmpæn·jən S
company kəm·pini B, kəm·pæni S
compass kəm·pis B, kəm·pes S
competition kəmpítish·ən B, kampeetí-sh·ən S
complacency kəmplæs·insi B, kampleeə-sənsi S
complaisance kəmplizæns· B, kampleeə-zæns· S
complete kəmpliit· O, B, kampliit· S
completion kəmplish·ən B, kamplii·shən S
compose kəmpooz B, kampooz S
conceit kənsiit· O, B, kansiit· S
conchoid kən·kəjíd B, kaqk·aaid S
concise kənsəiz· B, kansais· S
conclude kənkliud· B, kankliud· S
condign kəndəin· B, kandain· S
conduit kən·dít O, D, B, kan·dwít S
coney kən·í B, CONY kən·ii S
congé kən·dzhí B, koon·dzhii S
congeries kəndzhii·ríz B, kandzhii·riis S
conic kən·ík B, kan·ík S
conjecture kəndzhek·tər B, kandzhek·-tshər S
conjure v.n. kən·dzhər D, B, S
conquer kəqk·ər D, kəqk·wír B, kaqk·ər S
conscience kən·shínz B, kan·shens S
conscientious kənsien·shəs B, kanshen·-shəs S
constable kən·stíbl B, kən·stæbl S
construe kən·stru B, kan·stər S
contrite kəntrəit· B, kan·trait S
conversant kənver·síənt B, kan·versent kanver·sent S
converse kənværs· kənvers· B, kanvers· S
coquette kək·et B, kooket· S
corn karn B, kaarn S
coroner krəun·ər D, kər·ənír B, kar·-ənər S
corps kərps B, koor S
corse kərs B, koors S
cost kast B, S
cotton kət·n B, kat·n S
covenant kəv·inənt B, kəv·eenænt S
covey COVY kəv·í B, kəv·i S
coward kəu·ird B, kau·ərd S
cowardice kəur·dis B, kau·ərdis S
Cowper Kuu·pər D
coy kəi B, kaai S
coyness koo·inis B, kaai·nis S
couch kəutsh B, kautsh S
cough kəf O, D, B, kaf S
could kuud B, kud S
coulter kəul·tər O, B, kaul·tər S
country kən·trí B, kən·tri S
couple kəp·l B, S
courier kər·ier B, kuu·rjeer S
course koors B, F, S
court kuurt O, koort B, S
courtezan kərtizæn· O, kərtizæn· B, kərtizæn· S
cousin kəz·n O, kəz·in B, kəz·n S
creature krii·tər O, kriit·jər B, krii·tshər S
Crete Kriit O
crew kriu B, kruu S
crony krən·í B, kroo·ni S
croup krəp B, kruup S
croupade krəpeed· B, kruupeed· S
crude kriud B, kruud S
cruise kriuz B, kruuz S
cuckold kək·əld B, S
cuckow kək·uu B, kukuu· S
cucumber kəu·kəmbər O, kəu·kəmbír B, kau·kəmər S
cuirass kiuræs· B, kiu·ræs S
cuirassier kiuræs·iir B, S
culture kəl·tiur B, kəl·tshər S
cupboard kəp·boord B, kəb·ərd S
czar zær B, zæər S

D

damn dæm B, S
damosel dæm·sel D, dæm·síl B, dæm·zíl S
dance dæns B, S
danger dæn·dzhír B, dæən·dzhər S
daughter daa·tər D, daa·tír B, daa·tər S
deaf diif O, def B, dif S
deanery diin·rí B, diin·eri S
debauch dibaatsh· B, S
debauchee deboshii· D, deboshii· B, deboosh ii· S
debenture diben·tər B, diiben·tshər S
debt det D, B, dit S
decade dik·eed B, dek·əd S
deceit disiit· O, B, S
decision disiz·jən B, diisizh·ən S
decisive disiz·iv B, diisai·siv S
deign deen D, B, S
deluge del·ədsh B, del·iudzh S
dernier derniir· B, dernjeer· S
desert DESART dez·irt B, dez·ert S
deserve dizærv· dizerv· B, dizerv S
despotic dispot·ík B, despat·ík S
destroyed distroid· B, distraəid· F, distraaid· S
devil dev·l D, B, S
devious dev·iəs B, dii·vjəs S
diamond dəi·mənd B, dai·mənd S

different dif·rint B, dif·eerent S
diocesan dəiosis·æn B, daias·eesæn S
diphthong dif·thoq B, dip·thaq S
dirge dər·dzhii O, dirdsh B, dərdzh S
discern disærn· disern· B, dizern· S
discipline dis·iplən B, dis·iplin S
discomfit diskəm·fit B, diskəm·fit S
discourse diskuurs· O, diskoors B, S
dishabille disæbiil· B, dishaabiil· S
dishevelled dishev·lid B, disshev·l S
diverse dəi·vers B, dai·vers S
divorce dəivuurs· O, divors· B, divoors S
dole dul B, dool S
doleful dul·fəl B, dool·ful S
dolt dolt B, doolt S
door door O, B, S
drama dræm·æ B, dræe·mæ S
draught draat O, drəut B, draut S
droll drol B, drool S
drollery drol·ri B, drool·eri S
drought drəut B, draut S
droughty drəut·i B, drau·ti S
drunken drək·n B, drəqk·n S
drunkenness drək·nis B, drəqk·nnis S
dwarf dwaarf, B, S

E

-ea- (e, ii) as in XIXth century, except in the words cited
ebon eb·ən S
ebony ii·bəni B
Eden Ii·den O
Edinburgh Ed·inbəro D
effigies ef·idzhiz B, efii·dzhees S
effort ef·ərt O, ef·ort B, ef·oort S
effrontery efrən·tri B, efroon·teeri S
egotism ig·ətizm B, ii·gootizm S
ei = *ē in veil, either, key, convey* (ii) ? D
eighth eeth B, eetth S
either ii·dhər O, əi dher B, F, ii·dhər S
eleven ilev·n O
encore æqkoor· B, aqkoor· S
endeavour indii·vər O, endev·ər B, indev·ər S
engross ingruus· O, engrəs· B, ingroos· S
enough enəf O, D, B, eenəf· S
enow eniu B, eenau· S
enpassant æq·pæsæq· B
enrol enrəul· B, inrool· S
environ invəi·ərn O, invai·rən S
ere iir O, S
eremite er·məit B, er·eemait S
eschalot shælət· B, shælat· S
eschar skær· B, eskær· S
eschew eshiu· B, estshuu· S
espalier espæl·iir B, espæl·jer S
even iiv·n O, B, S
executor eksek·ətir B, egzek·iutər S
executer eks·ikiutir B
exert egzert· B, S
exhaust eksaast B, ekshaast· S
exhort egzart· B, egzhaart· S
exit egz·it B, eks·it S
extreme ekstriim· O, ekstrim· B, ekstriim· S
eyre əir B, eer S

F

fabric fee·brik B, fæb·rik S
falchion fæl·shin B, faal·tshən S
falcon faal·kin B, faak·n S
farther fær·dir B, fæer·dher S
farthing fæer·din B, fæer·dhiq S
fasten fæst·n B, fæs·n S
fatal feet·l B, fee·tæl S
father fæe·dhir B, fæe·dher S
fathom fæd·əm B, fædh·əm S
fatigue feetig· B, fætiig· S
fault faalt B, faat S
feodary fii·dəri O, fii·deeri B, fiu·dæri S
feofee fef·ii O, fiifii· B, fəf·ii S
fetid fit·id B, fet·id S
few fiu B, F, S
fewel fiu·il B, S
fierce fers B, fers S
fire fəiər O, fəir B, fair S
first fərst B, S
flagon flæg·in D, B, flæg·ən S
flea flii O, B, S
flood flləd O, B
flue fliu B, fluu S
flook fliuk B, fluuk S
flaunt flaant B, flænt S
fold fəuld B, foold S
foliage fol·idsh B, foo·ljædzh S
folio fol·jo B, foo·ljoo S
folk fok B, fook S
foot fət D, B, fut S
force fuurs O, fərs B, foors S
ford ferd O, fərd B, foord S
forge fuurdzh O, fərdsh B, foordzh S
fork fark B, faark S
form fuurm O, farm B, faarm S
forth fuurth O, foorth B, S
fought foot O, fat B, faat S
foul fəul B, faul F, S
four foor B, S
fourth fuurth O, foorth B, S
fragile free·dzhil B, frædzh·il S
fragrant fræe·grint B, free·grænt S
frequent adj frik·wint B, frii·kwent S
friend friind O, frend D, B, S
front frənt B, frant S
frost frast B, S
full ful B, S
fulsome fol·səm B, S
furniture, fər·nitər O, B, fər·nitshər S
further fər·dir B, fər·dhər S
fusil fiu·zil B, fiuzii· S
future fiu·tər B, fiu·tshər S

G

gallant adj. gæl·ínt B, gæl·ænt S
gallant n. gælænt· B, S
gallows gæl·əs B, S
gaol (GOAL *in* O) dzheel O, B, S
gap gæp B, S
gape gæep B, S
garden gær·dn D, gæer·dín B, S
gauge geedzh D, GAADSH B, geedzh S
gentian dzhen·shín B, dzen·tshæn S
George dzhardsh B, dzhaardzh S
Ghent Gænt D
ghost guust O, goost B, S
gibbous dzhíb·es B, gíb·əs S
gill dzhíl B, S
gills gílz B, S
girl gerl B, GERL S
glebe gliib O, B, S
glede gliid O, S
glue gliu B, S
gnat næt D, B, S
gnaw NAA D, B, S
gold guuld B, S
gone gən D, B, GAN S
gossip gos·əp O, gos·íp B, GAS·íp S
gouge gəudzh O, guudzh S
Gough Gəf D
gourd guurd O, gourd B, guurd S
govern gəv·írn B, gəv·ərn S
government gəv·írmínt B, gəv·ərnMENT S
grand græend B, grænd S
grandeur græænd·jər B, green·dzhər S
grange greendzh D, S
grant græænt B, S
grass græs B, S
great griit O, greet B, S
groat grœæt B, GRAAT S
grocer grəs·ír B, groo·sər S
group gruup B, S
groveling grəv·líq O, grəv·líq B, GRAV·-líq S
guerdon gwer·den O, GWER·dən S
guttural gət·iurál B, gət·iuræl S
gymnastic gímnæs·tík B, dzhímnæs·tíkS

H

h—mute in *honour, honourable, herb, heir, honest, humble,* D
habitual hæbít·iuál B, hæbit·iuæl S
haft hææft B, hæft S
half HAAF O, hææf B, S
halfpenny hee·pení B, hee·pæni S
hallelujah hæliliu·dzhæ B, hæleeluu·jæ S
handkerchief hænd·kírtshír B, hæq·-kertshíf S
handsel hæn·sél B, C
harlequin hær·líkín B, hæær·lekiin S
haste heest D, B, S
hasten hees·tn D, B, S
haunch (HANCH *in* O), HAAnsh O, B, hæntsh S
haunt HAAnt B, hænt HAAnt S
hautboy hoo·boi B, hoo·bAAi S
hearken hærk·n O, hæær·kn B, S
heart hært O, hæært B, S
heaven hev·n O, D
height heet O, B, HAit S
heinous hee·nəs B, hii·nəs S
heir eer O, B, S
hemorrhoids em·ərəídz B, HEM·*oo*rAAidz S
her hər B, S
herb erb D, B, HERb S
herbage er·bídsh B, HER·bídzh S.
herbal er·bíl B, HER·bæl S
here hiir O, B, S
heritable er·ítíbl B, HER·ítæbl S
hero hir·ə B, hii·roo S
heroine hir·əín B, HER·*oo*ín S
heroism hir·əízm B, HER·*oo*ízm S
heron hir·ən B, HERn S
heterogeneal het·ərogen·iæl O, het·rə-dzhin·jíl B, HET·ERodzhii·nJæl S
high həi D, B, HAI S
hoard (HORD *in* O), hord O, hoord B, S
Holborn Hoo·bərn O, D
hold hould B, hoold S
honest ən·íst B, AN·íst S
honey hən·í B, hən·i S
honour ən·ír B, AN·ər S
host host B, hoost B
hostler əst·lír B, AS·lər S
hough hof D, HAK S
housewife həz·íf B, HƏZ·wíf S
hovel hə·vel O, hov·l B, HAV·íl S
hover hov·ər O, hov·ír B, HAV·ər S
huge hiudsh B, hiudzh S
humble əm·b'l D, həm·bl B, əm·bl S
humor iu·mər B, S
huzza hozææ· B, S
hyena həi·enæ B, HAIjii·næ S

I

idiot id·jət B, íd·jət S
impugn ímpəq· B, ímpiun· S
incisive ínsiz·iv B, INSAI·síV S
indict índəit· B, índait· S
indictment índəit·ment D
injure ín·dzhər B, S
inspires ínspəi·ərz O, ínspəirz· B, ín-spAirz· S
instead ínstiid B, ínstæd· S
invalid adj. ínvæl·íd B, S
invalid n. ínvæliid· B, S
inveigh ínvee· O, ínvii· B, ínvee· S
inveigle ínvii·gl B, ínvee·gl S
iron əi·ərn O, D, əirn B, əi·ərn S
is íz B, S
Isaac ji·zæk D

isle oil B, ail S
issue is·iu B, is·shu S
isthmus ist·məs B, is·məs S

J

James Dzhiimz O
jaunt dzhæənt B, dzhænt S
japan dzheepæn· B, dzhæpæn· S
jeopardy dzhep·ərdi O, dzhep·irdi B, dzhɛp·ərdi S
jewel dzhuu·il B, S
John Dzhən J
join dzhəin O, dzhoin B, dzhain S
joint dzhoint O, dzhoint B, dzhaint S
jointure dzhoin·tər B, dzhaain·tshər S
jole, joll dzhoul B, dzhool S
jolt dzhoult B, dzhoolt S
jostle dzhas·l B, S
juice dzhuus B, S
juncture dzhəqk·tər B, dzhəqk·tshər S
June Dzhuun B, S
justle dzhəs·l B, dzhas·l S

K

kali kee·ləi B, kee·li S
key kii O, B, S
kiln kil O, D, B, S
knave neev B, F, S
knoll nool nəul O, nal S

L

lanch laansh O, læænsh B, læntsh S
language læq·widsh B, læq·wedzh F, læq·gwidzh S
lath læth B, lææth S
laudanum laa·dinəm B, lad ænəm S
laugh læf O, D, lææf B, læf S
laundry LANDRY læən·dri B, læn·dri S
laurel laa·til B, lar·il S
learning læər·niq B, lərn·iq F, lɛrn·iq S
levee lev·ii B, lɛv·i S
lecture lek·tər O, lekt·jər B, lɛk·tshər S
leeward lii·WARD B, liu·ərd S
leisure lee·zhər O, leez·jər B, lezh·ur F, lii·zhər S
leopard lep·ərd O, lep·ird B, lɛp·ərd S
lessee (LEASSEE *in* O) liisii· O, lesii· B, S
lessor (LEASSOR *in* O) liisər· O, lɛs·ar S
listen lis·n B, S
lieutenant liiuten·ænt O, liuten·int B, liftɛn·ænt S
loath lath B, looth S
loathe loodh B, S
loin ləin O, loin B, laain S
London Lən·ən B
lost lost B, last S
lough lof O, lak S
lustring liu·striq B, liut·striq S

M

machine mæshiin· D, B, S
magazine mægæziin· O, B, S
malign mæləin B, mælain· S
malkin maal·kin B, maa·kin S
mall maal B, mæl S
malmsey mææ·msi B, mææm·zi S
maniac mænəi·æk B, mee·najæk S
mare meeər O, meer B, S
marine mæriin· B, S
mareschal mær·shæl D, mær·shil B, mæær·shæl S
manger maan·dzhər O, meen·dzhir B, meen·dzhər S
mantua mæn·tə B, mæn·tæ S
many mæn·i B, mɛn·i S
marchioness mæær·tshjənis B, mæær·tshənis S
marriage mær·idzh D, B, S
mash (MEASH *in* O) miish O, mæsh B, S
mass mæs B, S
meacock mii·kok O, mii·kak S
medicine med·sin O, B, S
mediocrity midziok·riti B, meedzhak·riti S
memoir mimoir· B, mee·maair mii·mwaar S
mere miir O, B, meer S
miniature min·ieetiur B, min·itshər S
minister min·istir B, min·istər S
minute adj. məiniut· B, miniut· S
minute n. min·ət B, min·it S
misery miz·ri B, miz·əri S
misprision mispriz·ən B, misprizh·ən S
mistress mis·tris B, S
moil məil O, məil B, maail S
moiety moo·riti B, maai·eeti S
Monday Mən·di B, Mən·dee S
Monmouth Mən·məth D
monsieur mən·siur B
moor moor O, B, S
more mooər O, moor, S
most muust O, məst B, moost B
mould məuld B, moold S
moult məult B, moolt B
move məv muuv O, muuv D, B, S
mow n. məu B, mau S
mushroom məsh·ruun B, məsh·ruum S

N

natural næt·iuril B, næt·urəl F, nætsh·ərəl S
nature nee·tər O, neet·jər B, nee·tshər S
navy nev·i B, neev·i S
neigh nii B, nee S
neighbour nee·bər O, B, S
neither needh·er O, nəi·dhir B, nii·dher S
new niu B, nuu F, niu S
nuncio nen·shə B, nən·shoo S
nuptial nəp·shæl O, nəp·shil B, nəp·shæ [S

O

oblige oblii·dzh· D, əbləidsh· əbliidsh· B *oo*blaidzh· *oo*bliidzh· S
oblique əbliik· B, *oo*blaik S
obscene əbsiin· O, B, Absiin· S
occasion əkeez·jən B, Akee·zhən S
of əv D, B, AV S
off əf C, Af S
oil əil O, əil B, AAil S
ointment əint·ment O, əint·mint B, AAint·MENT S
once wæns B, WANS S
one ən wən D, wæn B, wən F, WAN S
one-eyed wæn-əi·id B, WAN·AID S
oneness wæn·nis B, WAN·nis S
onion ən·jən B, S
only ən·li B, *oo*n·li S
ordeal ard·jil B, AAr·djæl S
ousel əu·zel O, əu·zil B, uu·zl S
oyer ə·jir B, AAi·ər S
oyes *oo*·jis B, *oo*jis· S

P

palm PAAM O, pæælm B, pææm S
palsy PAAL·zi B, PAAL·zi S
parliament pæər·liment D, pæər·limint B, pæər·limENT S
passed pæst B, F, S
patent pee·tint B, pæt·ENT S
patentee pætentii· B, pætENtii· S
path pæeth B, S
perfect pər·fit D, per·fet B, pərfekt F, PER·fikt S
peremptory perem·təri B, PER·EMtəri S
perfection pərfek·shən D, B, PERfek·shən S
perfectly per·fitli B, PER·fektli S
perform pərfarm· B, F, PERfAARM· S
periwig per·iwig B, PER·iwig S
perjure per·dzhər B, S
perverse perværs· pervers· B, PERVERS· S
pervert pervært pervert B, PERVERT· S
pestle pest·l B, PEST·l S
petal pit·æl B, PET·æl S
petard pit·ærd B, pee·tæærd S
phalanx fæl·æqks B, fee·læqks S
Pharaoh Feer·o D
philosophy fəilə·sofi B, filAS·Afi S
phlegm fliim D, flem B, S
phlogiston floodzhis·tən B, *floogis·toon* S
phthisis tiz·iz B, fthAi·sis S
piazza pəiæz·æ B, pijæz·æ S
picture pik·tər O, pikt·jər B, pik·tshər S
pier piir B, S
pierce piirs O, pers piirs B, PERS S
pin pin B, pin S
placard pleekæærd· B, plækæærd· S
plait pleet B, S
plea plii O, B, S
plough plou B, plau S
point pəint O, pəint B, PAAint S
poison pəi·zn O, poiz·ən B, PAAi·zn S
police pəl·iis B, *poo*liis· S
poll pool pəul O, pool B, S
pomegranate pəmgræn·et O, *poo*mgræn·eet B, PAMgræn·ET S
pommel pəm·el D, pəm·il B, S
pomp PAMP B, S
poniard poin·jird B, PAN·JERd S
poor poor O, puur B, S
porch poortsh B, S
porpoise pər·poiz pər·pəs B, PAAR·pəs S
port puurt O, pərt B, *poo*rt S
post puust O, pəst B, *poo*st B
posture pəst·iur B, PAAS·tshər S
pother pədh·ir B, pədh·ər B
poultice pəul·tis O, pəul·tis B, pool·tis S
poultry pəul·tri O, pəul·tri B, pool·tri S
pour pəur O
precise prisəiz· B, priisais· S
premier prem·iir B, PREM·jiir S
prescience pris·əiins B, prii·shens S
pretty pret·i B, prit·i S
process prəs·es B, PRAS·is S
profile proofəil· B, *oo*rofiil· S
prologue prol·og O, B, PRAL·əg S
prove prəv pruuv O, pruuv D, B, S
prowl prəul B, PRAUL S
prude priud B, pruud S
psalm SAAM O, sææm B, S
ptisan təi·sæn B, tizæn· S
pudding pud·in B, pud·iq S
puisne piu·izn B, piu·ni S
pumice piu·mis B, S
pure piuər O, piur B, S
pursue pərsiu· B, S
pursuivant pər·sivænt B, pər·swivENT S
push push B, S
put pət B, put S

Q

quadrangle kweedræq·g'l B, kwædræq·gl S
quadrant kwee·dræənt B, kwee·dRENT S
quadrille kwee·dril B, kædril· S
quadruped kwæd·riuped B, S
quaff kwæf B, S
quality kwæl·iti B, kwæl·iti, kwAl·iti *persons of high rank*, S
qualm kwAAm O, kwAAlm B, kwææm S
quandary kwæn·deeri B, kwANdee·ri S
quantity kwæn·titi B, kwæn·titi S
quantum kwæn·təm B, S
quarrell kwær·il B, kwAr·il S
quarry kwær·i B, kwAr·i S
quart kwAart B, S
quarter kwAAr·tir B, kwAAr·tər S
quash kwAAsh B, kwAsh S
quarto kwær·to B, kwæær·too S
quatrain kwAA·treen B, kwAAr·trin S
quay kii O, kwee B, kee S

quean kwin B, kween S
queen kwiin B, S
question kwest·jən B, kwes·tshən F, kwES·tshən S
quire kəir B, kwair S
quoif koif B, kwaaif S
quoit kəit B, kwaait S
quoth kwoth B, kooth S

R

ragout reeguu· B, ræguu· S
raillery ree·lıri B, ræl·ERi S
raisin reez·n O, ree·sin B, ree·zn S
rant ræænt B, rænt S
rapier ree·piir B, ree·pjiir S
rapine rææ·pin B, ræp·in S
rapture ræp·tiur B, ræp·tshər S
ratio ræsh·ə B, ree·shoo S
reason ree·zən B, rii·zn S
receipt reseet· resiit· O, risiit· B, riisiit· S
recipe res·ipi B, RES·ipee S
reign reen O, B, S
rein reen O, B, S
renard renæærd· B, REN·ERd S
rendevous ren·divuuz B, RAN·deevuu S
rere riiər O, reer B
reserved risərv·id riserv·id B, rizERvd· S
resin rez·in B, S
resource risəurs· B, riisuurs· S
revert rivært· rivert· B, rivERt· S
ribband rib·in D, rib·æn B, rib·in S
rigging rig·in B, rig·iq S
roquelaure rok·eloo B, RAK·loo S
roll rool rəul O, rəul B, rool S
romance roomæns· B, S
Rome Ruum Rəm O, Ruum B
ronion rən·jən B, RAN·jən S
rost ruust O
rouge rəudzh O, rəudsh B, runzh S
rough rəf O, D, B, S
rule riul B, ruul S
ruse riuz B
rustle rəs·l B, S
ruth rəth B, ruuth S

S

saffron sæf·ərn O, D, B, sæf·rən S
salmon SAA·mən O, sæm·ən D, B, S
salt SAAlt B, S
salve SAAV O, sææv B, sælv S
sausage sææ·sidsh B, sæs·idzh S
scald skAAld D, B, S
scarce skers O, skeers B, skERs S
scath skæth, B, skeeth S
scene siin O, B, S
sceptic skep·tik D, B, skep·tik S
schedule sed·iul B, sedzh·uul S
schema skiim O, B, S
schism sizm D, B, S
scoff skəf B, skaf S
scold skəuld B, skoold S
scotch skootsh skətsh B, skatsh S
scrivener skriv·nər O
scroll skrool skrəul O, skrəul B, skrool S
scourge skərdzh O, skoordsh B, skərdzh S
scrutaire skriutoor B, skruutoor· S
sea sii O, B, S
seamstress siim·stris B, sems·tris S
searce sers B
seize siiz O, B, S
sensuous sen·siuəs B, SEN·shuəs S
serene siriin· B, F
sergeant sær·dzhint B, sæær·dzhænt S
servant sær·vint ser·vint B, SER·vENt S
severe siviir· O, B, S
sew siu *did sow* O, *soo does sew* B, S
sewer shoor B, siu·ər *waiter*, shoor *watercourse*, soo·ər *one who sews* S
shalt shAAlt B, shælt S
shawm (SHALM *in* O), shAAM O, B, S
shepherd shep·ird B, shEp·ərd S
sherd sheerd B, shERd S
shew shiu *did show* O, *shoo does show* B, S
shire shiir O, B, shaIr S
shirt shərt B, S
shoe shuu B, S
shorn shuurn O, sharn B, shAARn S
short shART B, shAART S
should shuud B, shud S
shoulder shəul·dər O, shəuld·ir B, shool·dər S
shrew shriu O, shriu B, shruu S
sigh səith, *better* səi B, SAIH S
sick sik B, sik S
sign soin D, B, SAin B
signior sii·niər D
signiory sen·jəri B, sin·joori S
sin sin B, sin S
since sins B, S
sirocco səirək·ə B, sirak·oo S
sirrah sær·æ O, sər·æ B, sær·æ S
sirup sir·əp B, sər·əp S
sixth sikst B, siksth S
skeleton (SCELETON *in* D), skel·etən D, skel·itən B, skel·itən S
slander slææn·dir B, slæn·dər S
slant slæænt B, slænt S
sleight sləit B, slait S
slough sləf· B, slau S
sloven sləv·in B, sləv·n S
smouldering sməul·diriq B, smool·dzriq S
sojourn soo·dzhərn B, S
sold əould B, oold S
solder SAd·ir B, SAd·ər S
soldier əould·jir B, ool·dzhər S
sonata əonee·tə B, oonee·tə S
soot sət D, B, S
sootiness sət·inis B, sət·inis S
sooty sət·i B, snu·ti S
soul əool B, S

sous suus B, sʌus S
southerly sədh·ɪ́rlɪ́ B, sədh·ərli S
sovereign sov·əreen D, səv·rɪ́n B, səv·ɛrɛn S
sphere sfiir O, B, S
spinet spɪ́net· B, S
sport spuurt O, spoort B, S
squab skwæb B, skwʌb S
squabble skwæb·l B, skwʌb·l S
squadron swææ·drən B, skwʌʌ·drən S
squalid skwæl·ɪd B, skwʌl·ɪ́d S
squalor skwee·lər B
squander skwʌʌn·dɪ́r B, skwʌn·dər S
squash skwʌʌsh B, skwʌsh S
squirrel skwɪr·ɪ́l B, skwɛr·ɪ́l S
staff stæf B, S
stalk stʌʌk B, S
stanch stʌʌnsh O, stæænsh B, stæntsh S
stiletto stəi·leto B, stɪ́lɛt·oo S
stomach stəm·æk B, stəm·ək S
stomacher stəm·ætshər D, stom·ætshɪ́r B, stəm·ɪdzhər S
stood stuud B, stud F, S
stover stəv·ər O
strange streendzh D, streendsh B, streendzh S
stranger strʌʌn·dzhər O, streen·dzhɪ́r B, streendzh·ər S
stroll strəul B, strool S
subtile sət·l D, B, səb·tɪ́l S
subtle sət·l S
sudden səd·n B, səd·ɪn S
sudorific siudoorif·ɪk B, shuudoorɪ́f·ɪk S
sudorous siu·dərəs B, shuu·doorəs S
sue shuu B, suu S
suet shuu·ɪt B, S
suety shuu·ɪtɪ B, shuu·ɪtɪ S
sugar shuu·gɪ́r B, shug·ər S
suicide shuu·ɪsəid B, shuu·isʌid S
suit shuut B, suut S
suitable shuut·ɪbl B, suut·ɛbl S
suite swiit S
suitor shuut·ər B, suu·tər S
suitress shuu·trɪs B, suu·trɪ́s S
Sunday Sən·dɪ B
super- siu·pɪr- B, shuu·pɛr- S
superable siu·pɪ́rɪbl B, shuu·pɛrɛbl S
superb siuperb· B, shuuperb· S
superior siupir·ɪər B, shuupii·rɪər S
supernal siuper nɪl B, shuuper·nɛl S
supine siupəin· B, shuu·pʌin *n.* shuupʌin· *adj.* S
supinity siupəi·nɪtɪ B, shuupɪn·ɪtɪ S
support, səpuurt· O, səpoort· B, S
supra- siu·prɪ- B, shuu·præ- S
supremacy siuprii·mɪsɪ B, shuuprɛm·æsi S
supreme siupriim· O, B, shuupriim· S
sural siu·rɪl B, shuu·ræl S
surance siu·rɪns B, shuu·rɛns S
sure shuur B, S
surtout sərtout· B, sərtuut· S
suture shuu·tər B, shuu·tshər S
swab swæb B, swʌb S
swaddle swæd·l B, swʌd·l S
swag swæg B, S
swallow swʌʌ·loo B, swʌl·oo S
swam swæm B, S
swamp swʌʌmp B, swʌmp S
swan swʌʌn B, swʌn S
swap swʌʌp B, swʌp S
sward swʌʌrd B, S
swarm swʌʌrm B, S
swarth swʌʌrth B, S
swash swʌʌsh B, swʌsh S
swath swæth B
swear sweer O, B, S
swoon suun D, B, S
swarm swʌʌrm B, S

T

tabard tee·bærd B
talk tʌʌk B, S
task tæsk B, S
tea tii O, B, S
tear v. teer O, S
tenet tin·et B, tii·nɛt S
tenable tin·ɪbl B, tii·næbl S
tew tiu B
their dheer O, B, S
there dheer O, B, S
these dhiiz O, B, S
thought thoot O, thʌt B, thʌʌt S
thousand thəu·zənd O, thʌu·zænd F
threepence thrɪ́p·ɪns B, thrɪ́p·ɛns S
threepenny thrɪ́p·ɪnɪ B, thrɪ́p·ɛni S
-tial = -shæl O
-tiate = -sheet O
-tion = -shən O
tissue tɪs·iu B, tish·u S
toil təil O
toilet toi·lɪt B, tʌʌi·lɪt S
told tould B, toold S
toll tool təul O, təul B, tool S
tomb tuum B, S
tonsure tən·siur B, tʌn·shər S
torn tuurn O, tʌrn B, toorn S
touch tətush O, tətsh B, S
tough təf O, D, B, S
tour təur B, tuur S
toupet tuupii· B, S
tournament tərn·emɪnt B, tuur·næmɛnt S
tournay tər·nee B, tuur·nee S
touse təuz B, tʌuz S
transient trænz·ɪənt B, træn·shɛnt S
trencher tren·shɪ́r B, trɛn·tshər S
troll trəul B, trool S
trough trəf O, D, B, trʌf S
true triu B, truu F, S
truth truuth B, S
tuesday tiuz·dɪ B, tshuuz·dee S

tulip tiu·líp B, tshuu·líp S
tumid tiu·míd B, tshuu·míd S
tumour tiu·mər B, tshuu·mər S
tumult tiu·məlt B, tshuu·məlt S
tune tiun B, tshuun S
tutor tiu·tər B, tshuu·tər S
tyrant təi·rínt B, tʌi·rænt S
twelvemonth twel·mənth B, twɛl·mənth S
twelvepence twel·pins B, twɛl·pɛns S
twelvepenny twel·peni B, twɛl·pɛni S
twopence təp·pins B, təp·əns S
typify təi·pifəi B, tip·ifi S
tyrannize təi·rænəiz B, tɛr·ænʌiz S
tyrannous təi·rænəs B, tɛr·ænəs S
tyranny tir·æni B, tɛr·æni S

U

union iun ɹən B, S
unlearned ənlæærn·id B, ənlærnd· F, ənler·nid S
untrue əntruu· B, S
uphold əpʜəuld· B, əpʜoold S
usquebaugh əskibʌʌ· B, əskweebææ· S
usual iuz·ɹil B, iu·zhuɛl S
usurer iu·zərir B, iu·zhərər S
usurious iuziu·ríəs B, iuzhuu·rɹəs S
usury iuz·əri B, iu·zhərii S

V

vacuous vee·kiuəs B, væk·iuəs S
valet vɛl·it B, vɛl·ɛt vʌl·ɛ S
Vaughan Vʌʌn D
vein veen O, B, S
venison ven·zən O, D, vɛn·isən S
verdict ver·díkt D, ver·dít B, vɛr·díkt S
verjuice vær·dzhuus B, ver·dzhuus S
vermicelli vermísel·í B, vɛrmítshɛl·ii S
vicious vii·shəs B, S
victualler vit·lər D, vit·lír B, vit·lər S
victuals vit·lz D, B, S
village vil·idsh B, vil·edzh F, vil·idzh S
villain vil·in B, vil·en F, vil·ɛn S
virile vəi·rəil B, vʌi·rʌil S
virility vəiril·iti B
virtue vir·tiu B, vɛr·tshuu S
viscount vəi·kəunt B, vʌi·kʌunt S
voyage voo·idsh B, vʌʌi·edzh S

W

wabble wæb·l B, wʌb·l S
wad wæd B, wʌd S
waft wæft B, S
waftage wʌʌf·tidsh B, wæf·tɛdzh S
wainscot wen·skət O, ween·skət B, wɛn·skət S
walk wʌʌk B, S
wallop wæl·əp B, wʌləp S
wallow wæl·oo B, wʌl·oo S
walnut wʌʌl·nət B, S
wan wæn B, S
wand wænd B, wʌnd S
wander wʌʌn·dír B, wʌn·dər S
want wʌʌnt B, wʌnt S
wanton wʌʌntən B, wʌn·tən S
war wʌʌr O, B, S
ward wʌʌrd O, B, S
warm wʌʌrm O, B, S
warn wʌʌrn O, B, S
warrant wʌʌ·rínt B, wʌr·ɛnt S
warren wʌr·en O, wʌʌr·in B, wʌr·in S
was wʌʌz B, wʌz S
wash wʌʌsh B, wʌsh S
wasp wʌʌsp B, wæsp S
wast wʌʌst B, wʌst S
waste weest D, B, S
watch wʌtsh O, wʌʌtsh B, wʌtsh S
water wʌʌ·tər O, D, wʌʌ·tír B, wʌʌ·tər S
wattle wæt·l B, wʌt·l S
weapon wiip·n O, B, wɛp·n S
wear weer O, B, S
Wednesday Wenz·dee D, Wenz·dí B, Wenz·dee S
weight weet O, B, S
were weer O, wer B, wɛr S
where wheer O, B, S
whistle whís·l B, S
who huu B, S
whole whool B, F, ʜool S
whom huum B, S
whore ʜoor O, B, huur S
whose huuz B, S
why whəi B, ʜwʌi S
windpipe win·pəip B, wʌind·pʌip S
windlass win·lís B, win·lɛs S
windmill win·mil B, wʌind·mil S
withhold withhəuld· B, withʜoold S
wold woold B, S
wolf wuulf O, B, wulf S
woman wəm·æn O, wəm·in B, wum·ən S
womb woom D, wuum B, S
women wim·in B, S
won won B, wʌn S
wont wənt B, wunt S
woo wuu B, S
word wuurd wərd O, wərd B, S
work wuurk wərk O, wərk B, S
world wuurld wərld O, wərld B, S
worm wuurm wərm O, wərm B, S
worry wur·i O, wər·i B, S
worship wur·shíp O, wər·shíp B, S
worst wuurst wərst O, woorst B, wərst S
worsted wuur·sted wər·sted O, wər·stíd B, wus·tíd S
wort wərt O, B, S
worth wuurth wərth O, B, S
would wuud B, uuld F, wud S
wound wəund O, B, wuund S

wrath rAAth O, rææth B, rAAth S
wrestle res·l B, rES·l S
wrought root O, rat B, rAAt S

Y

yacht jAAt B, jAt S
yea jii O, jee B, S
yearn jiirn O, jern B, jERn S
yeast jest B
yelk jelk B, jook S
yeoman jəm·æn O, jem·æn B, jEm·ən S
yes jes B, jis S
yield jiild B, S
yolk jəlk B, jook S
yule juul B

Z

zealot zii·lət O, zel·ət B, zEl·ət S
zenith zin·ith B, zii·nith S

SELECT RHYMES OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

The following rhymes from poets of the XVIII th century have been collected from Walker and Prof. Haldeman (suprà p. 1035). The names and dates of the writers are:

Beattie	1735—1803	Falconer	1730—1769	Lyttelton	1709—1773
Broome	1689—1745	Fenton	1683—1730	E. Moore	1712—1757
Churchill	1731—1764	Gay	1688—1732	Pope	1688—1744
Cotton	1707—1788	Gifford	1757—1826	Smollett	1721—1771
Cowper	1731—1800	Goldsmith	1728—1774	Somerville	1692—1742
Croxall	d. 1752	Gray	1716—1771	Tickell	1686—1740
Darwin	1731—1802	Hoole	1727—1803	Warton	1728—1790
Eusden	d. 1730	Johnson	1709—1781	Watts	1674—1748

It must not be forgotten that these writers were greatly influenced by the pronunciation of the XVII th century, in which some of them were born, and to which their parents all probably belonged, and hence they might be apt to consider those rhymes which would have been correct in their parents' mouths even more correct than others which they now permitted themselves. It was a century of transition for *ea* in especial, and probably also for *a*, the first travelling from (ee) to (ii), and the second from (ææ) to (ee). "Glorious John" Dryden, who died at the beginning of the century, was looked upon as a model of versification until Pope gained the ascendant, but Pope was certainly materially influenced by Dryden's usages. Bearing this in mind, we must expect the rhymes to present nearly the same character as those in the preceding century, and our examination of Tennyson and Moore (pp. 858-862) shews how potent the influence of the XVIII th century writers still remains.

The arrangement is therefore the same as for Dryden, p. 1034, and the XVII th century, suprà p. 1036. The numbers point out the same groups as in those cases.

1. Car war, *Pope*. regards rewards, *Gay*. far war, *Darwin*. afar war, *Falconer*. star war, *Beattie*. care war, *Pope*. square war, *Darwin*. are war, *Cowper*. safe laugh, *Pope*. glass place, *Pope*. mast plac'd, *Pope*. take track, *Pope*. past waste, *Pope*—would probably never have been used, had they not been an heritage from the preceding century. But Pope may have had an antique pronunciation.

2. As *ai* and *a* long had both become (ee), these rhymes need not be noticed.

3. Wear star, *Pope*. plain man, *Pope*. remain'd land, *Pope*. air star, *Pope*. far air, *Johnson*. appear regular, *Pope*. err singular, *Pope*—must also seek their justification in the usages of the XVII th century. The pronunciation of the preceding or succeeding century only renders the rhymes worse.

4. Waves receives, *Pope;* take speak, *Pope;* shade mead, *Pope;* race peace, *E. Moore;* were now perfect rhymes, and past feast, *E. Moore*, was apparently justified on the authority of the preceding, although it had long ceased to have its old meaning (ææ, ee), and had

become (æ, ee) or (æ, ii). Obey tea, *Pope;* away tea, *Pope;* convey sea, *Warton;* fail'd reveal'd, *Gay;* display sea, *Gay;* airs, ears, *Gray;* sphere bear, *Pope;* sphere there, *Pope;* ear repair there, *Pope;* were all perfect, although the (ii) sound had begun to be acknowledged for (ea, e). But: there transfer, *Fenton;* here refer, *Pope;* were fear, *Eusden;* steer character, *Pope;* field held, *Pope;* were remnants of the XVIIth century usage. Heath death, *Pope;* death heath, *Beattie;* drest feast, *Pope;* break neck, *Pope;* yet complete, *Cotton;* decay'd fled, *Lyttelton;* were all rhymes of a long and short vowel (ee, e); and: feel mill, *Pope;* ship deep, *Falconer;* rhymes of long and short (ii, *i*), doing duty for (ii, i). Perhaps: receives gives, *Pope;* steals hills, *Warton;* were (ee, *i*) standing for (ee, e), and: stretch beech, *Gray*, was a confusion of the two last cases.

5. No instances of (e, *i*) have been collected; but they were no doubt sufficiently common.

6. With: high pillory, *Somerville;* fry jealousy, *Pope;* buy dispensary, *Pope;* sky company, *Pope;* we may class: eyes rise precipice, *Pope;* rise precipice, *Pope;* wise inconsistencies, *Pope;* delight wit, *Pope;* revive live, *Pope*. But: winds finds, *Croxall*, is justified by the still persistent "poetic" pronunciation of *wind* as (woind). We of course find also: free liberty, *Pope*, and many such instances.

7. Joined mankind, *Pope*. refin'd join'd, *Tickell*. join divine, *Pope*. join line, *Pope*, *Churchill*, *Falconer*. shine join, *Beattie*. thine join, *Lyttelton*. join thine, *Gifford*. soil smile, *Falconer*. guile toil, *Smollett*. smile toil, *Johnson*. smiles toils, *Hook*. These were in accordance with received pronunciation, but: vice destroys, *Pope*, seems to be a liberty. Weight height, *Pope*, *Falconer*, was regular as (weet, heet).

8. Such rhymes as: none own, *Pope*, which was perfect, or else (*oo*, *oou*), seem to have led poets to use: known town, *Gay;* brow grow, *Pope;* brow woe, *Croxall;* vows woes, *Pope;* power store, *Beattie;* own town, *Pope;* adores pow'rs, *Pope*, although they were (*oo*, *ou*) at best. We have also (*oo*, o) treated as if it were a rhyme of a long and short vowel, in: sun upon none, *Pope;* lost boast, *Pope;* show'd trod, *Pope;* gross moss, *Pope;* coast tossed, *Falconer;* thought wrote, *Broome*. Also the old rhymes of (*oo*, uu) depending upon the still older (oo, oo) in: took spoke, *Pope;* boor door, *Goldsmith;* and even: assure door, *Watts*. The usual confusions, likewise an old tradition, occur in: blood wood, *Pope;* blood good, *Pope;* stood blood, *Falconer*, *Pope;* mood flood, *Warton;* wood blood, *Gay;* wood blood, *Darwin;* brood flood, *Cotton*. And to the same tradition is perhaps due the rhymes of *come* with (*oo*) or (uu): home come, *Pope;* doom come, *Pope;* dome come, *Pope;* come room, *Pope;* come tomb. *Warton;* bloom come, *Gifford*. The following rhymes were perfect: doom Rome, *Pope;* tomb Rome, *Darwin;* gone stone, *Croxall;* house *vous*, *Pope*. Perhaps: house *sous*, *Churchill*—where *sous* is the French (su)—was only meant to be absurd; still it may have been in use as a slang term at the time.

9. No instances of (eu, iu) or (iu, uu) have been noted, but the latter were not all uncommon.

10. Groves loves, *Pope*. grove love, *Johnson*. rove love, *Smollett*. grove above, *Gay*. throne begun, *Pope*. moves doves, *Pope*. prove love, *Pope*. fool dull, *Pope*. These seem to have held their ground from pure convenience, as did also: flung along, *Pope;* long tongue, *Pope;* songs tongues, *Watts*. Full rule, *Pope*, is only a short and a long vowel rhyme (*u*, uu).

11. The influence of (r) is apparent in: horse course, *Pope;* sort court, *Pope;* board lord, *Pope;* resort court, *Pope;* borne return, *Pope;* worn turn, *Pope*. But in: observe starve, *Pope;* desert heart, *Pope;* ermine charming, *Gay;* we have also a XVIIth century tradition.

12. Nature creature, *Gay;* nature satire, *Gay*, *Gray;* fault thought, *Pope;* were perfect rhymes (nee·ter kree·ter see·ter, fAAt thAAt); and perhaps in: call equivocal, *Pope*, the last word was pronounced with (AA) for the occasion, at any rate such rhymes were an ancient tradition, as they were common in Spenser. Even: still suitable, *Pope*, is half justifiable, as the *-ble* here is only a *-bil* obscured. But could: caprice nice, *Pope*, have ever rhymed as (kæpreis', nais) or as (kæpriis', niis)? Of course: eve grave, *Warton*, was a mere license, and: arms warns, *Goldsmith*, was perhaps meant for an assonance.

CHAPTER XI.

Illustrations of the Pronunciation of English during the Nineteenth Century.

§ 1. *Educated English Pronunciation.*

On referring to Chapter I., pp. 18 and 19, the reader will see that in thus endeavouring to give an account of the Pronunciation of English at different periods, I have been throughout thoroughly aware that there was at no time any approach to a uniform pronunciation. On referring again to p. 408, it will be seen that my attempts were really limited to discovering the value of the letters employed, which I believed to be pretty uniform within the boundaries of England. This value of the letters seems to have been based on the ecclesiastical pronunciation of Latin, and considering that Latin letters were introduced by priests, and that priests were long the only scribes (shewn by our modern use of the word *clerk*), such a conclusion has some *à priori* probability. In Chap. VI. it will be seen that the actual diversity of pronunciation gradually overpowered orthography, which, after the successful phonetic effort of the xvi th century in introducing the distinctions *ee*, *ea* and *oo*, *oa*, subsided into tradition and printing-office habits. In Scotland indeed an approach to systematic orthography developed itself at the conclusion of the xv th century, and this thenceforth distinctly separates the Scotch from the English orthography.[1]

[1] Suprà p. 410, n. 3, and Mr. Murray's Dialect of the Southern Counties of Scotland (1873, 8vo., pp. 251), p. 52, where he says that on "comparing the older extracts from the *Brus*, preserved by Wyntown, with the later MS. of 1489," we find "*ai ay*, *ei ey*, *yi*, *oi oy*, *ui*, *oui*, for the old *a*, *e*, *i*, *o*, *u*, *ou*, Ags. *á*, *é*, *í*, *ó*, *ú*." And he attributes this to "a defective pronunciation of the diphthongs *ai*, *ei*, *oi*, etc., whereby the second vowel was practically lost, and the combination treated as simple long *ā*, *ē*, *ō*," referring to a similar custom in Gaelic, and "even where the second vowel is audible, it is not with a distinct *i* sound as in Eng. *ay*, *oil*, ... but rather an obscure vocal glide, like the *e* in the words drawe*r*, laye*s*t, weighe*d*, saye*th*, see*s*t, praye*r*, and so easily disappearing altogether. The same pronunciation appears to have been given in central and north-eastern Scotland to the Ags. and French diphthongs," thus *awā-eh* for *away*, *rā-en* for *rain*, *chōes* for *choice*, etc., "imperfect diphthongs" which "still characterise the Scotch dialects." Then "*ay*, *oi*, *ei*, being looked upon merely as ways of expressing long *a*, *o*, *i*, they began to be extended to all words with long vowels, where there had been no original diphthong. . . . Hence the alternative forms *mad made maid mayd mayde*, *tas tase tais tays*, etc., found often in the same page of works belonging to the transition period." No reader of this work should fail to study Mr. Murray's, to which frequent reference must be made in the present chapter. The diphthongal theory here intimated will come again under consideration, when reviewing the dialectal relations of the vowels, in § 2, No. 6, iv. below; but as the other dialects were not literary after the fifteenth century, they did not influence orthography.

Orthoepists as a rule ignore all this. It would have been impossible to learn from Hart that *ai* had any other sound in his day than (ee), and yet we know from other sources that (ee) was not even the commonest pronunciation of *ai* at that time. The Expert Orthographist allowed only four words in *ea* to have the sound of (ee). No doubt he considered such a sound in other words to shew ignorance or vulgarity; for the "polite" sounds of a past generation are the *bêtes noires* of the present. Who at present, with any claims to "ed*di*cation," would "j*i*ne" in praising the "pīnts of a pict*er*"? But certainly there was a time when "ed*dj*ucation, j*oy*n, p*oy*nts, pic*tsh*er," would have sounded equally strange.

Moreover in past times we are obliged to be content with a very rough approximation to the sounds uttered. When in the XIVth century I write (e), it is possible that speakers may have rather, or may have occasionally, said (*e*, E, ɐ). My (o) in the XVIth century may have been (*o*, ɔ), my (ə) in the XVIIth may have been (E, œ), and so on. But at the present day, with the language in the air around us, surely it must be easy to determine what is said? It is not at all easy. There is first required a power, not acquired without considerable training, of appreciating utterance different from one's own. It is indeed remarkable how unconscious the greater number of persons appear to be that any one in ordinary society pronounces differently from themselves. If there is something very uncommon, it may strike them that the speaker spoke "strangely" or "curiously," that "there was something odd about his pronunciation," but to point to the singularity, to determine in what respects the new sound differs from their own, baffles most people, even literary men, even provincial glossarists, who apply themselves to write down these strange sounds for others to imitate. At any rate there has been hitherto evinced a general helplessness, both of conception and expression, that shews how much special education is necessary before we can hope for real success in appreciating diversities of utterance.

But this overcome, the mere observation is beset with difficulties. The only safe method is to listen to the natural speaking of some one who does not know that he is observed.[1] If possible the pronunciation should be immediately recorded in some phonetical system intelligible to the listener, as in palaeotype, and the name of the speaker and date should be annexed. This is most conveniently done during the delivery of sermons or lectures. The only objection

[1] This rule is laid down by Klopstock, Ueber die deutsche Rechtschreibung, Fragmenten über Sprache und Dichtkunst, 1779, reprinted in his works, and the passage is so curious that I here transcribe it in the author's own orthography, employing italics for his underlined letters: "Ich habe, *noch* langem Herumhören, gefunden, dasz *e*u fon *ä*u (oder, wi man schreiben solte *e*ü, *ä*ü; *hérfon* hernach) Leute fon läute nicht unterschiden sei. Wär mir in disem Punkte, oder in andern *nachuntersuchen* wil, mus nicht fragen: Wi man dis oder jenes ausspreche? Sondern är mus zuhören, wi man es ausspricht, wen man nichz dafon weis, dasz darauf acht gegäben wird." Klopstock's Sämmtliche Werke, herausgegeben von A. L. Back und A. R. C. Spindler. Leipzig, 1830, vol. 14, p. 151.

to this course is that a preacher or lecturer knows that his style of speech is liable to be criticized, and he may therefore indulge in rather a theoretical than a natural delivery. This is especially the case with professed orthoepists, whose pronunciation will necessarily labour under the suspicion of artificiality. And again this plan is of course only possible with educated speakers, who are mostly fanciful in their pronunciation. It is never safe to ask such people how they pronounce a given word. Not only are they immediately tempted to "correct" their usual pronunciation, to tell the questioner how they think the word ought to be pronounced, and perhaps to deny that they ever pronounced it otherwise;[1] but the fact of the removal of the word from its context, from its notional and phonetic relation to preceding and following sounds, alters the feeling of the speaker, so that he has as much difficulty in uttering the word naturally, as a witness has in signing his name, when solemnly told to sign in his usual handwriting. Both forget what is their usual habit, because they have long ceased to be conscious of the required efforts in speaking and writing, as in any other ordinary exertion of the muscles. I have myself found it extremely difficult to reproduce, for my own observation, the sounds I myself ordinarily utter; and yet I have undergone some training in this respect for many years. Uneducated persons, from whom we thus endeavour to elicit dialectal sounds, are simply puzzled, and seldom give anything on which reliance can be placed.

Observations on such sounds are extremely difficult to make. It is only persons of phonetic training who have lived long among the people, and spoken their language naturally, such as Mr. Murray for Scotch, that have had a chance of acquiring a correct conception of the sounds by hearing them unadulterated, and even then there is danger of their not having been able to throw off their former habits enough to thoroughly appreciate the received English sounds with which they would compare them.[2] When a stranger goes among the country people, they immediately begin to "speak fine,"

[1] A dear old friend of mine called me to task many years ago for saying (lek·tshɹ), she had "never heard" (that's the usual phrase, and this lady, who was far from being pedantic, spoke with perfect sincerity, though in obvious error) "any educated person use such a pronunciation; she always said (lek·tɹuuɹ) herself." Of course, as we were talking of lectures, in the next sentence she forgot all about orthoepy, and went on calmly and unconsciously talking of (lek·tshɹz) *herself*. This one out of many instances is recorded, because it made a great impression on me at the time.

[2] Hence one of the great difficulties of key-words. Each pronounces them according to his own habit, and thus frequently confounds sounds essentially distinct. This has been a source of great difficulty to myself when endeavouring to collect information respecting English dialects, and is one of the impediments in the way of using a uniform spelling, as glossic, for dialectal purposes. Collecting country words is looked upon as an amusement, not as laying a brick in the temple of science; and, curiously enough, an accurate appreciation of their sounds is one of the last things thought of, and one which few glossarists give themselves any trouble about. Yet it requires great care and much practice, and its neglect renders the glossaries themselves records of unknown words, as for the extinct Forth and Bargy dialect.

or in some way accommodate their pronunciation to his, in order to be intelligible, or grow shy and monosyllabic. An attempt to note their utterances would drive many to silence. It is seldom an investigator is so fortunate as Mr. Nicolas Wyer, whose Dorset experiences I shall have to record. I endeavoured on one occasion to learn something by accompanying a gentleman, resident near Totness in Devonshire, while he was speaking to his own workmen, and listening with all my ears to their replies, noting them from memory immediately on my return to the house. But this is obviously a fragmentary, although a comparatively safe, method, and consumes much time. The usual and quickest, but not the safest plan, is to catch a person of education, as a clergyman or surgeon, who has had free intercourse with natives, or else a native born, and collect the sounds from his lips. In the first case, however, they are diluted by false impressions, as when one learns French pronunciation from a German. In the second they are apt to be faded memories, much spoiled by exposure to the light of received pronunciations. It is for these reasons perhaps that we seldom find *every word* in a dialectal specimen written phonetically. Many of the little words, which failed to attract attention, are passed over, and of those written phonetically only the most striking parts are indicated, and the writer seeks to deviate (like Mr. Barnes in his second series of Dorset poems) as little as possible from the usual orthography. This is all very well for one who knows the dialect already. For an outsider it is merely tantalising or misleading.[1]

But, even with phonetic training, and willing and competent teachers, it is difficult to hear the sounds really uttered, if only a short time is at command. We know, by the frequent mishearing of names, or of unexpected words, although every sound in them is perfectly familiar, how extremely troublesome it is to catch *new* combinations of *old* sounds. When both sounds and combinations are strange, as in a dialect or foreign language, this difficulty is materially increased. The sounds of language are very fleeting. Each element occupies a very minute part of a second. Many elements are much hurried over, and all are altered by combination, expression, pitch, intonation, emotion, age, sex, national formation. We hear as much by general effect, rather than by the study of individual elements, as we often read a manuscript rather by the *look* of words than by the forms of their letters. Hence if the language is unknown, both spoken and written words become unintelligible. The ear must have *lived* among the sounds, to know them instantaneously at the most hurried encounter, to be able to

[1] See Mr. Murray's remarks on modern Scotch orthography (ibid. pp. 75–77), which, he says, "to the actual spoken language bears precisely the relation that is borne to Chaucer's English by a modernized version of his writings, using the present English spelling, except for obsolete words, or where prevented by the rhyme." In fact, "three-fourths to nine-tenths of the words are old friends" to the *eye* of an Englishman; but if he gets a Scotchman to *read*, "not more than three words in a hundred would be *heard* as the same as the English words with which they are identified in spelling." Numerous corroborations will occur hereafter.

eliminate individualities and know generalities. One of the great dangers that we run in attempting to give a strange pronunciation, is to confuse the particular habit of the individual with the general habit of the district which he represents. Every speaker has individualities, and it is only by an intimate acquaintance with the habits of *many* speakers that we can discover what were individualities in our first instructor. Not only has age and sex much influence, but the very feeling of the moment sways the speaker. We want to find not so much what he *does* say, as what it is his *intention* to say, and that of course implies long familiarity, to be gained only by observation. (See especially the previous remarks on pp. 626–629.)

The difficulties of determining the *exact generic* pronunciation of any language or dialect at any time, the knowledge indeed that from individual to individual there are great specific varieties, by comparing which alone can the generic character be properly evolved, must make us content with a rather indefinite degree of approximation. It is not too much to say that most phonetic writing is a rude symbolisation of sound. It answers its end if it suffices to distinguish dialects, and to enable the reader to pronounce in such a way that the instructed listener shall be able to determine the dialect which the speaker means to imitate. Hence, really, only broad generic differences can be symbolised by an outsider. But the speakers themselves *feel*, rather than accurately understand, the errors committed in this imitation, are aware of differences, although they can seldom name them, which distinguish sub-dialects, villages, cliques, individuals. And these differences are as philologically important, as, geographically, the streamlets which, trickling down the mountain-side, subsequently develope into rivers. It is only by a strict investigation of the nature of fine distinctions that we can account for the existence of broad distinctions. Hence phonologists occasionally endeavour to symbolise even the smallest. Their success hitherto has not been too great. But they have at any rate produced weapons which few can wield. Hereafter, perhaps, when phonetic training is part of school education,—as it should be, and as it must be, if we wish to develope linguists or public speakers, or even decent private readers,—ears will be sharpened, and distinctions about which we now hesitate will become clear. Then we may learn to separate the compound speech-sounds heard into their constituents, as surely as the conductor of a band can detect the work of each instrument in a crashing chord. In the mean time we must do something, however little, vague, and unsatisfactory it may appear, or the foundations of our science will never be laid.

My object in the present section is to examine, so far as I can in a small compass, the pronunciation at present used by educated English speakers, without attempting to decide what is "correct." That I have not even a notion of how to determine a standard pronunciation, I have already shewn at length (pp. 624–630). But such a determination is really of no interest to the present inquiry. We merely wish to know what *are* the sounds which educated

English men and women really use when they speak their native language. Considering that Mr. Melville Bell has noted sounds with greater accuracy than any previous writer, I shall take first the 26 words in which he condenses "the English Alphabet of Visible Speech, expressed in the Names of Numbers and Objects," and carefully examine them, not for the purpose of determining the values of the letters (suprà pp. 567–580), or the expression of the sounds (suprà pp. 593–606), although the tables of these already given should be constantly consulted, but of determining, so far as possible, the actual sounds used in speaking English, and the method of putting those sounds together. Properly speaking these lists should also be supplemented by another, containing those words which are variously pronounced, but to give this at full would be almost to write a pronouncing dictionary. I shall, however, furnish a few lists of varieties which I have actually heard and noted, and some passages carefully palaeotyped after Mr. M. Bell, Prof. Haldeman, Mr. Sweet and myself. After this consideration of educated, or artificial, literary speech, I will in the next section take up that of uneducated or natural or organic local speech, known as English dialectal pronunciation. Although my notes on this part of my subject may appear almost too full, yet they are really both imperfect and brief, considering that dialectal speech is of the utmost importance to a proper conception of the historical development of English pronunciation, just as an examination of the existing remains of those zoologic genera which descend from one geological period to another, serves to shew the real development of life on our globe.

The object of the following examination is to determine as precisely as possible the phonetic elements of received English pronunciation (23, *b*), and I shall for brevity constantly refer to the preceding pages where they have been already incidentally noted and explained, and shall adopt the style of reference employed in the indices. A number followed by the letters *a*, *b*, *c*, *d*, signifies the first, second, third, or fourth quarter of the corresponding page; the addition of *ab*, *ba*; *bc*, *cb*; *cd*, *dc*, indicating lines near the divisions of those quarters. If the letter is accented, the second column is referred to. Thus (23, *b*) means, page 23, second quarter, and (51, *d′*) page 51, fourth quarter, second column.

AN EXAMINATION OF MR. MELVILLE BELL'S TWENTY-SIX KEY-WORDS TO ENGLISH SPEECH-SOUNDS, AND OF THE RELATIONS OF THOSE SOUNDS.

Summary of Contents.

1. *One.* (w wə nə′), relations of (w bh), Prof. March's (w), Welsh *w*, Latin *v*. (ə ɐ), Welsh *y*, Dutch *u*, French *eu*, German *ö*. (n), English and continental (t ṯ, d ḏ, ṇ), Sanscrit cerebrals or coronals, and dentals. (d d, n, nnh). Synthesis (wən).
2. *Two.* (t ṯ). (uu, u'u u''u *ú*uw). [illegible]sis (tuu, tuɹuu, tuɹuu, tduu, [illegible] (th ṯh tth ṯth). Trilled and untrilled *r* (r r_s r_nh ṛ .r). (ii *íi*, *íi*, i'i i''i iɹ). Synthesis (thrii, thrhrii, thdhrii).
4. *Four.* (f th ph). Diphthongs with (ɹ, *íiɹ* eeɹ ooɹ vuɹ, *íi'* *ée'* *óo'* *ú*u', iiɹuɹ eeɹuɹ ooɹur, uuɹur, AA' AAɹ). Rapid (fA). Synthesis (fooɹ), length of first element of (ooɹ).
5. *Five.* Diphthongs of (əi) class, (ə'*i* *ú*h*i* *ú*i *di* ə'*i* əh'*i* aa'aahi), English Greek *ei* *ai*, (ə'y æh'i æh'y æ'*i* aa').

The (oi) series (úi, úi, úi, ói ói ɔ'i ʌ'i). (v, f) relations to (bh, ph), German and Dutch *w*, *v*, *f*, (ʙ), Hungarian *v*, *f*, Sanscrit *v*. Synthesis (fə'ívf, fvə'ívf), English final (-vf, -zs, -dhth, -zhsh), German initial (sz-).

6. *Six*. (s sh, ˌs ˌsh, ˌt ˌs t ˌs) Spanish *s*, *z*, Basque *s*. (*i* i) Dutch *i*. (k *k*). Synthesis (síks).

7. *Seven*. (e ʙ *e* eˡ e_1 ˌe ˌe °e ˌe *eˡ ie*). (n, nn 'n, 'l 'm 'n 'ɹ). Synthesis (sev'n).

8. *Eight*. (*ee éi éi éei* éei ée$_1$i *ee*'j) Dutch *ee ei*; when (*ee*) tends to (*ee*'j). Final mutes (t' tɯ' t' *tə* t$_{(ə)}$). Glides > <, initial (t<), medial (>t<), final (>t<'). Synthesis (*eet ee*'jt), initial *glottids* (ˌ*ee* ;*ee* ₁*ee*).

9. *Book*. (p b, t d, k g, p,ii b,ii, pii 'bii 'bmii, b,ii, 'b, ''p, b' bp'). Dutch rule for *p b*. (*u* u). (k g,) labialised (k*w* g*w*, t*w* d*w*, kwh gwh), palatalised (kj gj, tj dj), and labio-palatalised (k*w*j g*w*j, t*w*j d*w*j). Synthesis (buk).

10. *Watch*. (ʌ ɔ, o_u $ʌ_{(ə)}$), Diphthong (ʌ'i) and German Diphthongs. (sh ˌsh ˌsh t ˌsh d ˌzh, ˌsh ˌt ˌsh). Mr. Goodwin's (kj, gj), Sanscrit *c ch*, *j jh*, *ç sh*, Italian *ce*, *ge*, Polish *cz*. Synthesis, (w-ɔ > t < ˌsh).

11. *Saw*. (ʌʌ, ʌʌ' ʌʌ$_{(ʊ)}$). Synthesis (sʌʌ).

12. *Feathers*. (dh .th, ˌddh, dhd.) (ʊɪ ɪ, zs.) Synthesis (f < e > dh < ʊ > z-s).

13. *Tongs*. (q g, *a*, *a*ʌ *a*g, *a*q, ʌʌq ɔɔq ɔq, ɔqg' ɔqk'-qg- -qth -qhth), French nasals. Synthesis (t < ə > q-z-s).

14. *Whip*. (wh), Mr. M. Bell's "rudimental symbols," suprà p. 15, 9*a*, 5*a*, 9*b*, 9*h*, 9*c*, 9*l* and 9*m*, 9*c* + 9*m*, 10*f* and 5*f*, 10*e*, 10*d*; material of speech (ˈ; ''h ‡h 'h ''h 'h), Vowels, Glottids, ([, ; *h* ₁h ₍h ₍ ,, . ., ʜ ʜ'h ʜh ʜ₁h), Glides slurs breaks (> <) ⌣). Sanscrit aspiration, ûshman, soshman, anûshman, jihvâmûlîya, upadmânîya, spiritus asper, spiritus lenis, visarjanîya. Japanese syllabary. English aspirate. Sanscrit *h*. English hisses and buzzes. Generated (lh rh mh nh), conversion of Sanscrit *m*, *n* into visarjanîya, (l-lh-t, l-[d-t', sinnhs sinzs), German initial *s* = (sz-). English final *z* = (-zs). Anglo-saxon *hw hr hl hm hn*, English *wh-* = (wh, ₁hw, whw), opinions of Professors Haldeman, March, Whitney. No (fv- thdh- sz- shzh-) in English, so that (whw-) would be anomalous. "Parasitic utterances." Varieties of *wheat* (ʜuíit, ʜhuíit, ʜ₁huíit, ₁huíit, whiit, ʜwhiit, whwiit, wiit, k*w*hiit, phiit, fiit). Usage variable. (p), length of final consonants, Mr. Sweet's rule. Synthesis (wh < *i* > p < 'h).

15. *Lamp*. (l lh lhh *l*hh). Confusion of (d, l, r), Egyptian, Chinese, Japanese (lʳ), Sanscrit *lri*, *lrî*, and *ri rî*. (æ ʙ, ah a), Dutch *e*, Hungarian *e*, Danish *a* (ˌa). Variable English *a* in *chaff pass ask bath chance* (æ a ræ æ ah). (m 'm mh mhp). Synthesis (ˌl < æ > m-p').

16. *Onions*. (ɹ ɹh, gɹh kɹh, gjh kjh), Brücke's, Merkel's, and Lepsius's theories. Relation of (ɹ w) to diphthongs. Synthesis (ə > n-nj-ɹ < ʊ > n-s), (n, nɹ, nj).

17. *Boat*. (*oo* óu *oo'w oo'o*$_u$). Synthesis.

18. *Cart*. (k kj, aa aaɪ). Synthesis (k < aa > t').

19. *Tent*. (nt, nht). Synthesis (t < e > n-t')

20. *Houses*. (ʜ ʜh). (áu ə'*u* âh*u* ə'*u* ʌ'u ó*u* ó*u* æ'*u*). Synthesis.

21. *Dog*. (d, ɔ, g). Synthesis.

22. *Monkey*. (m, ʌ e, q qh, k, *i*). Synthesis (m < ə > q-k < *i*).

23. *Cage*. (k). (*ee éi*). (d, zh ˌzh, ˌzh ˌsh). Synthesis (keed ˌzh ˌsh).

24. *And*. (ah æ) (n, d). Synthesis.

25. *Bird*. (ɜɪ, ɪ), *er*, *ur*. Quadrilinear arrangement of the 36 Visible Speech vowels by tongue heights. Synthesis of *bird bud* (bəəd, bəd).

26. *Canary* ('r). Synthesis (kenee'·ri).

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1. ONE, Bell's (wʌn), my (wən). Prof. Haldeman notes (won) as the pronunciation of Charles Kean, at the Princess's Theatre, London, 1859. Probably (won, wɔn, wɔn) are all in use. I seem to have heard them from elderly educated people. Charles Kean's pronunciation was possibly an intentional stage archaism. Provincially all and many others occur. Provincialities are, however, not considered here.

(w). No English speakers, so far as I can recall, say (uə'n) with a diphthong, although Mr. Murray (no doubt correctly) suggests its derivation from such a prefix, "like the provincial *wuts* for *oats*." We shall have many

1. (w)—*continued.*

examples of this introduced (u) hereafter; see the general remarks on dialectal vowel relations, § 2, No. 6. Much interest attaches for many reasons to the sounds (w, bh) (513, *d'*) and diphthongising (u) (185, *a*). Foreigners generally find considerable difficulty in pronouncing (w). Educated Germans domiciled in this country, even with English wives and families, are frequently unable to separate the sound of (w) from that of their own (bh), and Frenchmen, Italians, etc., substitute a diphthongising (u). That initial *w* is not (u) in English results almost with certainty from *woo*. *wooed*, =(wuu, wuud), the latter with a very long vowel. In *wood*, *would*, *woman*, = (wʉd, wʉ·mʉn), it is conceivable that (uʉ́d, uʉ́·mʉn) might be said. Welshmen, untrained, say (uu), see (785, *c*, 101, *a*, *d*) (uud), and (ud, u·mʉn),—compare Sir Hugh Evans' *o'man*, as the fo. 1623 writes it in the Merry Wives, act 4, sc. 1,—and some Scotchmen and Englishmen say (wəd, wə·mʉn) (176, *a*), just as we all now say (wə·ndɹ) and not (wu·ndɹ), but the Welshman Salesbury said (*u*·nder), see (777, *c*). An article which I wrote on the Latin V consonant in the *Academy* for 15th Jan. 1872, distinguishing a diphthongising or con-sonant (u) from the English consonant (w), induced Prof. March, of Easton, Pennsylvania, U.S., author of the well-known Anglo-Saxon Grammar, to write me a letter on 22nd March, 1872, of which the following are extracts. Not having been written for publication, they take the form of rough notes:

"We have here students of many nationalities. That makes it easy to get a general conception of almost any sound. Perhaps the mixture makes the sounds unreliable for so minute distinctions as you take note of. A native Welshman from South Wales, not yet having command of English, pronounces *w* just as I do, has no difficulty with *woman*, never did have, pronounces Welsh words beginning with *w* in the same way, never heard any other sound for them; so he says. Makes a good *v* for Welsh *f*, touches his teeth fairly; never knew any other way. But English was spoken as well as Welsh in his native place, and he has always heard it [1. See remarks at end of quotation].

1. (w)—*continued.*

"Our German professor does not make *w* exactly as I do. He says he was directed by his English teacher to begin with *oo* (u), and he does, following with a weak *v'* (bh) [2]. Practically it is a good *w* for us. I ought to say, however, that his German *w* is much nearer the English *w* than that of many Germans. The students who read German with him always catch from him *w*, and not *v*. It used to be the direction for German *w* at Harvard, to 'make English *w* without the initial *oo* sound' [3].

"All this about *w* I have mentioned as a kind of introduction to the statement that I always thought the Latin *v* was our *w*. Their having no separate letters for *u* and *v* seemed reason enough [4], before I thought of the German; and the apparently close analogy between the German hearing of our *w* and the Greek representation of the Latin *v*, i.e. the careless *β* in common nouns, the more careful *οὐ*, and the occasional refined *ουβ* in proper names, as well as the facts of phonetic change, seemed to speak for English rather than German.

"The distinction between English *w* and your diphthong con-sonant *ŏŏ* I had not made [5], and I am not absolutely certain that I do not myself make what you would call the diphthongal *ŏŏ* where you make a different sound as English *w*. The difference between my making *oui*, *we* and German *wie*, seems to me this. Set tongue and lips for *oo* (u) and issue breath (sonant), then without moving the lips change the tongue for *i*, and it gives *oui* [6]. Set as before and issue same sonant breath, but, with the change of tongue for *i*, move the lips, constricting slightly, and then quickly letting them fall loose, and you have English *we* as I make it [7]. The difference between *oui* and *we* seems to be essentially in the lip movement.

"For the German, omit the tongue-adjustment for *oo*, and make a lip-movement somewhat similar to the English; but in the English *w* the mouth is, even when nearest to closure, still open, and in the *oo* form; so that, if held steadily, a resonant *oo might* be made through the aperture [8]. In the German I draw my upper lip down to my lower lip till it just ticks and is kept from touching along a considerable line

1. (w)—*continued.*

by the buzzing breath. The difference here seems to be in the form of the lips at their nearest approach, the English being nearly *oo*, and the German nearer *b*. To me the English *w*, as I make it, is one of the easiest of letters, and the German one of the hardest to make after *oo*, as in the German attempts at English *w*" [9].

On these careful observations I would remark, [1] that the fact of the Welshman having constantly heard English (w) rather disqualifies him for a test. See also [5] at end.

[2] The direction given to a German to begin with (u) and go on to a gentle (bh), that is to call *we* (u˵bhii)—for ˵ see (419, *d*)—is merely a contrivance to make him raise the back of his tongue properly, (u•bh), or the *simultaneous* utterance of these two sounds being almost exactly (w), compare (762, *d*'). Compare also Lediard (1047, *c*). The old Greek *οὐβ* for Latin *v* consonant *ought* to point out the same thing. But here doubts arise into which I cannot now enter. That this German should be heard by American students to say (w) rather than (v) upsets the (v) theory of Brücke by a crucial test.

[3] This direction is the reverse of the former, and makes (bh) = (w—u), or (w) with the tongue depressed, a good shorthand rule, though I find "(v) without touching the teeth" easier, and it is also more correct.

[4] Any one who reads Salesbury on I consonant (754, *c*), will see that such an opinion is untenable.

[5] My theory was that Latin V, I, when before a vowel were (u, i), forming a diphthong with a following vowel on which lay the force, as (uí, ué, uá; ié, iá), etc.—for this notation see (419, *c*)—or con-sonants as I called them, as long as VV, II, did not occur in writing, but that the introduction of these in place of VO, and simple I, shewed the development of a consonant form (in the modern sense), and I took those later consonants to be (bh, *ɹ*), rather than (w, *ɹ*), in consequence of the large field of (bh) in comparison to (w). Prof. March's doubt as to whether his own *w* is not my diphthongising *oo*, precisely the natural Welsh sound as I conceive, renders his identification of the Welshman's pronunciation with his own, no proof that the Welshman really said (w).

1. (w)—*continued.*

[6] This direction should give (uy'). or (úy). I hear the French sound as (úi), without any intermediate (y), and with the force on (u), shewn by the frequent form (ú'i) or (ú''i) with a sharp whispered or voiceless (i). Henceforth I use ('u) for whispered (u), see (10, *b*), the vocal chords nearly touching each other, and ("u) for voiceless (u), the vocal chords as wide apart as for ordinary breathing, and so on for other vowels. All these distinctions will be fully considered below No. 14, (wh).

[7] This should give (u-wj-i), where (wj) means (w), with the tongue as for (i), instead of as for (u). I believe, however, that it is meant for (˵uwi), where (w) is so gradually formed from (u) by constriction, that two syllables are not felt. There would be the slightest possible difference between (˵uwi) and (uí), but I have not yet observed or noted either of these sounds among Englishmen or Americans,—by no means a proof of their non-occurrence.

[8] If a clear (u) could be heard through the (w) position, (w) would be (u); to me this is not possible; (w) is a buzz, more like (z), which has a central passage, than (v), which has a divided passage, but still distinctly a buzz, from want of a proper resonance chamber, the aperture being constricted. In both (w, bh) I feel the lips vibrate much more strongly than for (u).

[9] As a gradual constriction, (uw) is easy enough, but it has no syllabic effect, that is, no distinctly appreciable glide, like (ubh). The opening (wu) is more syllabic, but (bhu) is still more so, owing to the greater change; (yw, wy) are more difficult to me than (ybh, bhy). But (*i*w, ew, æw) are syllabic, with 'stopped' vowels, and hence quite distinct from (*i*u, éu, æu), and not very difficult to my organs. Still even here (*i*bh, ebh, æbh) are easier to me. Of course (*i*v, ev, æv), which are frightfully difficult to a German, are perfectly easy, as in *to live, heavy, have.*

In a review by Mr. D. R Goodwin on Dr. R. G. Latham's English Language (North American Review, No. 154, Jan. 1852), which I shall have again occasion to cite, I find the following (p. 8), which gives another American observation on (*ɹ*, w) comparable to Prof. March's, and which I cite as the

1. (w)—*continued.*

only remark of a similar character which I have found: "The semi-vowels (lene) may be described as a sort of fulcrum or pivot of articulation, in passing from the English *e* (or *i* short) to any closely subjoined vowel-sound, in the case of *y*; and from *u* or *oo* to any such vowel-sound in the case of *w*. Thus in *yarn*, *wit*, we may give first the full sounds *ee-'arn*, *oo-'it*, where, between the initial vowel-sound *ee*, *oo*, and the following vowel-sounds, the organs pass through a certain momentary but definite position, which gives the character of a consonant-sound, and which we have denominated a fulcrum or pivot. If now the vowel part, the *ee*- or *oo*-sound be reduced to a minimum, and be begun immediately, upon this pivot or fulcrum, and pronounced *yard*, *wit*, we shall have the *y* and *w* representing sounds of a proper consonant character." By the expression "semi-vowels (lene)" and by afterwards saying that they have only a "momentary" position, Mr. Goodwin excludes the continuant character of (ɹ, w), and hence we must suppose certain mutes and sonants, that is, explodents of the same character as (g, b) in the position of (i, u), with the aperture quite closed up. Now the first of these explodents answer almost precisely to (kj, gj), introduced in No. 10, (sh), and slightly different from (kj, gj), as will be there explained at length. These sounds, however, are difficult to keep from (t,sh, d,zh), as will there be shewn, and it is notorious that (ɹ) after (t, d) or (k, g) generates such sounds. The lip-explodent, however, cannot be clearly kept from (b) itself. Mr. Goodwin surely did not mean (gj, b) to be his "lene semi-vowels." A less degree of contact must be assumed, and writing (gj_1, b_1) for these theoretical sounds, according to the principle explained in No. 7, (e, ɛ), Mr. Goodwin's explanation seems to give *y*, *w* = ($_{\llcorner}igj_1$- $_{\llcorner}ub_1$-).

English (w) is to me a buzz, with small central lip aperture, back of tongue raised, and with the muscles of the lips not held so tightly as for (bh), so that the expelled voice can easily inflate both upper and lower lip beyond the teeth, which are kept well apart, and do not at all stop the passage of the breath. The well-known confusion of *w*, *v*, perhaps arises from (bh), but

1. (w)—*continued.*

is esteemed odiously vulgar (186, *de*), and will be considered hereafter.

(ɜ, ə). The habits of English speakers vary with respect to (ɜ, ə), and no one would be remarked for pronouncing either in a syllable under accent or force. But to my ear, (ɜ) has often a thick, deep effect, naturally unpleasant to one accustomed to (ə), which, probably, to the other speakers is fully as unpleasantly thin and high. The position of the tongue for (ə) is much higher, and its form flatter, than for (ɜ), in which the tongue lies in precisely the same position as for (a, o, *o*), as roughly shewn in the diagram (14, *b*). The (ə) position of the tongue is the most neutral and colourless of all, but, leaving a much narrower channel than for (ɜ, a, ʌ, ɑ), produces a finer and more delicate sound. I usually assume the sound heard to be (ə), unless the effect of (ɜ) is very marked. There seems to be no significance attached to the distinction (ə, ɜ). These vowels in syllables under force are, among European nations, said to be exclusively English, Scotch, and Welsh. According to Dutch writers (Donders and Land, who are both acquainted with English), the English is different from the Dutch short *u*, which is (œ) or (ɵ), as in French *eu* and German *ö*, and not (ɜ), as wrongly stated (236, *d'*). The English sound is not labialised at all, although it has sprung from a labial (u, *u*), and there is great confusion in the way in which (*u*, ə) are used at the present day (175, *b*). The intermediate sound between (*u*) and (ə) or (ɜ) seems to be (u_o) or (*u*), pronounced with lips as open as for (o), a sound which to unaccustomed ears hovers between (*u*, *o*, ɜ, ə), but is said to be prevalent in the north of England. The Welsh (y) is sometimes (ɜ), but this sound is not universal in Wales, p. 763. The sound (ən) is heard only in such phrases as "a good 'un, little 'un"; of course it is not an abbreviation of (wən), but an independent and older formation, unaffected by a prefixed (u). Being unemphatic, Mr. Bell would also consider it as (ən) or (un), instead of his emphatic (ɜn). The sound of such unemphatic syllables will be considered hereafter.

1. (n).

(n). The tip of the tongue for received English (t, d, l, n) is not so advanced towards the teeth or gums, as for the continental sound. In my own pronunciation (n) is not even gingival, that is, the tip of the tongue does not even reach the upper gums. Mr. J. G. Thompson, of the Madras Civil Service, in his lithographed pamphlet, "An unpointed Phonetic Alphabet based upon Lepsius' Standard Alphabet, but easier to read and write and less likely to be mistaken, cheaper to cast, compose, correct and distribute, and less liable to accident" (Mangalore, 1859, pp. 64), distinguishes four classes of *t, d, l, n*. 1) *Lingual*, which, from his diagram, are apparently palaeotype (tj, dj, lj, nj), to which I shall have to recur in Nos. 10 and 16 below. 2) *Palatal*, which by the diagram are are (T, D, L, N), and which I believe correspond more correctly to the English sounds as I pronounce them, the tip of the tongue being laid against "the very crown of the palatal arch," except that I touch the palate with the upper and not the under part of the tip, so that the tongue is not at all inverted. The inversion of the tongue, as shewn in the diagram, seems to be due merely to roughness of drawing. "The palatal *t*," says Mr. Thompson, p. 31, "is pronounced by pressing the tip of the tongue vertically against the crown of the palatal arch so as to close every passage for the breath," which however is not possible unless the sides of the tongue also press against the palate and side molars, "and then withdrawing it with considerable force, while the breath is forcibly expelled." These are the so-called "cerebrals," and the (T, D) are the four-dotted Indian ت̈, د̈. 3) *Gingival*, in which the tip of the tongue touches the gums, and which he recognizes as the English *t, d*. 4) *Dental*, where the tip of the tongue is put against the teeth, is the continental *t*, and the Indian two-dotted t ت̣. "The gingival sounds of *t* and *d*," says Mr. Thompson on p. 23, "seem to be peculiar to English. Lepsius quotes the *t* in *town* as an example of the *dental t:* and this is a common mistake of foreigners, and one of the greatest obstacles in the way of their acquiring the pronunciation of English.

1. (n)—*continued.*

Singularly enough the same mistake has been made by Wilson in his Sanskrit Grammar. But Forbes has perceived the truth. On such a point, however, the evidence of the natives of India is worth more than that of any Englishman, and in almost every word they represent our *t* and *d* by the palatal [cerebral] letters of their alphabets. Thus in a Telugu advertisement in the Fort St. George Gazette, the words *Devonshire Julia Edward Act commander* appear as (DIvanshIJər dzhuuliJu ED wərDu aakTu kəmaanDəru). . . . In advertisements from the same paper from another office, the words *government* and *private secretary* appear in Telugu as (gəurənmENDu, prəiveeT sekriTeeri), and in Tamil as (gəwərnmENDu, piRaiveeTTu sekriTTeeri). That the English *t* is not a dental letter anybody may convince himself by pronouncing a continental or Indian word in which a dental *t* occurs, and immediately giving the same sound to the *t* in *town letter boat*." But we have not to go abroad for this purpose. The dental *t* before *r* is very common in our own northern dialects.

In my palaeotype I erroneously used (.t, .d, .l, .n) for dentals, as giving greater force, and thickness to the vowels. I have however employed (t⊢, d⊢, l⊢, n⊢) occasionally. This inconvenient notation, involving the mutilation of a type, I propose to replace by (ˌt, ˌd, ˌl, ˌn), where the turned grave (ˌ) preceding a letter shews it has to be taken more forward. We have then (tj, T, t, ˌt) for this series, and there is also the Arabic (*t*), which is difficult to define, but which Thompson classes as a lingual (tj), together with thick Gaelic *t*, of which I know nothing. This is from an English point of view. A foreigner would consider our (t, d) as *retracted*. The English (t, d, l, n) are peculiarly light, and do not thicken the sound of the following or preceding vowel at all. I doubt whether this thickening effect (54, *a*) is really due to the peculiar position of the tongue and the glide thus formed. I am inclined to think that it must be accompanied by a peculiar action of the throat. Thus practically I find myself able to produce almost similar effects with the English retracted (t), by the muscular actions involuntarily resulting

1. (n)—*continued.*

from a proper *mental intention* when gliding on to the vowel.

As this page was passing through the press (12th August, 1873), Mr. K. G. Gupta, a native of Bengal, well acquainted with Sanscrit after the Benares school, had the kindness to give me oral exemplification of the Indian sounds. Mr. Murray was also fortunately present. I shall have occasion to recur to the information I then received as to the modern Indian pronunciation of Sanscrit, which, though probably considerably different from the ancient, is certainly its true descendant. Mr. Gupta, who has resided a considerable time in England and speaks English perfectly, had just returned from Paris. He distinctly recognized his own *mûrddhanya* or cerebral *ṭ*, *ḍ*, as the true English sounds, and his own dental, or as he considers them "soft," *t*, *d*, as the true French sounds. To some Indians, then, the distinction, Indian (ʈ ɖ) and English (t d), is inappreciable. If palaeotype were introduced in a foreign book, certainly "ʈ ɖ" would be used for the English and Indian cerebrals, and "t d" for the dentals. But it is strictly necessary in a work intended for English people to make the distinction between the usual English (t d) and foreign dental (t̪ d̪) clear to the eye. Foreigners will observe that for (t d) the tip of the tongue touches the *crown* of the palate, and hence these letters will be called *coronal*, and for (t̪, d̪) the tongue is brought absolutely against the *teeth*, and hence they are dental. In all the foreign words hitherto introduced, in which (t, d) have been written, (t̪, d̪) must be understood. The use of (t, d) was an anglicism which will be avoided hereafter, except as an abbreviation, after due explanation. The ordinary speaker of received English is altogether ignorant of the sounds (t̪, d̪), and when he hears them confuses them with his own (t, d). Many Englishmen who have resided for years in India never learn to appreciate the difference. Yet in a Calcutta newspaper, (*The Englishman*, 10th May, 1873, p. 4, col. 2, in an article quoted from the *Friend of India*, of 8th May,) we read: "If any one says the *English cerebrals* are like enough to the Indian dentals, to represent them, let him remember the words *Magistrate* and *Superintendent* written in Bengali. Moreover a man who confuses dentals and cerebrals in Bengali, says *stick* when he means *kick*, *sixty* when he means *seven*, and is unable to distinguish a *lease* from a *leaf*, a *cannon* from a *hat*, *fear* from *market-price*, and *pease-porridge* from the *branch of a tree*." And the only English dentals which Mr. Gupta admits are (th, dh), for which the tip of the tongue is in the same position as it is for his (t̪ d̪), the sole difference consisting in the tightness of closure, formed by the sides of the tongue. The description of (ʈ ɖ) on pp. 4 and 9 as (t↓ d↓) or "(t, d) with an inverted tongue," is incorrect for Sanscrit ट ड and must be omitted. This definition arose from Bopp's stating that "they are pronounced by bending the tongue far back and bringing it against the palate" (indem man die Spitze der Zunge weit zurückbiegt und an den Gaumen setzt, Gram. der Sans. Spr. in kürz. Fass. 2nd ed. 1845, p. 15), and Mr. Gupta distinctly repudiated inversion. But (ʈ ɖ) may be retained as special signs for the Indian *cerebrals*, until their identification with the English *coronals* has been generally acknowledged. Mr. M. O. Mookerjey (1102, *b*) qualified his identification of (ʈ ɖ) with (t d) by a saving "almost." Possibly the Indian sounds may be retracted (t̪ d̪).

As to (n n̪) Mr. Gupta said that no distinction is now made in pronunciation except in connection with following consonants. In Pâṇini's name, for example, both n's are alike (n̪); no distinction between (n n̪) being heard in India. The nasal resonance would be the same, but it is possible to make the glides on to and from vowels sensibly different. We must conclude that the ancients felt a difference, or they would not have used two letters, although this and other distinctions have been lost in modern speech.

In the (n) there is a complete closure by the tongue, so that the lips may be either open or shut, and there is complete resonance in the nose. Compare the effect of a person saying *one* with or without "a cold in the head," that is, with incomplete and complete nasal resonance, as: (wəd„ wən). The nasal resonance is prolonged to the last, so that there is no approach to (wənd,

1. (n)—*continued.*

wənt, wənl). The voice is also prolonged to the last, and does *not* dwindle off to (nh) as (wənnh). The (n) is often very long, but there is not usually a decrease and increase of force, giving the effect of reduplication, as (wən,n), see (52, *a*).

(wən). The method of synthesis must be observed. The labiality of the (w) should not affect the following vowel, changing (ə) into (*o*b), or (ɑ) into (*o*), even as a gliding intermediate sound, though carelessness in this respect may be one cause of the generation of (wɔn), through (wohn, won, won), if indeed (on) were not original. Hence the lips have to be sharply opened, and the buzz of the (w) scarcely audible, except of course for certain rhetorical effects. The (ə) is short, but may be of medial length; if it were prolonged, it would give the effect of *wurn* (wɪn), although there must be no trill; indeed (wəən, wəœn) are not uncommon cockneyisms. The prolongation is thrown on to the glide to (n), which is the same as that to (d), and on to the (n) itself. The uvula does not act to open the passage to the nose till (ə) is quite finished. Any nasalising of the vowel, as (wə̃n), is quite abnormal, although occasionally heard, but not among educated English speakers.

2. TWO, (tuu).

(t). The tip of the tongue against the crown of the palate, see (1096, *c*).

(uu). The throat not widened, a clear flute-like sound, with no approach to (*oo*) in it. It may be short, however, as well as long, and should not end with a whisper ('u), or hiss ("u), or consonant (w, wh), as in Icelandic (548, *d*). But it may end with much diminishing force. With some perhaps it tends to (uu|*u*). Mr. Sweet tells me that he has detected himself in saying (tǽuw). In Danish he says there is a slight final hiss after (ii, uu), thus (iɜh, uwh), see his paper on Danish (Philol. Trans. 1873-4, p. 105). Perhaps the Danish sounds are rather (ii|ɜh, uu|wh).

2. (tuu).

(tuu). For the synthesis, observe that for (t) the glottis is quite *closed*, but not so tightly as to be forced open by an explosion, and that the vocal ligaments should begin to vibrate for (uu) simultaneously with the release of the closure (t). But in Germany and Denmark the glottis seems to be *open* when (t) is held, so that on its release some unvocalised breath escapes first, which may be expressed by (t|uu), see (10, *cd*), when gentle, and (tH|uu) when jerked. Some public speakers in England cultivate this habit, thinking that (tuu, duu) are thus more distinctly separated. It is not, however, usual with English speakers, though Irishmen are given to it. If the glottis be tightly closed for (t), and then the breath is made to break through it with explosion, we hear (t;H|uu), which, when (t) is taken dental as (‚t;H|uu), has a very singular effect, sometimes heard from Irishmen, but not at all received. The quiet way in which an Englishman says and distinguishes (tuu, duu), without any effort, is remarkable, when contrasted with an Upper German's struggles. The vowel-sound should commence at the instant that the (t) contact is released, so that the glide (52, *bc*) from (t) on to (uu) is quite distinct. The voice should not commence before, or the effect (tduu) will be produced, as in the Yorkshire *t' door*, giving a kind of pause before (duu) and a thickness to the (uu) which is not received English, or else giving a German *implosion* ("t-d-uu). This implosion consists of a dull thud produced by compressing the air between the closed glottis and the closure produced by the tongue tip for ("t), lips for ("p) and back of tongue for ("k). See *Merkel*, Physiologie der Menschlichen Sprache, p. 149. What is here said of initial (t) applies to initial (p, k) with the variants (p|, pH|, p;H|, k|, kH|, k;H|). See an explanation of (| ;) in No. 8, (*eet*). The whole subject will be more systematically discussed in No. 14, (wh).

3. THREE, (thrii), but (thr*ii*, thr*yy*) are perhaps more commonly heard.

(th). The tongue is brought fully against the teeth, so that (‚th)

3. (th)—*continued.*

would be the proper sign; but this will be used for the variant produced by thrusting the tongue *between* the upper and lower teeth. instead of simply pressing it *against* the upper teeth. We do not say (tth) initially, as some Germans think. We use that combination finally in *eighth* (*ee*tth),—quite a modern word, the old form being *eight* (eet),—and on sounding it the speaker will feel his tongue glide forward from palate to teeth. Compare also successive words, as "bre*ad th*at is cu*t th*in." Initially (ˌtth) would be necessary and not difficult. In Greek τθ is common medially, originally perhaps (ˌtˌtʜ') and afterwards (ˌtth). The hiss is sharp, but weak compared to (s). It is easily confused with (f), and is actually so confused dialectally.

(r). Mr. Bell distinguishes English (r) as untrilled, as, in fact, a buzz, which may be written (r_o), "the point of the tongue contracting the oral passage between it and the upper gum" (*Visible Speech*, p. 52). But so far as I have noticed, *r* before a vowel is always trilled (196, *b*). unless there is an organic defect or bad habit in the speaker, not at all an unusual occurrence, and then some other trill, of the lip, uvula, or cartilaginous glottis, is substituted. The effect of a trill is that of a beat in music, a continually repeated "make and break" of sound, the different effect of the different trills resulting from the glides thus produced. See the phonautographic curves of the different trills in *F. C. Donders*, De Physiologie der Spraakklanken (Utrecht, 1870, pp. 24), p. 19. It is of course possible to produce a central hiss or buzz in the (r) position without interrupting the sound by a trill, and the result is different from (s, z). There is, however, some difficulty to those accustomed to trill, in keeping the loose tip of the tongue stiff enough not to trill. When this is accomplished, there is another difficulty, in keeping the front of the tongue far enough from the palate not to produce (s, z), and yet not so far as to give simple (ə). This untrilled (r), which will henceforth be marked (r_o) when buzzed, and (r_oh) when hissed, has therefore a great tendency to fall into (ə), or some such indistinct sound. Mr. Bell always writes

3. (r)—*continued.*

(r_o) in English, representing trilled (r) by (r_{ed}). Hence my transcription of his character in 3*g*, or that in col. 3, line *g*, p. 15, was erroneous. The English (r) is in the (t) position, but a dental (ˌr) also occurs. This (ˌr) is recognized in the Peak of Derbyshire by Mr. Hallam, as will appear below. In Sanscrit Mr. Gupta (1096, *a*) found that no *r* occurred after coronals, (1096, *c*), and in pronouncing the dentals (ˌt ˌd) before the trill, he decided that the tongue remained forward, so that his Sanscrit trill was (ˌr). The older grammarians differ, and only Pâṇini classes *r* as a coronal (cerebral). (Whitney, *Athar. V. Prâtiç.* p. 29.) There is, however, also a recognized retracted Indian (ˌr), which Mr. Gupta pronounced to me, the root being drawn back and the whole front half of the tongue "flopping" rather than trilling. There are doubtless many other tongue trills. In Scotch, and also in Italian, the trill is strong (.r).

(ii). This bright primary sound is, I find on careful observation, not so common in English as I had once thought it to be. Men with deep bass voices find it difficult to produce. The wide (*ii*) seems much more usual, and is especially frequent after (r). For (*i*, i) see (58, *a*. 83, *dc*. 105, *bc*. 106, *a*, *d*. 544, *e*). I have found such combinations as the following, in which (*i*, ii) follow each other, useful in drawing attention to the difference; the (*i*) should be much prolonged in practising them. "Let baby be, with ugly glee, the glassy sea, worthy thee, a wintry tree, thy enemy me, they chiefly flee, a bulky key," also "of a verity (ve·ri·ti) 'tis very tea (ve·ri tii); a trusty trustee (trə·sti trəstii·)." There is sometimes a tendency to correct the error and say (*ii*), which may be the first step from (ii) to (əi) (473, *e'*), although a different origin for this change will hereafter be assigned (see § 2, No. 6, iv). There seems to be no generally recognized tendency to hiss out such a final (ii), thus (thrh"ii), as a French final (ii) is occasionally hissed, or to close with such a hiss (ii"ii), or with a consonant (iiɹ, iiɹh). But such sounds may occur as individualities.

(thrii). In synthesis, the (th) is

3. (thrii).

very brief, but the change in sound as the tongue is retracted to (r) perceptible. The voice is laid on at the moment the (r) position has been assumed, and is heard throughout the rattle of (r). We never say (thrhrii), by running the hiss on to the trill, or (thdhrii), by putting on the voice before the tongue leaves the teeth.

4. FOUR, Bell's (foɪ), or (fór$_{\circ}$), see below, my (fooɪ), but (*fooɪ*, fʌʌɪ) are also heard from educated people. I have even heard (fʌ*u*jʊɪ) from an educated gentleman, whether archaic, provincial, or puristic, I do not know.

(f). The lower lip is *firmly* pressed against the teeth, so that the hiss is strong and sharp, not unlike (th), indeed so like that when pronounced by themselves, as in spelling by sounds, it is difficult to distinguish (f) and (th) at a little distance. Hence (saif, saith) are both heard for *sigh* (213, *d*), and (f, th) are confused in several words dialectally. Of course people with no upper teeth either use the hard gum or say (ph), the regular Hungarian sound of *f*. Compare remarks on Icelandic *f* (542, *c*) and modern Greek φ (518, *b*).

(ooɪ). This is the sound I use when the word is under force. It is a diphthong, the letter (ɪ) representing as I now think (196, *be*) one of the indistinct sounds (ʊ, ɜ, œ, ɵ, ɷ), with a liberty, seldom exercised unless a vowel follows, to add the trilled (r) of No. 3. My own belief is that in these diphthongal sounds I use (ə), but I may say (ʊ). I think that I never say (ɜ, œ). For non-diphthongal (ɪ), see Nos. 12 and 25. For diphthongal (ɪ), Mr. Melville Bell uses a new sign, called a "point-glide" (197, *a*), so that what I have transcribed (oɪ) might be more truly rendered (ór$_{\circ}$), the accent on (ó) pointing out the diphthongal nature of the combination, and thus reducing (r$_{\circ}$) from a consonant to a pure glide; but his son, Mr. Graham Bell, in teaching deaf-mutes, has more recently adopted a notation which is tantamount, in his orthography, to my (óo'), using (') as really a helpless indication of obscure vocality.

There are four of these (ɪ) diph-

4. (ooɪ) — *continued.*

thongs in English, in *ear*, *air*, *oar*, *oor* (57, *d*. 196, *b* to 199, *a*. 200, *d* to 202, *a*), which are, I believe, in the pronunciation of strict speakers (*iɪ*, eeɪ, ooɪ, *uuɪ*), that is, (*ii*', ée', óo', *úu*') when not before a vowel, and (*ii*'r, *ée*'r, óo'r, *úu*'r) always before, and admissibly *not* before, a vowel. The diphthong theoretically indicated by the acute accent mark is quite perfect. There is no tendency to form two syllables, as a general rule. But I have heard (*foo*jʊɪ, k*oo*jʊɪt) from old people, see (*Goo*·eɪ) (726, *c*). Smart says (*Dict.* art. 54, note) that there is no difference in London between *payer* and *pair*. To me the sounds are (p*ee*jʊɪ, peeɪ), and the use of the first for the second, which I sometimes hear, appears to me to be an archaism. Instead of (*oo*jʊɪ) or (ooɪ), however, it is extremely common to hear (ʌʌ) or (ʌʌ', ʌʌɪ) if the speaker is very "correct" (95, *a*, *d*. 197, *a*. 245, *ab*. 575, *cd*. 603, *a*'). This (ooɪ) is the only recognized combination in which (oo) remains in modern English, but it is rapidly disappearing. A few use it in (doog, oo·fis), see (94, *d*. 602, *eb*), but here it is more often (ɔɔh, ɔɔ, ʌʌ), and is intended for (ə).

Donders identifies (ɪ) in this combination with the glottal *r* (ʀ), see (8, *c*), saying (*op. cit.* p. 20): "The sound of (ʀ) is easy to produce. Sing as deep a note as possible, and then try to sing a deeper one. The voice will be replaced by a peculiar crackling noise (*krakend geluid*)." After noticing its relation to the Arabic *ain* (ɡ), he says: "Thick voices are inclined to use it as a vowel. Others connect it or alternate it with the voice, giving a tone of lacrymose sentimentality, and, when the mouth is closed, it is heard as a mournful moan. It is also used as a trill. Brücke considers it to be the trill of the Low Saxons. I heard it thus used in the London dialect in a peculiar manner: *horse* was pronounced simply as *ose* but with the moaning voice (ʀ), which gives a little trilling effect to the consonant." But Land (Over Uitspraak en Spelling, Amsterdam, 1870) says: "*r* is very soft both in Friesic and English; at the beginning of a syllable it seems to consist of one single stroke of the tongue, and before an explosive consonant, after a long vowel (*boord*, *peerd*, compare English *bird*, *park*), it sounds to my ear as if

4. (ooɹ)—*continued.*

there were no stroke of the tongue at all, but in its place the indeterminate vowel ö [12] (ə), or, as others pronounce, a guttural explodent, spiritus lenis. For the last it may be pleaded that in singing the English use the full *r*, which is the only one used in Scotland, Ireland and Wales. Whether the moaning *r* is heard with the vowel, in place of an *r* after it,—as Donders remarks of the low London *horse*,—in the Friesian dialect, deserves investigation *in loco*." This glottal (ɹ) occurs in Danish. See Mr. Sweet's valuable paper on Danish Pronunciation (Trans. of Philological Society for 1873-4, part 1, p. 109) where he also thinks that I have misunderstood the quotation from B. Jonson (200, *c*), in considering that he alluded to (ɹ) as the sound in the middle as well as at the end of words, and considers that Jonson may have alluded to the difference between trilled (r) and untrilled (r_c). I had merely thought that Jonson's illustrations were imperfect, and that he had given no case of middle *r*, unless the middle *r* in *rarer* were doubled, as at present (reeɹ·rɹ) or (ree'·rə). This, however, seems impossible to determine, as Jonson's voice is hushed.

In rapid speaking *four* becomes quite (fʌ), and in "four or five," we have most frequently (fʌ·rʌfə'i·vf,) or even (fʌ·rəfə'i·vf).

(fooɹ). The tongue being put ready for (oo) or (ʌʌ) while (f) is said with the lips, the glide to (oo) is very brief, but still the (foo) is quite different from (f,oo). The glide (ooɹ) or (óo') is very close and distinct, but the vowel is not shortened, when under force. Mr. Bell's (foɹ) arises from his habitually neglecting to mark the length of the first vowel of a diphthong. As a rule all our peculiar diphthongs (*íiɹ*, *éeɹ*, *óoɹ*, *úuɹ*, *éei*, *óou*) have the first vowel intentionally long, and our usual diphthongs (ə'*i*, ə'*i*, ə'*u*, iú) frequently lengthen the second vowel, as Hart marked them (152, *a*). But Englishmen constantly pronounce a diphthong very briefly indeed, so that this length is relative to that of the whole diphthong, considered independently, not to that of the syllable in which it occurs or of other syllables in the word.

5. FIVE, Bell's (fáiv), my (fə'*i*v).

(f). See No. 4.

(ə'*i*). See (107, *ba* to 109, *a*. and 234, *cb*), for the various theories of the sound of this diphthong in English; and (287, *c* to 291, *c*) for the Scotch sounds, and (295, *c*) for the Dutch *ij*, *ei*. After much attention to the habits of English speakers, I believe the *last* element to be really (*i*), not (i), although I have generally written (əi). This must be regarded as rather a rough symbolisation, the mark of stress not being inserted. In the present chapter, where very accurate analysis is aimed at, I shall almost invariably employ the manner of marking diphthongs already explained (419, *c*), so that every diphthong or triphthong will have the acute accent *on* or *after* (according to typographical convenience) the element which bears the stress, and the adjacent elements glide on to or from that element. Hence Mr. Melville Bell's "glides" p. 15, *5c*, *5l*, are represented by (i, u), simply with an acute on the adjoining letter, so that (ái, áu) precisely transliterate his symbols. But Mr. Bell's "glides" leave it in doubt whether the second element is (i, u) or (*i*, *u*), and these, with many more niceties, are perfectly indicated by the present notation.

The first element of the long *i*, as I speak, seems to be (ə); but when I try to lengthen it for analysis, I seem to take (ah), which has the same position of the tongue, but a wider opening behind. I certainly do not say (*âi*, *âi*). I occasionally and but rarely hear (*âi*) from educated people, and have never noticed (*âi*) from them. As a greybeard, I am constantly asked by children in Kensington Gardens, to tell them the "time." From them I frequently hear (*âi*, ɜ'*i*), and I have heard the last from educated women. Irishmen may say (*âi*, ah'i), but I have not been able to analyze the sound. It seems to me that Irishmen have a peculiar method of "widening," or enlarging the pharynx, etc., which gives a remarkable effect to some vowels. Indicating this by an inferior ($_2$), the Irish sound appears to me ($ə_2$'*i*). This is, however, a matter of local or individual habit, requiring considerable study to

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5. (ə'i)—*continued.*

ascertain satisfactorily. English singers say (âi), and in singing to a long note seem to sing (â-aah-i), the chief stress resting on (â) and chief length on (aah), with (i) and the glide up to it very short. The sound in English is hence indeterminate, but those who have learned Greek generally distinguish two values, high and low. The high is ει, one of the forms (ə'i, âhi, a'i); the low is αι, one of the forms (âi, ái). The words *eye*, *aye* are now so distinguished (ə'i, âi), but the pun on "the noes and the ayes,—the nose and the eyes," sufficiently shews that the distinction need not be insisted on now, as Shakspere's pun on *I*, *eye*, *aye* (112, *be*), shews that he also heard them much alike. There are other diphthongs approaching this, with final (y) or (ə), but I have not observed them as varieties of (oi) in English, (ə'y) occurs in Dutch *heup*, and (æh'i) in Dutch *lui*, (æh'y) in Dutch *huis* (*Donders*, Phys. d. Spr. pp. 15, 16; see also *Land*, op. cit.), correcting my appreciation as (ə'y) on (235, *d*). Observe the Norfolk (ə'y) in (138, *e*). Diphthongisation confounds originally perfectly distinct vowels. When (i) once admits an antecedent deeper sound, we get the series (ři, éi, éi, E'i, æ'i, âi, âai, âa', aa), till (i) has disappeared. And by varying (i) into (y) there is a tendency to pass to (u) and hence get into variants of (u), while by broadening (a) to (a) we are at once brought into the (ái, ɔh'i, ɔ'i A'i) series, which also comes from (ûi, ûi, úi, ói, ói, ɔ'i). All these changes, actually observed in practice, are of great philological interest. Their proper bearing cannot be properly appreciated without studying our dialectal vowel relations. Mr. Bell has not introduced an example of the last or (ói) series among his key-words. It is by no means widely known in the (ói) form. In older English we had two forms (ûi, ói). The former regularly became (ə'i) in the XVII th century, and remains in one or other of the many forms of this diphthong vulgarly and in several dialects. The second generally appears dialectally as (ói, ɔ'i, A'i), but is occasionally assimilated as (âi). Now by a converse assimilation, educated English, orthographically misled no doubt, has, within the last hundred years, reduced all the original (ûi) set of (ə'i) sounds to (ə'i, A'i), which is

5. (ə'i)—*continued.*

far worse than the derided Irish, or provincial pronunciation of *i* as one of this series, because the educated pronunciation is simply an orthographically superinduced mis-pronunciation, and the other is an organic development: yet one is upheld and the other ridiculed. Educated ignorance is always absurd.

(v). The buzz of (f). It is remarkable that though this sound is so easy and common in English, French, and Italian, it should generally be found difficult. The observations of Merkel (Phys. d. mensch Spr. pp. 211-12) shew that although he knew (f), he had no proper conception of (v), which Brücke and Lepsius claim for German *w*. He says: "(f) cannot as such be vocalised or combined with vibrations of the vocal chords; the organs are obliged, in the attempt, to assume an intermediate position between that of (ph) and that of (f), and to separate so far that they can occasion no sensible noise (*erhebliches Geräusch*). When then sonant breath is driven through them, we hear a sound, which is scarcely at all (*fast gar nicht*) distinct from (bh), but for which the lips are not exactly opposed, the under lip being somewhat retracted under the upper lip," and hence he does not distinguish (v) by a separate sign. But all Englishmen can press the lower lip *firmly* against the upper teeth and *buzz*, that is, produce the effect of a mixture of vocalised and unvocalised breath. The way in which (v) can shade into (bh) is remarkable (549, *a*, *d*. 518, *b*, *d'*). With reference to the remark on Sanscrit *v* on p. 518, the following citation from Prof. Whitney (Atharva-Veda Prâtiçâkhya, text, translation and notes, New Haven, U.S., 1872, p. 26) is important: "The Vâj. Pr. . . . defines the same sounds, [the *v*- series, *u*, *v*,] as produced upon the lip and by the lip, and then adds farther that in the utterance of *v* the tips of the teeth are employed: the same specification as to *v* is made by the Tâitt. Pr. (its commentator explaining that in the utterance of that letter the points of the upper teeth are placed on the edge of the lower lips). . . The descriptions of *v* given by the two Prâtiçâkhyas of the Yajur Veda, as well as that offered by the Paninean scheme (which declares its organs of

5. (v)—*continued.*

utterance to be the teeth and lips), leave no room to doubt that at their period the *v* had already generally lost its original and proper value as English *w*—as which alone it has any right to be called a semivowel, and to rank with *y*—and, doubtless passing through the intermediate stage of the German *w*, had acquired the precise pronunciation of English *v*." That is, Prof. Whitney assumes, the series: 1. vowel (u), with back of tongue raised and resonant lip opening; 2. (w), with back of tongue raised and non-resonant, restricted lip opening; 3. (bh), with back of tongue lowered, and similar (not identical) lip opening; 4. (v), with lower lip against upper teeth, increasing the buzz materially. On making the series (u-w-bh-v) in one breath, the motion of the organs will become apparent, and though the sounds are constantly confused, yet it will be felt in the vibratory motions of the lips themselves that there is a material difference. On 9th July, 1873, having an opportunity of observing the pronunciation of Mr. M. O. Mookerjey, a native Bengalee gentleman, and not detecting any of the characteristic buzz of a (v), arising from the division of the stream of air by the teeth, I asked him whether he actually touched his teeth, and he said: "very little." Now (v) with faint dental contact is scarcely separable from (bh) without any dental contact. Hence the misty borderland between these two sounds. "There is no certainty in the accounts we have of English *v* and German *w* occurring in exotic languages, for when either is mentioned we have no proof that the observer knew the difference." (Prof. *S. S. Haldeman*, Analytic Orthography, art. 462.) It came like a revelation upon Mr. Kovács, an Hungarian, when he found he had to use his teeth for English (v). I had observed he had a difficulty with *veal*, which from his lips sounded to English ears as (wiil), being really (bhiil). When he first attempted to say (viil), he produced (bh*dhiil), making the buzz by bringing his *tongue*, instead of his lower lip, against the upper teeth. I asked him to make inquiries among his fellow-countrymen, and he assured me that none of them used the teeth for *f*, *v*, that is, all said (ph, bh). Yet Mr. Kovács had been long enough

5. (v)—*continued.*

in England to preach publicly in English. And Lepsius makes Magyar *f*, *v* = (f, v), and not (ph, bh) (Standard Alphabet, p. 220). These facts support Prof. Haldeman's dictum. I have seldom heard a German able to distinguish (w, v). When Prof. Max Müller (whose *r* is also uvular) is lecturing, I find much difficulty in distinguishing *words* and *verbs*, although he has been many years in England, is perfectly conversant with the language, and has attended much to phonetics. Prof. Haldeman says he can "distinguish across a room, whether a speaker of German uses the German *w* or English *v*, *provided* the voice is familiar" (Anal. Orth., p. 93, n.). See about the German professor (1093, *be*). In Dutch *v*, *w* both occur. Dr. Gehle seemed to pronounce *u*, *v*, *w* as (yy, vee, bhee). Land (*ibid.* p. 30) says Dutch "*f* and *v* are not formed with both lips, but with the under lip and upper teeth, and have consequently a peculiar character for the ear, and for both reasons should be separated from the *p*- series. The explosive consonant" —*Slagconsonant*, implying a perfect closure of the oral passage, a species of *b*, palaeotype (ʙ), —"formed in the same place, is our usual *w* at the beginning of a syllable, also usual in High German (*ook in 't Hoogduitsch gebruikelijk*), and is consequently distinguished from the next-mentioned labial *w* both by its place and mode of articulation. The Dutch language possesses, as well as the English, a murmuring or buzzing (*ruischend*) *w*, which is nothing but *u* with a stronger closure (*sterkere vernauwing*) than the vowel. The sound occurs exclusively after a *u*, *huwen*, that is, *hûu-wen*, *rouwen* = *ro*[1]*u-wen*, *eouwen* = *e*[3]*uwen*" = (ʜʏ'u·wɛn, rɔ'u·wɛn, ɛ'u·wɛn) apparently, "and must be distinguished from our usual *w* in *wat*, *wil*. A low (*platte*) pronunciation only knows the labio-dental *w*." Now this explosive (ʙ) is Brücke's theoretical *b*[2], see (4, *a*), described as having the closure (*Verschluss*) effected, not as in the usual *p* with both lips, but with the under lip and upper teeth (Grundzüge, p. 34), and Brücke (*ibid.*) makes German *w* = (ʙ). Hence, Land's definition having puzzled me, I applied to Prof. Donders, who in a private letter, dated 11th Nov. 1872, says: "Dutch *v* and *f* agree perfectly

5. (v)—*continued.*

with English *v* and *f*," which Englishmen are accustomed to consider identical with French *v* and *f*, and hence what follows is puzzling: "In French *v* I think I perceive a little approximation to German *w*; the lips perhaps approach one another rather more, and the upper teeth do not so determinately rest on the lip (in de Fransche *v* meen ik eene kleine toenadering tot de Duitsche *w* te herkennen: de lippen naderen elkander misschien iets meer, en niet zoo bepaaldt rusten de tanden der opperkaak op de lippen). Our *w* agrees exactly with the German. At the end of words in *ee*uw, *lee*uw, the u makes it approach nearer to English *w*. . . . . I have been as much surprised as yourself at Land's opinion that *w* can be the labio-dental explodent. At the conclusion he seems to refer exclusively to the *low* (*platte*) pronunciation. But I have not met with it, even there. I doubt whether this labio-dental explodent occurs at all. When intentionally (*met opzet*) used, it sounds to me like an impure (*onzuiver*) *b* or *p*." We have here a clear distinction between (f, v, bh, w, u), as all occurring in one and the same language, by an observer of European reputation.

While this page was passing through the press, I had the interview already mentioned with Mr. Gupta (1096, *a*). I was particularly anxious to ascertain his views respecting Sanscrit *v*. He made decidedly an English (v) with a faint pressure of the lower lip against the teeth, and did not seem to know that a *v* sound could be otherwise produced. On my pronouncing to him first (vii, vee, vaa, voo, vuu), and next (bhii, bhee, bhaa, bhoo, bhuu), the first with faint and the second with strong buzz, so as to imitate the first, as a strong (bh) buzz is generally much weaker than any (v) buzz, he decidedly recognized the former and not the latter for the Sanscrit sound. But then came two curious pieces of information, first that Sanscrit *v* after a consonant is always called (w), and secondly, that in Bengalee (b) is said for both *b* and *v* Sanscrit. The manner, however, in which he pronounced *v* and *y* after consonants gave, to my ear, the effect of stressless (u, i) dipthongising with the following vowel, as (anusuâara), rather than (anuswâara). Instead then of an interchange of (v, w), there was, to me

5. (v)—*continued.*

(and I am anxious to express this as an individual opinion, which it would require very much longer and more varied experience to raise to the rank of a conviction), rather a reversion to the original vowel (u). We have already seen the great difficulties in separating (u, w), suprà No. 1, and we shall have several occasions again to refer to the effects of (u), both on a preceding and following consonant, which appear to me identical in nature with those of (i) and (y), see No. 9, below, and § 2, No. 6, iv. The controversy is not likely to be readily settled. England, possessing (w, ɹ), will use them for both consonants and stressless diphthongising vowels. Germany, possessing (bh, ɹ) or (v, ɹ), will only use the latter (ɹ) in this way, leaving the vowel (u) for the former. France, Italy, and Spain, having only vowels, will naturally use them only. Spanish (bh) is always thought of as (b), and hence would not be used. We thus get English *kwa kya*, German *kua kja*, French *koua kia*, Italian and Spanish *kua*, *kia*, for the same sounds (kuá kiá), or many shades of sounds up to (kwa kja). Initially Spaniards use *hua* and Italians *ua*. But I hope that attention will be directed beyond national habits of writing or speaking, and real usages will be ultimately determined. It is to me probable that there will be thus discovered an unconsciously simultaneous usage of (kuá kwa kwa, kiá kja kɹa), with perhaps intermediate forms, and a gradation of (wa bha va, ɹa gjha), passing imperceptibly into each other through different degrees of consonantal buzz. As a mere practical rule (uá iá) is convenient, till the forms (u-ú, i-í), indistinguishable from (uu, ii), would have to be reached on the one hand, and (vu, gjhi) on the other. The Bengalee confusion of *v*, *b*, Sanscrit, seems almost to negative the existence of the (v) pronunciation of Sanscrit *v*, before the Bengalee variety arose. Confusions of (b, v) seem to occur in English dialects, but are very rare; (b, bh) are often confused, as in Spanish, German, Hebrew; the confusion of (b, w) is quite possible, but not so easy. The Bengalee custom, therefore, to me seems to indicate an original (bh) rather than (w) consonant, at the time the Devanâgarî alphabet was invented. The use of pre-alpha-

5. (v)—*continued.*

betic stressless diphthongising (u-) I consider highly probable. The wide philological bearing of this distinction must excuse the length of these remarks.

(fə'*i*v). For the synthesis, the initial (f) hiss is short, and the voice does not begin till it finishes, so that (fvə'*i*v) is not heard. This must be clearly understood, as we have (szii) in German for *sie*, usually received as (zii); and we shall find that in *whip*, some hear (whw*i*p). It is not the English habit in any words beginning with (f, th, s, sh) to interpose (v, dh, z, zh) by prematurely laying on the voice, or before the latter to emit a whisper by beginning with an open glottis, and thus deferring the laying on of the voice. Although it is possible that initial (v, z) may have been generated from (f, s) in Somersetshire, and previously in Dan Michel's dialect, by some such anticipation of the voice, followed afterwards by omission of the hiss (which of course was never written when the buzz was apparent), yet, as a rule, Englishmen avoid all deferred or premature laying on of voice, resulting from the open or closed glottis, and in this respect differ from German. We never intentionally say (rhrii, lhlii, mhmii, nhnii), although we have seen that Cooper (544, *d*) and Lediard (1046, *a'*) conceived that *knee* was called (nhnii), and shall find a trace of this remaining in the Cumberland dialect. This makes (whwii, ɹhɹii) suspicious. On the whole of this subject see No. 14 below. The case is, however, very different with *final* (v, z, dh, zh). The prolongation of the buzz is apparently disagreeable to our organs, and hence we drop the voice before separating them, thus merging the buzz into a hiss unless a vowel follows, on to which the voice can be continued, or a consonant, which naturally shortens the preceding one. Thus in (fə'*i*v) the voice begins at the moment the hiss of (f) ceases, and before the position for (ə) is fully assumed, it glides on to (ə), glides off (ə) on to (*i*), glides from (*i*) on to (v), continues through (v), and then, if the word is final, ceases, by the opening of the glottis before the (v) position is changed, producing (f), thus (fə'*i*vf). A following vowel, as in *five and six* (fə'*i*v-un-si*k*s), prevents this, but does not shorten the length of (v), and the voice glides on to the (u). A following voiced consonant, as *five loaves* (fə'*i*v loovzs), shortens the buzz, and there is no glide of the voice, as that would give an additional syllable, (fəiv'loovzs). A voiceless consonant, as *five shillings* (fə'*i*v shi·liqzs), does not introduce an (f), or change (v) into (f). The voice ceases at the (v), spoken very shortly, and the hiss begins at (sh), so that there is a clear discontinuity, and no Englishman feels a difficulty in what is to a German or Dutchman nearly insuperable. The extremely different habits of different nations in the change of voiced to voiceless forms, and conversely, and the systematic way in which they have been hitherto ignored, although forced on the attention of comparative philologists by the Sanscrit distinctions of pada and sanhitâ texts, give much linguistic importance to such observations, minute as they may appear. See the Dutch custom in No. 9, (b).

6. SIX, (si*k*s.)

(s). The hisses with central passage are so various in character that it is extremely difficult to distinguish them. They seem to form two groups: (s) in which the tongue is more forward and the back of the tongue not hollowed, and (sh) in which the tongue is more retracted and the back is hollowed. This general difference is best felt on taking some common words containing (s) or (sh) or both, as *swiss*, *swish*, *swishes*, *wishes*, *session*, *sash*, *slush*, (sw*i*s, sw*i*sh, sw*i*·shezs, w*i*·shezs, se·shun, sæsh, slə̈sh), and interchanging (s, sh) as (shw*i*sh, shw*i*s, shw*i* shesh, shw*i* sesh, w*i* sesh, she·sun, shæs, shlə̈s). We may also pronounce them in immediate succession, as (poze·sshun) *possession*, properly (poze·shun). Try also to say (s-shii, s-shaa, s-shuu), which are easy, and (sh-sii, sh-saa, sh-suu), which are difficult, at least to my organs. Now, so far as I can judge, any variety of the forward (s) and any variety of the backward (sh) would be intelligible in English, and I do not think that we naturally know much about the varieties. I think however that (s, sh) and (ʂ, ʂh), written (ɟs, ɟsh) on (800, *b'*), are really kept apart. If we say *gas*, *cats*, con-

6. (s)—*continued.*

tinuing the *s* sharply, and being very careful to keep its position in *cats*, I think we hear (gæsss, kæt,s,s,s,s), and after a little practice we may even say (kæ,s), which will not rhyme to (gæs). This will be more distinct when we say (kæ,t,s), the tip of the tongue then coming very close indeed to the back of the front teeth, while in (kæt,s) it is behind the back of the upper gum (1096, *c*), and in (gæs) it may lie behind and between the teeth, or really press against the lower gums, the hiss being between the hard palate and the middle of the tongue. If we hiss a tune, without quite whistling, with the lips open, producing the difference of pitch by the mere motion of the tongue, we shall find great varieties in the position of the tongue, and that the pitch is highest when the tip of the tongue is forward and near the gums. We shall find also that the tongue can be retracted considerably without destroying the (s) effect, provided the breath be not allowed to resound in the hollow behind the tongue, which immediately produces the effect of (sh), and that the *central* aperture be not checked or divided, the former giving (t) and the latter a lisp, nearly (th). I think there has been some error about the Spanish *z* on (802, *d.* 4, *ab*), and that it is not (,s), as there stated, and as Mr. Melville Bell, who has been in Spain, makes it (Visible Speech, p. 93); but that it is (s§), using (§) as on (11, *de*), that is, a *divided* (s), with perhaps only a slight central check, produced by bringing the tip of the tongue very gently against the gum. In this case the buzz would be (z§). Prince Louis Lucien Bonaparte says that the true Castillian *s* is the Basque *s*; and as he pronounced this *s* to me, it sounded like a retracted (,s) with a rattle of moisture. The Andalusian *s* is, he says, perfect. The (s) sound of *c*, *z* is not acknowledged in Spain (802, *d*) at all, although heard in Spanish America. See further in No. 10, (sh).

Note also the drunken tendency to confuse (s) with (sh) in England, clearly indicating the greater ease of (sh) to organs which can produce it at all. To an Icelander, Welshman, Dutchman, Spaniard, Greek, (sh) presents great difficulties. Note in upper German, the parent of the literary high German, not only the tendency to initial (shp, sht,) where (sp, st) only are written, as well as the spoken and written (shl, shr, shm, shn, shbh), but the final (-sht,) written *-st*, which constantly crops up in vulgar German, and is almost as great a social sin in Germany as a "dropped *aitch*" in England. Note also that in English (shl, shm, shn, shw) do not occur, although (sl, sm, sn, sw) are common, and that (shr-) offers difficulties to many English speakers, notably at *Sr*ewsbury in *Sr*opshire. Note also that *sp-*, *st-*, are lazily pronounced (shp-, sht-) by Neapolitans. Note that (sh) seems to be a derived sound in the greater part of Europe, although existing in Sanscrit, but is frequent in Slavonic languages. In Hungarian (sh) is so much commoner than (s), that the simple *s* is used for (sh), and the combination *sz* for (s); while *z*, *zs* are (z, zh). The (zh) is a very rare form in Europe, and has been only recently developed in English. In Bengalee all three Sanscrit letters, *ç*, *sh*, *s*, are confused in reading as (sh), while in vulgar speech simple (н) is used for (s), so that, strangely enough, this dialect has no (s) at all.

(*i*). See No. 3 (ii). No Englishman naturally says (siks); it would sound to him like (siiks) *seeks;* and few are able to produce the sound without much practice. It is best reached by pronouncing *seek*, *teat*, *peep* with great rapidity. This (*i*) is the touchstone of foreigners, especially of Romance nations. It occurs in Icelandic (544, *e*), and is often heard in the North of Germany. In Holland short *i* seems to have passed quite into (e), see Land (*ibid.* p. 17), as is generally the case in Scotland.

(k). The back of the tongue is very nearly in the (u) position, but rises so as to close the passage. It is not at all in the (i) or (y) position, but if an (aa) follows in English, many speakers habitually raise the tongue to the (i) instead of the (u) position, producing (*k*), almost (k*ɹ), see (205, *a*). This sound is still much heard in *cart*, *quart*, *sky*, *kind*, etc., but is antiquated (600, *d.* 206, *e*). There is not the same tendency when (i,*i*) follow or precede. This insertion of (i) before an (a) sound is very prevalent dialectally. See the theory in § 2, No. 6, iv.

6. (sí̇ks).

(sí̇ks). Keep the hiss (s) quite clear of the voice, begin the voice the instant that the (s) hiss ceases, glide on to (*i*), and dwelling very briefly on the vowel (its extreme shortness is characteristic), glide rapidly on to the (k), so as to shut off the voice with a kind of thump, opening the glottis at the same time, but allow no pause, and glide on to the hiss of (s) immediately. The glides from (*i*) to (k) and (k) to (s), make the kind of check audible, and distinguish (sí̇ks) clearly from (sí̇ts, sí̇ps). It is quite possible, but not customary in English, to make (ks) initial, Xerxes being (Zɪk)siiz), not (Ksɪ)ksiis). Similarly (ps, ts) never begin syllables in English, except by a glide, thus (*proxis*) gives (præ·ksís), in which (k) has one glide from (æ) and another on to (s), the syllable dividing between them.

7. SEVEN, Bell's (SE·vnn), my (se·v'n).

(s). See No. 6, (s).

(e, E). These vowels differ in the height of the tongue. Mr. M. Bell determined my pronunciation (106, *a*) to be (e), and considered it abnormally high, believing the usual sound to be (E). Mr. Murray has the same opinion. Both agree that my (e) is the sound in *fair* (feeɪ), and that it differs from *fail* (*feel*), any presumed diphthongal character of the latter being disregarded, as (*i*) does from (i). Mr. Bell gives *ell* as (El) English, (E'l) Scotch, and makes French *vin* = (VEA). The latter to my ear is nearer (VÆA), but the French have no (æ), and hence (E) is their nearest non-nasal. It is possible or even probable that my ear is deceived by my own practice, but I certainly know, from long residence in the countries, the German *ä* in spräche (shpREE·khu), the Italian *e* aperto in *bene* (bE·ne), the French *é* in *bête* (bEET) and occasionally (bEt), and all these sounds appear to me much deeper than any usually uttered by educated Southern Englishmen. Since the difference was pointed out, I have paid much attention to such speakers, and my own impression is that (e) is much commoner than (E). I certainly occasionally recognize (E), but it always strikes me as unpleasant. The three sounds (*e*, e,

7. (e, E)—*continued.*

E) form a series, and if the usual English *e* short is deeper than my (e), it is not so deep as the foreign sounds just described. Mr. Murray (Dialects of S. Scotland, pp. 106, note 2, and 239) has felt obliged to introduce new signs, for which he uses acute and grave accents (*é* é, *è* è), but as the acute accent has been used in palaeotype to mark the element under force in diphthongs as (úi, uí), some other notation is requisite. Mr. M. Bell (Vis. Sp. p. 77), after describing his 36 vowels, says, "Other faintly different shades of vowel sound are possible; as for instance, from giving a greater or less than the ordinary or *symmetrical* degree of lip modification. Even these delicate varieties may be perfectly expressed by the modifiers [as a certain set of Mr. Bell's symbols are called, because they 'modify' the meaning of the symbols to which they are subjoined, the four principal 'modifiers' being called] 'close,' 'open,' 'inner,' 'outer,' or by the 'linked' symbols; but such compound letters can never be required in the writing of languages, except to show the curiously minute accuracy with which these plastic physiological symbols may be applied." Mr. Bell (*ibid.* p. 55) had defined his 'close' and 'open' signs, which are those on p. 15 suprà, col. 9, lines *l*, *m*, as follows: "The sign of 'closeness' applied to any of the preceding consonants denotes a narrower aperture, with increased sharpness of sibilation and percussiveness on leaving the configuration; and the sign of 'openness' denotes a widened aperture with consequent dullness of sibilation and lessened percussion. Thus in forming (ph) with 'closeness' a mere thread of breath issues through the narrow crevice between the lips—as in blowing to cool; and in forming (ph) [with 'openness'] the breath flows through the wide orifice with the effect of a *sigh* on the lips. The latter effect is interjectionally expressive of *faintness* or want of air." Mr. Bell identified my (.) and (,,) with his signs of 'closeness' and 'openness' respectively; but I meant and used them for signs of increased and diminished *force*, independently of aperture: and hence the transcription of his signs on p. 15, column 9, lines *l* and *m*, by my (.) and (,,), is incorrect. The 'inner' and 'outer' or the signs on suprà p. 15, col. 9, lines

7. (e, E)—*continued.*

i, k, are those formerly expressed by (1 †), and now by (,).

The lip modifications of the vowels will be considered in No. 11 (AA). But the lingual modifications, 'higher' and 'lower,' consisting principally in raising or lowering the tongue, seem to be most graphically expressed by superior and inferior figures, as (e^1, e, e_1). If more degrees are considered necessary, it will be better to write (e^1, e^{11}, e^{111}) rather than (e^1, e^2, e^3) as the superior (^{2},^{3}) may be required for other purposes. The signs ^{1} $_1$ may also be conveniently used for Mr. Bell's 'closeness' and 'openness' generally, which may now be combined with the signs of force, thus his close (ph) will be (.ph^1), when the breath issues forcibly through a narrow crevice formed by raising the underlip, and (..ph^1), when it issues feebly; while (.ph$_1$ ..ph$_1$) indicate great and small force of issue through a wide opening, formed by depressing the underlip.

There are no doubt many other modifications, which would render intelligible such signs, as: (,e) the tongue drawn more back for 'inner' (e), and (,e) the tongue further advanced for 'outer' (e), or (e^2) more hollowness at the back of the tongue for 'hollow' (e), (e_2) greater widening of the throat for 'guttural' (e), as was already suggested for the Irish modification of vowels (1100, *d'*), where the (^{2} $_2$) indicate "secondary" kinds of "widening," in addition to those of Mr. Bell, (^{2}) between the tongue and pharynx, ($_2$) in the pharynx only; and in comparing different dialects other signs may be necessary. It is also often difficult to say which of two vowels any new vowel sound which an observer may happen to note, and desires to symbolize, most resembles, and here we may resort to superior letters, as (e^i), meaning "the sound seems to me most like (*e*), but I sometimes hear it approach to (*i*), and suppose it may be some 'intermediate' sound, which I cannot as yet determine further than by considering it as an (*e*) verging towards (*i*), and hence should prefer noting as (*e*)," whereas (i^e) would give the preference to (*i*). It is obvious that these are merely temporary signs, but they are useful in interpreting vague, or written accounts of 'intermediate' sounds, and, as such, will be hereafter employed in rendering Mr. Smart's symbols.

7. (e, E)—*continued.*

Using a superior (^{1}) and inferior ($_1$) for Mr. Murray's acute and grave, we may read his note thus (*ibid.* p. 106): "As pronounced in the South of Scotland, it [the vowel in *sail, say*] is certainly opener than the French or English *ai* (*e*). But it is nearer to this (*e*) than to any other of the six front vowels (*i* i, e *e*, æ E). A long and careful observation of the sounds of English and Scottish dialects, and collation with those of the Standard English, has convinced me that, in order to shew their precise values and relations, it would be necessary to make a more minute division of the vowel scale" than in Visible Speech (suprà p. 15). Then, accepting the above notation for higher and lower or closer and opener, he says: "The Eng. *ai* in w*ai*t being then (*e*), the South Sc. would be (e_1); the close sound common in Edinburgh would be (e^1). The S. Sc. sound in br*eae* would probably be rather ($é^{1'}$) than (i'), as we are obliged to make it when only using the three vowels. The Sc. *y* in h*y*ll, b*y*t, would probably be (e^1) rather than (e), explaining how the diphthong *ey* (éi) seems closer than *aiy* (*ei*), which it ought not to be if *y* in *byt* (bet) were the exact 'wide' of *ai* in bait. In the round [labialised] vowels also, the very close *o* used in Edinburgh, which, compared with my *o*, seems almost (u), would probably be (o^1), and the South Sc. *uo* might be ($ó^{1'}$) rather than ($ü'$). It need scarcely be said that no single language or dialect does ever in practical use distinguish such fine shades; few idioms even find the three positions distinct enough; none certainly distinguish the six sounds formed by the 'primaries' and 'wides' of any series (except as accidental varieties due to the character of the following consonant, or to the presence or absence of accent—never to distinguish words). It is only in comparing different languages or dialects that we find the exact quality given to particular vowels in one, intermediate between certain vowels in another, the one set of sounds grouping themselves, so to say, alongside of and around, but not quite coinciding with the other set." I quote these words to fully endorse them, and again shew the difficulty of phonetic writing. In particular the deeper (*u*), which may be (*u*) with an (o) position of the lips, or (u_o) as we shall write,

7. (e, ɛ)—*continued.*

or an (*o*) with a higher tongue, that is (o^1), is a sound fully appreciated by northern dialectal speakers as distinct from (*u*), and sounds to my ears much more distinct from it, than (ɛ, ɜ) from (e, ə).

To return to (*e*, e, ɛ). If any of those English speakers whom I hear say (e) do really take a 'lower' sound, it is rather (e_1) than (ɛ); or if they are considered to take (e_1), then the foreign sound is ($ɛ_1$) or even ($ɛ_{11}$). Prince L. L. Bonaparte separates the very open *è* of some French grammarians in *accès*, from the Italian *e* aperto, and makes it the 'wide' of the latter. He identifies (ɛ) with the Italian sound, but not (æ) with the French sound, so that ($ɛ_1$) would be the more correct representative of the latter. The distinction of three (e)- sounds, (*e*, e, ɛ) I find convenient, and I generally use (e) when I cannot satisfactorily determine the sound to be (*e*) or (ɛ), that is (e) may often be considered as (e^e) or ($e^ɛ$). I think the *tendency* of educated pronunciation, which affects thinness, is towards (e) rather than (ɛ), and I should put down (e) as the regular Spanish and Welsh pronunciations of *e*, neither language having apparently (*e*, ɛ). In Italian, (e) is replaced by (*e*, ɛ); but I consider (e) to have been the old Latin *e*, though the Latin *æ* may have been (ɛɛ). In French I think the open *e* is rather (e) than (ɛ), except under force or emphasis, when, as just shewn, ($ɛ_1$) may occur, but (ɛ) is always the intention. The substitution of (e) for (ɛ) is like that of (ah) for (a), which is also going on in the Paris of to-day. In the French conjunction *et*, now always (*e*), the vowel was once (ɛ), a sound now reserved for *est*.

(v). See No. 5, (v).

('n). For the simple (n) see No. 1, (n). Initial *n* is seldom lengthened, though some will say (nnn*oo*) for a dubious negative. When (n) forms a syllable by itself Mr. Bell considers it to be lengthened, and writes (nn). I prefer to write ('n), and similarly ('l, 'm); but it is not necessary to write ('ɹ), as (ɹ) when not following a vowel necessarily forms a syllable. But *seven* can be pronounced in one syllable (sevn),

7. ('n)—*continued.*

and is often so reckoned. It does not seem to be usual. Hence I write (se·v'n). Orthoepists are much divided as to how far the use of syllabic ('l, 'm, 'n) is 'admissible.' In practice it is seldom that they are accurately distinguished from (ʊl, ʊm, ʊn), as in *principal*, *principle*, both often called (pri·nsip'l). The tendency is clear towards syllabic ('l, 'm, 'n), but there is much 'educated' or rather 'orthographic' resistance. Notwithstanding ags. *yfl*, clergymen insist on (ii·vil), and even say (de·vil), see (81, *d*), which we find Bp. Wilkins using (998, *e*). We have, however, seen the effect of the efforts of Dr. Gill's "docti interdum." At present it is 'safest' for those who have not an acknowledged literary or social position to use a vowel, as (ʊl, ʊm, ʊn), but care must be taken not to have the clear vowels (æl, æm, æn; el, em, en), which have a pedantic, puristic effect, and can be at most endured in public speaking from desire to be distinctly audible, never in ordinary conversation. See the remarks of Prof. Haldeman, prefixed to the account of his pronunciation, below in this section.

(se·v'n). The glides from (s) to (v) are as in (fə'iv). But (v) glides on to vocal (n), so that in all cases there is a transitional vowel-sound heard between the buzz (v) and the nasal resonance (n).

8. EIGHT, Bell's (*éit*), my (*eet*).

(*ee*). We now come to a hotly-disputed point of English pronunciation. I differ entirely from Mr. Bell as to the habit of educated southern Englishmen. The diphthong (*éi*), or rather (*éi*) and even (æ'*i*), I have heard, and especially from Essex people, but certainly the compression of the first element is unusual, and at most (*éei*) can be insisted on. I have had occasion to refer to this diphthongal pronunciation frequently. See (57, *d*. 74, *b*. 106, *a*. 191, *a*. 234, *a*. 542, *b*. 596 *e'*. 597, *a*). The sound is insisted on by Smart, who says, "The English alphabetic accented *a*, in the mouth of a well-educated Londoner, is not exactly the sound which a French mouth utters either in *fée* or in *fête*, being not so

8. (*ee*)—*continued.*

narrow as the former, nor so broad as the latter. Moreover, it is not quite simple, but finishes more slenderly than it begins, tapering, so to speak, towards the sound" of *e* in *me* (294, *d*). The two French words being (*fee*, FEET), this would make the English (éei) or (éeᵢi), and this I do not at all recognize. The first element at least sounds to me (*ee*), and is generally distinctly recognizable by its length. There are, however, Londoners, or persons living in London, who dispute the possibility of prolonging (*ee*), and who certainly immediately glide away towards (*i*). Dr. Rush (Philosophy of the Human Voice, Philadelphia, 1827, p. 40), who was a careful observer, says: "When the letter *a*, as heard in the word *day*, is pronounced simply as an alphabetic element, and with the duration which it has in that word, two sounds are heard continuously successive. The first has the well-known characteristic of this letter; and issues from the organs with a certain degree of fullness. The last is the element *e* heard in *eve*, and is a gradually diminishing sound." It is curious, however, that Prof. Haldeman (Analytic Orthography, Art. 391) does not notice this diphthong, but makes "the English *ay* in pay, paid, day, weigh, ale, rage," to be "short in weight, hate, acre, Amos, Abram, ape, plague, spade," and identifies it with German "wēh, rēh, jē, planēt, mēer, mēhr (more, but mahr *tidings* has ē), ēdel, ēhre, jědŏch," and with Italian "e chiuso." He writes *eight* as *ĕt*, or (*et*). Still there is no doubt that French teachers have a great difficulty with most English pupils, in regard to this letter, and complain of their (*boo,te*) being called (*bóoutéei*), etc., but the audibility of this (-*i*) differs with different speakers, and even with different words for the same speaker.

Mr. Murray puts me quite out of court on this point, for in my palaeotypic rendering of the Hundredth Psalm he has changed my (*ee, oo*) into (*éei, óou*), saying (Dial. of S. Scot. p. 138, note): "I have ventured to differ from Mr. Ellis's transcription only so far as to write the long *ā* and *ō* (*eei, oou*), as they are always pronounced in the south, and as I seem to hear them from Mr. Ellis himself, although he considers them theoretically as only (*ee, oo*)."

8. (*ee*)—*continued.*

That is, according to his observations, whatever be *my own* subjective impression of my utterance, *his* subjective impression on hearing me say: *name, aid, age, always, praise, gates, take, make; oh! so, know, approach*, is the same as that which *he* derives from *his own* utterance of (*néeim, éeid, éeidzh*, AAlw*éeiz*, pr*éeiz*, g*éeits*, t*éeik*, m*éeik*; *óou!* s*óou*, n*óou*, ʊpr*óou*tsh). Now I have resided three years in Dresden, where long *e* is uniformly (*ee*), and not (EE), and none of my teachers found that I drifted into (*éei*). I am also able to prolong an (*ee*) without change, as long as my breath will last. I am not only familiar with hearing (*éei*) and even (*éi*), but I know precisely what movements are requisite to produce them, and I have very carefully and frequently examined my pronunciation of this letter. I am inclined to ascribe Mr. Murray's impression that I always say (*éei, óou*) to his own South Scotch use of (*eeᵢ, ooᵢ*), which are 'lower' sounds than mine, sounds indeed which I recognize to be strictly different from mine, and not to correspond to any vowels that I am acquainted with practically. Mr. Murray cites both syllables of French *aidé* as having a 'higher' form than the South Scotch; but Féline makes the first *ai* the "open ê" (E), thus (E*de*). He says also that "the chief difference" of the Scotch from the English "lies in the fact that it [the Sc.] is a *uniform* sound, not gliding or closing into *ee*, like the English—at least the English of the south; thus, English day > ee, Scotch day-ay. This vowel is not recognized as stopped in English," but observe Haldeman's *ĕt*, "the vowel in *wait, main*, being as long as in *way, may*. In Scotch it occurs long and stopped, as in *wayr, baythe, wāy, wāit, tāil* (w*ee*r, b*ee*dh, w*ee*, w*e*t, t*e*l), the two last words being carefully distinguished from the English *wait, tail*, (w*ee*t, t*ee*l) or (w*éei*t, t*éei*l), and *wet, tell*, but pronounced like the French *été*." (Murray, p. 106.)

Now before I compare my own observations on my own and other educated southern pronunciation, with those of such an accomplished northern phonetician as Mr. Murray, I would draw attention to a similar difference of opinion among Dutchmen respecting their own pronunciation. Prof. Donders (*op. cit.*) uses the vowel series *i, e, eᵃ, a*,

8. *(ee)—continued.*

of which *i*, e^a, *a*, appear to be (i, E, a), though the last may be (*a*), and *e* is either (*e*) or (e), probably the latter. His examples are Dutch *bier* for *i*, *beer* for *e*, *wēreld kērel bĕd* for e^a, and *baar* for *a*. When he comes to the diphthongs, he gives *ei*, which must be (éi) or (ei), and probably the latter, to the Dutch vowels in *leep*, *leed*, *leek*, *leeg*, etc., "with short imperfect *i*, (not in *leer*, in which only *e* is heard), with less imperfect *i* in *hé*, *mee*, and with perfect *i* in *dee'i* for *deed hij*," and makes *Mei* have the diphthong e^ai = (E'i). Land (Over Uitspraak en Spelling), writing with especial reference to Donders, has three *e*'s, $e^1 = e^a$, $e^2 = e$ of Donders, and e^3, not in Donders. These three *e*'s are clearly (E, e. *e*), for although the two first are not well distinguished by the French e^1 = père, e^2 = frêne, tête, the third e^3 is made = pré, été. Now of these he says (p. 17): "e^2. With us (bij ons) regularly *long* before *r* (*beer*, *meer*), where in the pronunciation of others there is an aftersound of *i* (waar bij anderen een *i* naklinkt) in order to attain the e^3 of the low speech (ten einde den plat uitgesproken e^3 te bereiken). In the dialect of Gelders, e^2 is a separate vowel, playing its own part; with us [at Amsterdam] it is only found under the influence of *r*." This is precisely like English (ee) in *fair*. "Our *short* i has also entirely passed over into e^2: *lid*, *mis*, *gebit*; wherein the Limburgers alone seem not to follow us," as in South Scotch. Then he proceeds to say: "e^3, is with us always *long*: *steen*, *been*, *leed*, *hé*, *mee*; never before an *r*, because e^2 is then substituted. In English and low Dutch (platte Hollandsch) e^3 is replaced by e^{2i}, or even e^2i, with the variants mentioned by Donders under *ei*; and is then even heard before *r*, where the sound is broadened into *ai* in the Leyden *mehair* for *mijnheer*. I have heard the aftersound of *i* corrupted into *jō*[12], as *ge²jō¹²l* in place of *geel*," that is (gheɔl) for (gheel). Then going to the diphthongs, he says (p. 22): "$e^1i = e^ai$ in Donders, with *short e*: *kei*, *beiden*. In low speech (in platte spraak) corrupted to *ai* (in Amsterdam) or e^2i. In the last case the *i* is sometimes very short in closed syllables, or entirely disappears, almost *me²t* for *meid*.—e^2i, with short *e*, written *ij* and *y* by

8. *(ee)—continued.*

some for occult reasons: *mij* (*my*), *krijt*. In the province of Holland e^2i becomes regularly e^1i, and is corrupted into *ai*. With *long e* in low Holland speech (platte Hollandsch) in place of e^3, Donders's diphthong *ei*." Hereupon Kern, reviewing the two works (in *De Gids* for April, 1871, p. 167), says of Donders: "The description and transliteration of the diphthongs is accurate, except that the *e*, so called sharp *ee*, is not accurately rendered by *ei*. I however agree with Donders against Land that sharp *ee* is really a diphthong. But I cannot allow that such a diphthong occurs in *leeg* or *mee*. The *ee* in *leeg* and *mee* has the same sound as the *e* in *zegen*, *leden*. Whereas in pronouncing *leeg*, *mee*, *zegen*, *neem*, *nemen*, and such like, the relative position of the upper and lower jaws remains unaltered; in pronouncing *ee* in *leed*, *leek*, *leen*, *steen*, the under jaw advances a little (springt de onderkaak iets vooruit). The physiologist cannot possibly fail to perceive the cause of this phenomenon. The same alteration in the position of the jaws is perceived in the pronunciation of *oo* in *brood*, *boonen*, *hooren*. To what extent this pronunciation must be considered the most usual or the best, we leave undecided; it is enough to shew that it does occur in our country, and that it deserves description." Of Land's e^2 he says: "He asserts that our vowel in *meer* is the French *ê* in *frêne*, *tête*. Now not to mention that, to my ear, *meer* (*meest*) [more, most] and *meer* (water) differ in sound, it is doubtful whether any Dutchman uses the French sound in either of the two *meer*'s." The occurrence of an (éei) or (éei) for a written *ee*, in a language so nearly related to English as Dutch, and the difference of opinion as to its pure or diphthongal value, seemed to me too remarkable to be passed over.

In my own pronunciation I think I never say (éei) or (ei), ending with a perfect (i), and that I seldom or never say (éei) or (éi), ending with a perfect (i), and that when I approach to (éi), however short the diphthong may be, the first element is longer than the last But I doubt whether I get as far as (éei), at the most I seem to reach (*ée* + e^1), shewing a glide, and that in the process of "vanishing" the force of the voice decreases so much that it

8. (*ee*)—*continued.*

is very difficult to say what sound is produced; an effect shown by ('j). I admit, however, that in speaking English, and especially in such words as *pay*, *may*, *say*, before a pause, my (*ee*) is not uniform, but alters in the direction of (i). It is, however, necessary to distinguish grades of this alteration, as Donders has done. In the case of a following pause, it is the most marked; but if a vowel or consonant follows rapidly, as *play or pay*, *pay me now*, I do not hear this "vanish" at all. I think also that I am inclined to this vanish before (t, d, n) in *eight*, *weight*, *plate*, *paid*, *pain*, but not so decidedly nor so regularly as in the former case. I am not conscious of the vanish before (p, b, m; k, g). I think that generally the vanish vanishes when the utterance is rapid, as in *ăorta*, *ăerial*. So far as I have yet observed, my usage is much the same as that of other educated speakers, from whom I rarely hear anything like a real (*éei*), and this I attempted to note by (*ee*'j) or (*ée*'j), where (*ee*) glides into "palatalised voice" of some sort. Still there are speakers in whom it is marked, and especially when an *ay* has to be emphatic or dwelled upon, which practically brings it before a pause. I think that the reason why French teachers find such difficulty with English pupils is that the pupils altogether lengthen the vowels too much. I deprecate much Mr. Melville Bell's insisting on (*é*i) universally as a point of orthoepy, making the sound approach to one of the diphthongal *i*'s, for such a pronunciation is so rare as always to be remarkable and generally remarked. An Essex man told me (Dec. 1872) that he was known everywhere by what—as I heard him—were his *eyes*. It turned out to be his pronunciation of long *a*. "But," said he, "I can't hear it; I can't make out the difference at all." Again, Mr. Brandreth, a county magistrate, informed me that on officially visiting the pauper schools at Anerley, near London, he found that fully half the boys made no difference between *ā* and *ī*, and could not even hear the difference when such words as *they*, *thy*, were correctly pronounced to them. According to Mr. Murray, *mūtātō nōmine dē mē fābula narrātur!*

8. (t).

(t). See No. 1, (n), and No. 2, (t). When (p, t, k) are final, and before a pause, so that they are not immediately followed by a vowel on to which the voice can glide, or by a consonant, the (p, t, k) are made more audible by gliding them on to some unvocalised breath, written (p', t', k'), on (10, *b*. 56, *b*), and whether this is already in the mouth, or is driven through the larynx, is indifferent; the latter is most audible, and will often assume the form of (pH', tH', kH'). There may be a pause of silence between the glide on to (t) and this windrush, and this pause apparently lengthens the mute. It is not usual to note this added (') or (H'). It is not a French habit. French speakers either omit the final mute entirely, or add a mute *e* (ə). Using > to represent the glide to, and < the glide from a mute, the following cases have to be noted in English, remembering that for English mutes the glottis is always closed.

Initial, *pea*, *tea*, *key* = (p < ii, t < ii, k < ii);

Medial after the force accent, *peeping*, *eating*, *leaking* = (p < ii > p < iq, ii > t < iq, lii > k < iq).

Medial, preceding but not following a vowel under the force accent, *repay*, *pretend*, *accuse* = (rip < ee'j·, prit < e·nd', uk < iuu·zs).

Medial, preceding a consonant on to which it does not glide, that is, with which it cannot form an initial combination, *adapted*, *pitfall*, *active* = (udæ· > pt < ed, pi· > tfAAl, æ· > kt < iv).

Medial, doubled, a case of the last, distinguished however by a sensible pause marked (ı), *cap-pin*, *boot-tree*, *book-case* = (kæ· > pıp < in, buu· > tıt < rii, bu· > kık < ee'js).

Final, before a pause, *cap*, *boot*, *book* = (kæ > p < ', buu > t < ', bu > k < '), otherwise it is treated as medial, but may be emphatically doubled, as (kæ > pıp < ', buu > tıt < ', bu > kık < ').

These differences are not usually distinguished in phonetic writing, and from their regularity seldom require to be noticed. But irregularities must be marked, as (kæ > t) or (kæt!) to shew the absence of the second glide (kæ > t < '). Mr. Sweet's remarks on Danish syllabication (Philol. Trans. 1873–4, pp. 94–112) must be carefully

8. (t)—*continued.*

considered by all who would enter upon these phonetic mysteries, which are far from having been yet fully revealed.

(*eet*, *ée*'jt). The vowel begins at once, in properly spoken English, and is not preceded by any whisper. The whole organs are placed in the proper position for (*ee*), and the glottis is closed ready for voice, firmly, but not so tightly that the chords must be forced asunder by explosion. The vowel thus commences with a clean edge, so to speak, noted thus (‚*ee*), and here called the "clear attack" or "glottid," but by teachers of singing the "shock of the glottis." But if there is an air-tight closure which has to be forced open, we have the "check attack" or "glottid," or "catch of the glottis," the Arabic hamza, noted thus (;*ee*), which is considered as a defect in English speech, though common in German. It is, however, not unfrequent to hear vowels commenced with a "gradual attack" or "glottid," during which breath shades through whisper into voice, and the precise commencement of the vowel cannot be readily determined, and this may possibly have been the Greek "spiritus lenis," which will be noted thus (*ee*). In singing this produces "breathiness." It is not recognized in speech, but is possibly one of the causes of so-called aspiration and non-aspiration, and of the difficulty felt by so many English speakers in determining whether a vowel is aspirated or not. It is mere carelessness of utterance. But here it may be noted that these "glottids" or "attacks" may also be "rideness," that is, a vowel may *end* as well as *begin* "clearly," as (tuu), which is the regular English form, or with the check or "catch," as (tuu;), as frequently in Danish before a subsequent consonant, or gradually, as (tuu‚). Now this gradation consists, initially, in beginning the vowel with the glottis open, closing it rapidly, during which the edges of the vocal chords approach very closely before contact, producing first the effect of whisper, and then of voice, so that we have (ʰee → ʸ → e). In ending we should get in reverse order, (e → ʸ → ʰee). This is what is meant by the notation (pee), or (tuu‚). Now if there be a little longer repose

8. (*eet*, *ée*'jt)—*continued.*

on the pure voiceless sounds, so that the (ʰee) or (ʰuu) becomes sensible, it is clear that (piip, peep) will appear to begin or end with a sound like (*zh*), and (puup, peep) with a sound like (wh). This seems to be the origin of the Danish terminational (*zh*, wh), while the initial forms generate the aspirates, or an approach to them, differing in the manner considered in No. 14, (wh). How far these terminations are usual in English, I am unable to say. There is often so much loss of force that it is difficult to observe. But certainly distinct (*zh*, wh) final are not frequent in received pronunciation; and distinct (*zh*, wh) initial would be scouted at once as a vulgarly intruded aspirate. In No. 14, (wh), where the whole subject will be systematically considered, it will be seen that this final (ʰ) represents the Sanscrit visarga.

After the vowel is commenced, it is continued a very short time, and glides either on to (*i*), as already explained, or on to (t). But if it glides on to (*i*), it does not do so till its energy is much diminished, so that, in received pronunciation, (*ée*'j) never approaches the character of a close diphthong, as *i* in *fine*, or (*éi*), in which the (*é*) is strong and short and the force is continued on to the (*i*), which may be lengthened and then die away. In (*ée*'j) the force dies away first, and the glide on to (j) is scarcely audible, being absorbed into the glide on to (t). Also, as a long vowel, the (*ee*) or (*ée*'j) must have a very short glide on to (t). Indeed Prof. Haldeman's short (*et*) has the character of a long vowel, by the shortness and weakness of its glide on to (t); whereas a really "stopped" (*e*) would come strongly and firmly on to (t), which would be "lengthened," as (*et*,t'). It is more by the mode in which vowels glide on to following consonants, than by the actual length of the vowels, considered independently of their glides, that the feeling of length of vowels in closed syllables arises in English pronunciation. See Mr. Sweet's rule in No. 14, (p).

9. BOOK, (buk).

(b). The relations of mute or voiceless (b, d, g) to sonant or voiced (p, t, k) should be well under-

9. (b)—*continued.*

stood. In English (p,ii, t,ii, k,ii) the voice begins with the clear attack (,) at the moment the closure is released. In (b,ii, d,ii, g,ii) the voice begins in the same way, *before* the closure is released, but for so short a time that the voice may be said to begin *as the contact is released.* Now Germans, when they really distinguish (p, b), etc., begin the voice in (pɟii, tɟii, kɟii) with a gradual attack, giving a hiss; and they allow the voice to sound through the (b), etc., *before* the release of the closure, which may be written ('bii, 'dii, 'gii). The breath not being able to escape blows out the neck like a turkey-cock's, and hence is called a blow-out-sound or Blählaut by German phoneticians, which we may translate *inflatus.* It is not possible to continue this inflatus long without allowing breath to escape by the nose; but to produce a real (m, n, q) *after* ('b, 'd, 'g), is not possible without producing a loud thud by the withdrawal of the uvula from the back of the pharynx, requiring a strong muscular effort, because the compressed air in the mouth forces the uvula into very close contact with the pharynx. It is probable then that ('bmii, 'dnii, 'qgii), do not occur monosyllabically. But it is quite easy to begin with the nasal resonance, and *then* cut it off by the uvula, which has air on both sides, and hence can act freely. Hence (mbii, ndii, qgii) are easy, and have generated the sounds of (b, d, g) in modern Greek. Some phoneticians (I have forgotten to note the passages) even make (b, d, g) necessarily nasal. They are not so in English. But there is often a semi-nasal (b‚, d‚, g‚) occasioned by insufficient nasal resonance, arising from catarrh, when the speaker intends (m, n, q), but cannot perfect them, see (1096, *d*'), and one of these, (b‚), in perhaps a slightly different form, is an element of Westmoreland and Cumberland speech. It is possible entirely to cut off the voice before proceeding to the vowel, without creating the impression of a new syllable, hence (mpii, ntii, qkii) are possible, and seem actually to occur together with (mbii, ndii, qgii) in some South African languages. In English initial (b, d, g), however, nothing of this inflatus or nasality is customary. In middle Germany, where the distinctions (p b, ‚t ‚d) are practically unknown, comparatively few being able to say (pɟii 'bii, ‚tɟii '‚dii), recourse is had to what Brücke and M. Bell consider as whispering instead of voicing, using ('bii, '‚dii) only. Merkel, however, who is a native of Upper Saxony, where the sounds are indigenous, denies this, and asserts that he really says ('ᵓpii, 'ᵓtii) implosively. See (1097, *e*'.) Observe that ('ᵓkii) is not common in Saxony, because (knii, gjhii, ghaa) are heard. Perhaps also true (g) is heard initially; I do not feel sure. But certainly *k*, *g* are always distinguished initially, and *p*, *b* or *t*, *d* are always confused initially, in Saxony.

9. (b)—*continued.*

When (b, d, g) are medial between two vowels, there is in English a complete passage of the voice through them, without any sensible sustention of the sounds, as *baby*, *needy*, *plaguy* (*bee*· > b < *i*, nii· > d < *i*, pl*ee*· > g < *i*), and there seems to be no slackening of the closure, and consequently no buzz, the sound being produced entirely by internal condensation of the air. In German, however, such (b, g) readily pass into (bh, gh), as *schreiben*, *tage* = (shrai·bhun, taa·ghu), of which the first is not, but the second is, received. But for (d), or rather (‚d), nothing of the kind occurs, neither (‚d,z) nor (‚dh) being developed. On the other hand, medial (d, dh), a coronal and a dental, but more often (‚d, dh), interchange dialectally in English. In Spanish (b, bh) are not distinguished even initially. That similar habits prevailed in Semitic languages we know by their alphabets, ב, ד, ג, being (b bh, d dh, g gh) according to circumstances. The English received pronunciation is therefore peculiarly neat, and more like French and Italian in this respect.

Final (b, d, g), before a pause, are intentionally the same as when initial, the voice ending as the closure begins, or not being sensibly sustained during the closure; but the glide up to the consonant being continued into the closure, gives the vowel an appearance of greater length. Sometimes, however, the voice is sensibly prolonged during closure, and as this is uncomfortable, the closure is relaxed before the voice ceases, and we have effects like (b*ee*b', diid', gæg'), or (b*ee*b‚b', diid‚d', gæg‚g'), which are often pain-

9. (b)—*continued.*

fully evident in public speakers. I frequently noticed these sounds in the declamation of the late Mr. Macready. It is often greatly exaggerated in provincial tragedianism. It is, however, so far as I have observed, not customary to drop the voice before releasing contact, and then to open upon a windrush, as (beeb)p', diid)t', gæg)k'). This would, I think, produce to an English ear too much of the effect of simple (beep', diit', gæk'), which would be unintelligible. It seems however probable that this is the history of the German and Dutch habit of always taking these finals as mute. In Dutch indeed this is slightly controlled by the action of the following consonant. This action is quite unknown in English, except in such a word as *cupboard* = (kə'bɹd), but deserves to be noted as occurring in so closely related a language. The Dutch rule according to Donders (*op. cit.* p. 23), which is corroborated by Land (*op. cit.* p. 31), is as follows:—

"With the exception of the nasals, when two consonants come together, however different their character, both must be voiced, or both voiceless. Whenever in two syllables or words spoken separately, one would be voiced and the other voiceless, one must be altered to agree with the other, according to the following rules.

1). "Before voiced *b* and *d*, every consonant is voiced, as, zee*p*bak, o*p*doen, strij*k*bout [this is the only way in which (g) can occur in Dutch], stie*f*broeder, daa*r*bij, sti*k*douker, mi*s*daad, he*g*doorn, etc. [where *p*, *k*, *f*, *r*, *s*, *g* = (b, g, v, r, z, gh).] But *t* sometimes remains, as: 't ligt *d*aar, pronounced 't licht *t*aar [compare Orrmin's þatt tiss (491, *be*), þatt teȝȝ (491, *e*)].

2). "Voiced *w*, *v*, *z*, *g*, *j*, *l*, and *r* lose their voice after every preceding consonant, except *r*. We pronounce: vroe*t*frouw, buu*r*vrouw, — stie*f*soon, voo*r*zoon, — a*f*ekrond, voo*r*grond, — loo*p*jongen (*pj* voiceless), voo*r*jaar (*rj* voiced), etc. [where *tf*, *rv*, — *fs*, *rz*, — *fch*, *rg*, — *pj*, *rj* = (tf, rv, — fs, rz, — fkh, rgh, — pɟh, rɟ), the original Dutch letters being, *tv*, *rr*, — *fz*, *rz*, — *fg*, *rg*, — *pj*, *rj*, respectively.]

3). "Before the nasals all consonants except *r* are or become voiceless. [This rule is questioned by Land.]

9. (b)—*continued.*

"After a nasal each consonant preserves its own character."

Land remarks, that the first rule does not hold in English, where Bra*d*ford and pla*t*form, ba*ck*bone and bu*g*bear are differently treated; and that according to the same rule every final consonant in Dutch is pronounced voiceless, as *bet*, *breet*, *ik hep*, *ik mach*; but that it is different in English, where *back* and *bag*, *hat* and *had*, *cup* and *cub*, are carefully distinguished; and so, he adds, in Friesic we hear *breed*, and not *breet*.

In English the difference between such combinations as the following is felt to be so great that we instinctively wonder at any ears being dull enough to confuse them, unaware how very dull our own ears are to distinctions which other nations feel with equal acuteness: *pip bib*; *pat pad*, *bat bad*; *puck pug*, *buck bug*; *tip dip*, *tub dub*; *tuck tug*, *duck dug*; *give me the bag do, and him a bag too, and then give it me back do, and his back too.* A German or a Dutchman would flounder helplessly and hopelessly in these quicksands.

(*u*). This vowel differs from (u), as (*i*) from (i), and just as an Englishman finds (bit) very difficult and (bît) easy, so (buk) is to him easy, and the Scotchman's (buk) so difficult, that he puts it down as (buuk), heard in Yorkshire. Distinguish also English *pull* (pul) and French *poule* (pul) from each other, and from *pool* (puul), heard for *pull* in Shropshire. The throat is widened for (*u*). The well-marked (o^1) or (u_o), already mentioned (1107, *d'*), must be borne in mind. To a southern Englishman (bo^1k, bu_ok) are riddles; at least, very thick, fat, clumsy pronunciations of his (buk), which, to a Scot, is itself a thick, fat, clumsy pronunciation of (buk). Refinement of pronunciation has entirely local value. It is easy to pronounce (*u*) without rounding the lips, and this must be the way that a cuckoo gets out his cry, or a parrot says (p*u*s), as I distinctly heard one call out the other day (4th May, 1873). It seems as if we produced the roundness by contracting the arches of the soft palate at the entrance to the mouth. This mode of "rounding" I propose to mark by (^{u}), thus ($p^u u^u s$), implying

9. (*u*)—*continued.*

that (p*u*) are imitated in this manner, the lips remaining open. See (1116, *b'*).

(k). The back of the tongue is raised to contact with the soft palate so much in the position of (*u*) that the glide is short, sharp, and but little marked. The relation of the gutturals (k, g) to (uu, *uu*) renders the labialisations (k*w*, g*w*) easy and common (208, *c*), and there is no difficulty in disposing the back of the tongue for (u), while the tip is in the (t, d) position, hence (t*w*, d*w*) are also easy (209, *a*). Prof. Whitney, whose phonetic appreciation is acute, and who has much studied pronunciation, regards these "labial modifications of vowels and consonants" to be "a special weakness" on my part and Mr. Bell's. "With one who can hold the initial consonant sound of *dwell*, for example, to be not a *w* with a *d* prefixed, but a labially modified *d*, we should not expect to agree in an analysis of the *wh* sound" (Oriental and Linguistic Studies, New York, 1873, p. 271). I was, however, never satisfied with the analysis (tw*i*st, dwel). The passage from (t) to (w) created a glide which I could not recognize as usual. I tried (tu*i*st, du*é*l), which are easier, but then I missed the characteristic (w) effect. It was not till on studying Mr. Bell's Visible Speech, and finding him classify (w) as a mixed gutturalised labial, and consequently (g*w*h) as a mixed labialised guttural, that the explanation occurred to me, which is simply that "wherever the position of a consonant can be practically assumed at *the same time* as the positions for (i, u), they *are so* assumed by speakers to whom these combinations are easy." This brought palatalisations and labialisations under the same category. As we have (kj, gj, tj, dj, lj, nj), and might have (pj, bj), which apparently occur in Russian, so we might have (k*w*, g*w*, t*w*, d*w*, l*w*, n*w*), and even (p*w*, b*w*), which are related to (p, b) much as (kj, gj) are to (k, g). I found (k*w*, g*w*, t*w*, d*w*) the most satisfactory explanations to me of English sounds; and I seemed to recognize them in French *quoi*, *toi*, *dois* (k*w*a, ˌt*w*a, ˌd*w*a), and similarly *loi*, *noix*, *roi* (ˌl*w*a, ˌn*w*a, r*w*a). It was satisfactory to me that Prince Louis Lucien Bonaparte, who

9. (*k*)—*continued.*

must certainly be allowed to understand French pronunciation, adopted these views, added to my list *soi*, *choix*, *joie*, (s*w*a, sh*w*a, zh*w*a), and completed the conception by admitting palato-labialisations, arising from attempting to combine (y), or (i, u) simultaneously, with consonants, as in *lui*, *nuit*, *fui*, *chuintant*, *juin*, which would have to be written (ˌl*w*ji, ˌn*w*ji, f*w*ji, sh*w*jEAtaA, zh*w*jEA). As in French (lj, nj) are said to be *mouillée*, so he terms (ˌl*w*, ˌn*w*), etc., *veloutée*, and (l*w*j, n*w*j), etc., *fuitée*. Theoretically the existence of such combinations as (lj, ˌl*w*, l*w*j), etc., is perfectly conceivable and executable. The only question is, are they used in such words? This is a matter of observation. Prof. Whitney observes (tw*i*st, dwel); I observe in myself, at least, (t*w*ist, d*w*el). Mr. Bell writes (tw, dw), and also (kw), although he admits (k*w*h), the Scotch *quh*, which bears the same relation to (k*w*) as (kh) to (k). The simple character of (k*w*) may have prevented the *qu* from making "position" in Latin; but the initial character of (kw), like that of a mute and a liquid, may have had a similar effect. We have (g*w*) in *guano* (g*w*aa·no). Sometimes there is both palatalisation or labialisation of the consonant and an inserted vowel. Thus the old-fashioned *cart*, *regard*, *sky*, are seldom pure (kjaa't, rigjaa'·d, skjə'i), but often (kjiâa't, rigjiâa'·d, skjiə'i), and it is possible that *quill*, *quell*, *quantity*, may be occasionally (k*w*uil, k*w*uél, k*w*uə'n·titi), but I have not noted it. On the other hand, Italian *quale*, *quanto*, *questo*, sound to me rather (kuâ·le, kuâ·nt*u*h, kué·st*u*h), than (k*w*a–) or (k*w*uâ—), etc. The same is probably the case in Spanish *cuanto*, etc. But I doubt a real (kwa –) anywhere. One great source of difference between German and English *quell* seems to arise from the two German consonants, thus (kbhEl).

(b*u*k). The voice begins *in* (b), and is carried through (*u*) to (k), where it is sharply and suddenly cut off. For the effect of (k) final see No. 8, (t).

10. WATCH, Bell's (wAtsh), my (wɔt,sh).

(w). See No. 1, (w).

10. (ʌ, ɔ).

(ʌ, ɔ). With Mr. Bell, I used to consider that *wa* represented (wʌ), rather than (wɔ), and I have previously given (wʌtsh) as the pronunciation (56, *a*). But on further observation I think that (wʌ) is not so common as (wɔ), and that when (wʌ) is used, the (ʌ) is apt to become of medial length, so that the unpleasant drawling effect (wʌʌt,sh) results, where I introduce a new method of marking the length of a vowel in palaeotype. Hitherto I have only used (a, aa) for short and long, and (aaa) for protracted. As this is not enough for theoretical purposes, I propose to use (^{a}, a, a^a, aa, aa^a, aaa) as a scale of six, very short, short, medial, long, very long, protracted. This superior vowel must not be used after another vowel of a different form, as that would militate against the notation (e^i) on (1107, *d*), so that if we wished to write short (e) followed by very short (i), we must write (e^{i}i), according to the usual notation. The short vowel-sound in *watch* is almost invariably (ɔ) in England, but the medial sound is perhaps common in America. The difference between (ʌ) and (ɔ) is very slight, and both are nearly peculiar to English. Practically (ʌ) belongs to the (a) group, and (ɔ) to the (o) group. Foreigners hear (ʌ) as (a) or (*a*), and (ɔ) as (o) or (*o*). The differences are, however, important. The vowels (ʌ, ɔ) differ from (*o*, o) strictly by the depression of the back of the tongue, which, in the diagram (14, *c*, No. 7), is not given low enough for my pronunciation. But (ʌ) differs from (*a*) by a slight "rounding," the corners of the lips being brought a little together for (ʌ) (14, *d*, No. 12), whereas for (*a*) they are quite apart. Also according to Mr. Bell, (ʌ) is a primary and (*a*) with (ɔ) are "wide" vowels. I must own that (ʌ) feels to me when speaking "wider" than (ɔ), that is, to be pronounced with an opener pharynx. Still the concinnity of the vowel system points to the other arrangement, as shewn on p. 14, and I am probably wrong. The various degrees of opening of the lips in rounding should be observed, the three degrees, p. 14, diagram Nos. 10, 11, 12, being in English reserved for (u, *o*, ʌ). But in Danish we have varieties. Thus Mr. Sweet observes (Philological Trans. 1873–4, p. 102): "In Danish the two

10. (ʌ, ɔ)—*continued.*

lower articulations (*o*, ʌ), while preserving the same tongue position as English and most other languages," [that is, those of diagram Nos. 4, 7], "have undergone what may be called a 'lippenverschiebung,'" [lip-prolation, may be an admissible translation, *prolation* being nearest to *verschiebung*], "(*o*) being pronounced with the labialisation or 'rounding' of (u), and (ʌ) with that of (*o*), (u) itself remaining unchanged." [I propose to write this effect thus (o_u, $ʌ_o$), the principal form giving the position of the tongue, and the subscribed that of the lips. Note the different meaning ascribed to the superior (o^u) or a sound between (*o*) and (u), but apparently more like (*o*), given on (1107, *d*), and note also the *fourth* kind of rounding just symbolised by (^{4}) on (1114, *d'*)]. "This abnormal rounding gives a peculiar cavernous effect to the vowels, and makes it difficult, especially for a foreigner, to distinguish them accurately." See (799, *d*). Prince Louis Lucien Bonaparte seemed to me to imitate the cavernosity by protruding the lips in a funnel shape, which we may write †, (11, *cd*), so that he made Swedish *o* and *u* to be (u†, y†). Mr. Sweet says the Swedes and Norwegians use (ʊ) for (u), "which in Norwegian had the additional peculiarity of being unilaterally rounded, at least in some dialects," and would therefore be (ʊ^5) "In Swedish this (o_u) has been moved up nearly into the place of the (u), but in Norwegian it is formed as in Danish. The consequence is that the Norwegians are quite unable to pronounce the (u) in foreign languages." (*ibid.*) In some Yorkshire people I have observed a tendency to pronounce (ʌʌ) in the direction of (o), so that the effect hovered between (ɔ) and (o), and for that reason might be written (ɔ^o). Southerners accuse them of saying (*ool* k*oo*z), for (ʌʌl kʌʌz), *all cause.* It is possible that this sound is properly (ʌ$_o$). It deserves investigation, if only from the Scandinavian relations of Yorkshire.

We may note generally that (ʌʌ) is an extremely difficult vowel for foreigners, and it is seldom reached. Even Scotchmen are apt to confuse it with (*a*). But conversely Englishmen confuse even foreign (a) with (ʌ). The German (*a*) is so confidently considered as (ʌʌ), that (ʌʌ) is known among English orthoepists as the German A!

10. (ʌ, ɔ)—*continued.*

Again the broad (oo) of our dialects is by dialectal writers almost always written *au*, meaning (ʌʌ); and the Italian *o aperto*, in syllables where it is taken as long, is called (ʌʌ), as (nʌʌ, bwʌʌ·no) for (no, buó·nuh), *no*, *buono*. Italians themselves say (aa) rather than (oo) for English (ʌʌ). Both vowels (ʌʌ, ɔ), with the true lip rounding, are, as already observed, almost peculiarly English. I have reason to doubt whether (ʌʌ) is really heard in India, or Persia, or Austria, which are the only places, beside England, where, so far as I know, it may be at home.

Hence also the diphthong (ʌ'*i*, ɔ'*i*) is rare out of England. For its English origin from (úi, ói) see (131, *a*. 270, *a*. 1101, *c*). The Danish *rög* is written (rɔʒ) by Mr. Sweet (*ibid*. p. 107), but this means (rɔ̝ʒ). This, however, to my ears, is the nearest foreign diphthong to our (ɔ'*i*). The German *eu* I am accustomed to call (ɔ'*i*) myself, and perhaps in the North of Germany it fully reaches that sound. I think, however, that (ói) would be a more correct representation of the North German sound. For the Middle German I hear (*äi*, *ay*). Rapp does not properly distinguish (o, ɔ), and in Italian does not distinguish close and open *o*. Hence although he makes the English short *o* to be his *ó*, I shall transcribe it (o), as I believe he pronounces it. He says: (*Phys. d. Spr.* 4, 19): "Theory has been greatly troubled with German *eu*. Feeling the inconvenience of confusing *eu* with *ei* (ái) in Middle Germany, theoreticians thought that with *ai*, *au*, they could associate an analogous *aü* (áy), which however does not readily unite with them, even when really pronounced, as indeed is commonly the case, only as *ae*, *ao*, *aö*, (*áe*, *áo*, *áœ*). On the other hand, the Northern, Dutch, and low German (ɔ i, ɔ'*e*) presented itself, as at least intentionally different from *ai* (ái), and as (ɔ) was no German sound [Rapp identifies it with French *de me que*], it was advanced to *ói ói* (ói ói), so that there resulted a diphthongal triad *ai au ói* (ái áu ói), which is completely identical with the English and also the old Latin *ae*, *au*, *oe*, and of which we can at least say that they are the three most convenient diphthongs for the organs of speech. Later on, the want of the intermediate sound in *ói* (ói) was felt, and to avoid this objection, a rather difficult but not ill-sounding diphthong *óü* (óy) was theoretically acknowledged, and although an extremely artificial product, pretty well satisfied all requirements. Those provinces that possess (ɔ'i ɔ'u) are the real causes of establishing (ɔ'y) as *óü* (óy), whereas those that acknowledge *a*-diphthongs only will always incline to the low Saxon *ói* (ói). The diphthongs are always affected by a following nasal, so that when radical *ein aun eun* are not called (á,in á,un á,in), for which last (ó,in) would be preferable, they come out as (áen, áon, óen), and any theory will find it difficult to produce (nóyn fróynd) with sensible (y) without an appearance of affectation. . . . German theoreticians who are so *learned in scripture* (*Schriftgelehrt*) that they insist on having *a* heard in *au*, and *e* in *ei* (not an *e* in *eu* also, or, for the sake of *a*, *e*, *o*, an *o* perhaps?), are, thank heaven! so rare, that we need not speak of them." Brücke (Ueber eine neue Methode der phonetischen Transscription, Wien, 1863, p. 53), transcribes *bäume*, *neues*, *verträumtem* by characters equivalent to (báy·me^{ə} náy·e^{ə}s fer,tráy·mte^{ə}n), where (e^{ə}) indicates an "imperfectly formed *e*," that is, he, a low Saxon, adopts the theoretical (áy). As Englishmen's views of the identity of German *eu* with their own *oy* are generally very ill based, I thought it better to give the views of German phoneticians on the subject. But the arguments of Rapp seem to leave out of consideration the organic development of language without any reference to writing, so that he lays himself open to the very "learning in scripture" which he ridicules.

(t). This is a medial (>t<), see No. 8 (t).

(sh, ˌsh). For the distinction of (s,sh) and (sh,ˌsh) see No. 6 (s). This advanced (ˌsh) may be distinctly heard in saying *watch* with a very protracted hiss (wɔtˌshˌshˌsh); and after a little practice it is possible to say (ˌsh) without the crutch of (t). Mr. Sweet says he is inclined to accept this analysis. Prof. Haldeman says that instead of advancing (sh) to (ˌsh), he retracts (t) to (ˌt?), which comes to the same thing.

10. (sh, ˌsh)—*continued.*

At any rate, the ordinary English (t, sh) are not *both* heard in wa*tch*.

This (ˌsh) is apparently the true Roman *c* in *dieci*, *cinque* (ˌdiɛ'ˌshi, ˌshiq·kuɛ́), which Englishmen hear as (di*ee*·shi, shiq·kw*e*). This is, therefore, the Italian derivative from Latin (*k*). How far the (t) is developed, further observations are required to shew, but the following (translated) notes in *F. Valentini's* Gründliche Lehre der Italienischen Aussprache (Berlin, 1834), are worth quoting, as being written by a Roman who was thoroughly acquainted with German, in which *sch*, *tsch*, *zsch*, for (sh, tsh), are common. He says (*ibid.* p. 15, note): "The correct pronunciation of the Italian syllables *ce*, *ci*, *cia*, *cio*, after a vowel, as heard from all educated Romans and Tuscans, cannot be completely represented by *German* signs; they should properly be heard from a teacher conversant with good pronunciation. The following examples will serve to shew that these syllables in this case are as distinct from their ordinary value as from *see*, *sci*, *scia*, *scio*. In *facce*, faces, the *c* sounds exactly like *tsch*; in *fasce*, swaddlings, the vowel is stopped, and the final *sce* thus becomes harder; in *face*, torches, and all similar cases, the vowel is lengthened, and *ce* consequently receives that peculiar softness already mentioned. All three sounds are heard in the following line of Tasso:

Gli u*cci*derò, faronne *ace*rbi *see*mpj,—
Ger. Lib. 1, 87, 3,"
4th stanza from end.

He proceeds to say that the best writers have constantly written *sce* for *ce*, thus *arbucello arbuscello*, *bracia brascia*, *baci basci*, etc., and that "in the Lombard dialects *ce*, *ci*, after a vowel, fall into a very soft *s* or *z*, as *vesin*, *disi*, *sazerdott*, for *vicino*, *dici*, *sacerdote*." The examples *facce*, *fasce*, *face*, are possibly meant to differ as (fa·t·ˌt.sh*e*) or (fa·ˌ.sh*e*), (faa·.she, faa·ˌsh*e*).

The combination (ˌt.sh), or else (ˌsh), is developed where (sh) does not occur, as in Spanish, just as (ˌd.zh) or (ˌzh) is found in Italian, where (zh), the buzz of (sh), is unknown, and (d.zh) has been common for centuries in English, where (zh) in *vision* (vi·zhun) is quite a recent development. In English (tˌsh), which I have hitherto written and shall generally write (tsh), was developed from ags. (*k*), see (204, *d*), where the

10. (sh, ˌsh)—*continued.*

relation of (kj, tj) to (tsh) will require revision, if (ˌsh) and not (tˌsh) is the original derivative from (*k*). In quite recent English (tˌsh) has been developed from (ti) before (*ú*), as in the termination *-ture*, in *nature* (nee·tˌshɪ).

To the absence of an independent (ˌsh) may perhaps be attributed the persistence with which (tˌsh) initial, being only (t < ˌsh <), is considered a simple letter, and *ch* or *tch* final in *such*, *much*, *crutch*, which is (> t < ˌsh), has been taken to be the result of prefixing (t) to the former simple sound. To the same cause I attribute the dispute as to the final sounds in *inch*, *lunch*, *launch*, *drench*, which some analyze as (sh), and others as (tsh). Now the position of the tongue for (n) being the same as that for (t), the full analysis may be (*i*-n-nh-ˌsh) or (*i*-n-nh-t-ˌsh), or simply (*i*-n-t-ˌsh) or (*i*-n-ˌsh). But in the plural *inches*, I myself use a distinct (t), thus, (*i*·nˌtˌshezs), and to my ear (*i*·nˌshez) is unusual. Mr. Bell uses (-nhtsh-).

The sound (tˌsh), as I hear it, is the Hungarian *cs*, the Polish *cz*, and 24th Russian letter. As I pronounce Polish *szcz*, the 26th Russian letter, I seem to prolong (sh) or (ˌsh), and for an instant touch the palate with the tip of the tongue in the middle of the hiss, checking it momentarily and producing two hiss-glides, thus (sh > t < sh), or (ˌshˌtˌsh), for the *t* is probably (ˌt). The Germans write the sound *schtsch*. That *ch* in English *cheese* has a prefixed (t), may be felt very distinctly by pronouncing (tˌshi, tˌsh*e*, tˌsha, tˌshA, tˌsho, tˌshu) with great rapidity, when the beat of the tongue against the palate will be felt as markedly as in rapid (ti, t*e*, ta, tA, t*o*, tu). It is convenient also to practise (shi, sh*e*, sha, shA, sh*o*, shu), and (ˌshi, ˌsh*e*, ˌsha, ˌshA, ˌsh*o*, ˌshu).

Notwithstanding the confidence I feel in the diphthongal nature of *ch* in *cheese* as = (tˌsh), yet strong opinions of a different nature are entertained. Prince L. L. Bonaparte can hear no difference between English *ch* in *cheese* and Italian *ci*, and this he considers to be the simple (ˌsh), a continuant, which he can prolong indefinitely, and which, when so prolonged, suggests a (t) throughout. On the other hand Mr. Goodwin (1093, *d*'), no mean observer, considers *ch* in *chest* and *j* in *jest* to be

10. (sh, ʒh)—*continued.*

explodents, which I will mark by the new characters (kʝ, gʝ), the latter written as an undotted j crossed; see (1094, *c*). These are the real explodents corresponding to (ʒh, ʒ), or Mr. Bell's 2*e*, 2*l*, on p. 15, which he too hastily confused with my (tj, dj). Observe that in (t, d) the tip, and in (k, g) the back, of the tongue touches the palate; then for (tj, dj), without removing the tip, bring the middle of the tongue against the palate, and for (kj, gj), without removing the back, also bring the middle of the tongue against the palate. Hence for (tj, dj) the *front* two-thirds, and for (kj, gj) the *back* two-thirds, of the tongue touch the palate. But for (kʝ, gʝ) only the *middle third* of the tongue touches the palate, thus producing a real explodent, which, as Mr. Nicol pointed out to me, is the sound indicated by Mr. Bell's Visible Speech symbol. To succeed in pronouncing them at first, keep the tip of the tongue down by burying it below the lower gums; and to prevent the back of the tongue from rising to the (k) position, think of (t), which of course cannot be pronounced when the tip of the tongue is kept down. Make the effect of (kʝa) perfectly sharp, by beginning with a closed glottis (1097, *b*), and come quietly on to the vowel without any escape of unvocalised breath. A little practice is necessary to avoid (kj, gj) on the one hand, and (t,sh, d,zh) on the other, but the sound has a philological value which makes it worth while understanding. These (kʝ, gʝ) are Mr. Goodwin's *c*, *j*, in the following remarks (*ibid.* p. 9):

"C (*ch* in *chin*) is manifestly a simple elementary consonant, and a *lene*. It is produced by placing a certain portion of the tongue near the tip, but not the tip itself, against a certain part of the palate, and, after pressure, suddenly withdrawing it with a violent emission of breath. It has no *t*-sound in its composition, for neither the tip of the tongue nor the teeth are used in its production. Neither does it end in an *sh*-sound, for, in that case, it could be prolonged *ad libitum*, which the true *c* (*ch* English) cannot be. Moreover, it does not begin with any one sound, and end with another, but is the same simple sound throughout its whole extent. It may be shewn by a similar experiment, and proof, that *j* is a simple elementary sound. It bears the same relation to *c* (kʝ) that *g* does to *k*, or any other lene sonant to its corresponding lene surd." That the true *ch* cannot be prolonged *ad libitum*, no other writer, so far as I am aware, has asserted, except in the sense that its prolongation, like that of all diphthongs, differs from its commencement. In connection with these remarks of Mr. Goodwin, it seems best to cite what he says about (sh, zh), to which I must prefix his curious remark on aspirates, a subject which will have to be especially considered in No. 14, (wh). He says (*ibid.* p. 8):

"Each of the aspirates might have been represented by a single character; but, as *h* represents a simple breathing or aspiration, and as all the aspirates are similarly combined with such a breathing, and those of them which are used in English are generally so represented, we have chosen to represent them all as combined with *h*. We do not mean by this to intimate that the sound of *h* is *added* to the respective *lenes*—for in that case the aspirates would not be simple sounds—but that it is combined with them throughout their whole extent. They are *simple*, therefore, under our definition; and if in any sense compound, they are so by a sort of chemical composition, in distinction from a mechanical aggregate or mixture. *Kh*, for example, is not equal to $k+h$, but to $k \times h$. This we consider a true aspiration; while the sound of *h*, added after a consonant, no more renders that consonant a true aspirate, than it does the following consonant or vowel. We do not doubt there are such aspirates ('so called') in other languages, as in the Sanscrit, for example; but we here speak of the strict propriety of the term."

[p. 9]. "*Sh* is not the aspirate of *s*, that is, it is not related to *s* as *th* to *t*, *ph* to *p*, etc., as any one may ascertain by a simple experiment of pronunciation. *S* is more dental than palatal, *sh* is not dental at all. But *sh* is related to *c* (kʝ) precisely as any other aspirate to its lene; that is, if you place the organs as if to produce *c* (kʝ), but instead of bringing them into perfect contact, retain a slight passage between for the constant egress of the breath, modifying it, as it goes out, by this specific ap-

10. (sh, ʻsh)—*continued.*

proximation of the organs to a state of contact, you will have a perfect *sh*. *Zh* is plainly related to *j*, as *sh* to *c* (kɟ)." [This is incorrect, the result is (ɟh).] "The *s* and *z*, as sibilants, are peculiar, but in respect of the *organs* employed in their articulation, they furnish a transition between the palatal *c* (kɟ), etc., and the dentals *t*, etc.; and in respect to the *mode* of their articulation, they are to be reckoned among the aspirates rather than the lenes. Their lenes would be a certain unpronounceable medium between *c* (kɟ) and *t* and between *j* (gɟ) and *d* respectively."

The systematic terms, *lenes et aspiratae*, should be discarded, as they tend to produce great confusion, and the precise mode of generating each individual sound should be studied, as we study individuals in natural history, before we attempt to classify them, except provisionally. The grammarians' provisional and extremely imperfect classification of *lenes et aspiratae* has been long antiquated.

When Mr. Gupta visited me (1096, *a*), I was astonished to find that his pronunciation of च ज was not the (tʻsh dʻzh) usually laid down in books as the modern pronunciation, nor the (kj gj) usually theoretically supposed to be the ancient sounds, but exactly and unmistakably (kɟ gɟ) as just described. This must be also the real ancient sound, and it solves every difficulty. In Mr. Gupta's pronunciation (kɟ) was as pure and unmixed with any hiss as an English (k). The post-aspirated forms will be considered in No. 14, (wh). Corresponding to these (kɟ gɟ) there must be of course a nasal (qɟ), which however only occurs immediately before them, and is hence a generated sound, just as (q) itself in Sanscrit; but it is certainly *not* (nj) as usually assumed, for the point of the tongue does not touch the palate; nor (qj), corresponding to (kj, gj), for the back of the tongue never reaches the (k)-position. The Sanscrit explodents now become perfectly intelligible. क the usual (k) with the back of the tongue *only*, and neither the middle nor the tip, in contact with the palate. च the present (kɟ), with the middle of the tongue *only*, and neither the back nor the tip, in contact with the palate. ट with the tip of the tongue *only*, and neither the

10. (sh, ʻsh)—*continued.*

back nor middle, in contact with the *palate*, and not the teeth, written (ᴛ), for one of the forms (ʻt, t), that is either retracted or coronal, not gingival nor dental, nor citra-dental (t†). त with the tip of the tongue *only* against the teeth *only*, not against the palate. The sides of the tongue in all cases have to complete the closure. The series may then be completed thus:

(ᴋ) back of *retracted* tongue against extreme back of palate.
(k) back of tongue against palate.
(kj) back and middle of tongue against it.
(kɟ) middle of tongue against it.
(tj) middle and tip of tongue against it.
(ʻt ᴛ t) tip of tongue against palate in various places from furthest back to crown or base of gums.
(ʻt) tip of tongue against upper *teeth*.
(ˌˌt) tip of tongue against *both* upper and lower teeth, but not protruded.
(t†) tip of tongue protruded *between* upper and lower teeth.
(ᴘ) lower *lip* against upper *teeth*.
(p) lower lip against upper *lip*.

Now each of these can give rise to a hiss by a slight relaxation of the contact. Hence we get a theoretical (ᴋh) from (ᴋ); the well-known (kh) from (k), the German *ch* in *ach;* the equally well-known (kjh) from (kj), the German *ch* in *ich;* the English (ɟh) = (kɟh) from (kɟ), of which presently; the English (ʻsh) is the nearest if not the exact hiss of the English (t), as will be noticed presently, (th) the hiss of dental (ˌt). National habits will here interfere. The Sanscrit has only a generated (kh), as will be shewn in No. 14, (wh), and hence it does not appear in writing. The (kɟh) or (ɟh) however existed distinctly and had a sign झ. Now if modern Germans, as we shall see in No. 16, (ɟ), actually confuse (kɟh, ɟh), we cannot suppose that their ancestors, the old emigrants from the Aryan land, did better, and from (kɟh) the step to (k) on the one hand and (sh) on the other is easy. How easily (sh) comes from (ɟh) we know in English, and Mr. Goodwin has himself exemplified it by making (kɟh) = (sh) instead of (ɟh), just as in India (ɟh) has sunk absolutely into (sh). Lepsius makes the sound of झ theoretically = (shj), (Standard Alphabet, p. 71), which he identifies with Polish *ś*, a sound I hear as (sj). But Mr. Gupta hears no

10. (sh, ʂh)—*continued.*

difference in present usage between श and ष, both are equally (sh). But both occur as ungenerated distinct forms in Sanscrit, where they are unmistakably referred to च ट. There is probably no doubt therefore that श was, and still represents, (ʒh). Now we have already shewn on comparing (s, sh) in (1104, *c*) that the latter is retracted, as compared with the former. And in the same way (r) is retracted as regards (ʈ). In languages having no (th), — as in German for example,—(s) or (ʂ), for the two cases are not distinguished, is taken to be, and actually results as, the hiss of (ʈ). It is thus that high German *z* = (ʈʂ) has probably actually resulted from (ʈr). In the same way स was in Sanscrit referred to त. As a matter of course therefore ष (sh) or (ʂh) was referred to ट (r). In modern Bengalee, as we have seen (1105, *b'*), all three sounds श ष स are confused as (sh). That श य = (ʒh, ʒ) were not exhibited together as surd and sonant, may be due to the fact that there were no (zh, z) as sonants to ष स. The Sanscrit series of speech-sounds, like those of all other nations, was but fragmentary.

Considerable objection has been taken to Mr. Melville Bell's classification of (s, sh), by which, in the arrangement on p. 15, 2*b* and 3*b*, the (s) is apparently allied to (ʒ), and the (sh) to (t). So strongly have speakers felt the relation of (s) to (t), and of (sh) to (ʒh), that, as I have been informed (by Miss Hull, of 102, Warwick Gardens, Kensington, who successfully teaches deaf and dumb girls to speak and read from the lips, and, employing for that purpose Mr. Bell's Visible Speech symbols, went in 1873 to Boston, in America, to study Mr. Graham Bell's method of using it in teaching at the deaf and dumb institutions there), Mr. G. Bell has found it best to transpose these symbols, giving to the symbol 2*b* the meaning (sh), and to the symbol 3*b* the meaning (s). But Mr. Melville Bell's symbols are both 'mixed,' and imply merely that the (ʒ) character in the position of the tongue *predominates* in (s) by the *elevation* of the middle of the tongue, and the (t) character of the same in (sh), by the *depression* of the middle of the tongue. This is clearly shewn by

10. (sh, ʂh)—*continued.*

his diagrams (Visible Speech, p. 53) and his description (*ibid.* p. 52), viz.: "6. (s) Front-Mixed. The Front [middle] and Point [tip] of the Tongue both raised, so as to bring the convex surface of the tongue close to the front [crown] of the palatal arch, and the point of the tongue, at the same time, close to the upper gum.—7. (sh) Point-Mixed. The Point [tip] and the Front [middle] of the Tongue both raised—*the latter in a less degree than for symbol* 6. (s)—bringing the front [middle] surface of the tongue near to the rim [?] of the palatal arch." The characters both imply (ʒh*r̥h), but for (s) the greater proximity of the middle of the tongue to the (ʒ)-position determined both its position and its sign. The recent variation, by Mr. Graham Bell, in the application of these symbols, shews how difficult it is to select any form of symbolism depending on classification. Different points strike different minds as best adapted for characteristics. As in botany and zoology genera and families are constantly being remodelled, we cannot be surprised at the difficulties and disagreements which have notoriously arisen in a matter so little understood and requiring so much training (almost securing bias) to observe and appreciate, as speech-sounds. Still greater exception would probably be taken to Mr. Bell's classing (th) under (ʒh), and (*th*), which he identifies with Welsh *ll* (lhh), under (r̥h), because we naturally identify (th) with the teeth, and overlook the position of the middle of the tongue. The columns 2 and 3, in Mr. Bell's table, p. 14, should, according to these recent changes in palaeotype, be symbolised as follows, in order, from line *a* to line *m*;

2. *voiceless*	ʒh	s	lʒh	th	kʒ	qʒh
voiced	ʒ	z	lʒ	dh	gʒ	qʒ
3. *voiceless*	r̥h	sh	lh	*th*	t	nh
voiced	r̥	zh	l	*dh*	d	n

If (*th*, *dh*) really represent the Welsh *ll* and its Manx voiced form, they are identical with the symbols (lhh, *lhh*), see (756, *c*, *d*), where the voiceless form (lhh) is incorrectly stated to occur in Manx.

(wɔtʂh). The voice, set on in (w), continues with a glide on to (ɔ), and then with a sharp and very sensible glide on to (t), where it is cut off or

10. (wot,sh)—*continued.*

stopped, and the glottis closed; the glottis is, however, immediately opened wide for unvocalised breath, and a hiss-glide is formed on to (,sh), through which the hiss may be continued indefinitely, and as a rule the position for (,sh) is held as long as the breath is audible, so that it does not glide off into anything else. This may be written (w-ɔ > t < ,sh). But in *cheese* we have (t < ,sh < ii > z-s), without the glide on to (t), and hence the (t) is less felt than in the other case.

11. SAW, (SAA).

(S). For (S) see No. 6, (S).

(A). For (AA) see No. 10, (A, ɔ). We have here only the continued sound. Dr. Rush says (*op. cit.* p. 61), "*A*-we has for its radical, the peculiar sound of 'a' in *a*we; and for its vanish, a short and obscure sound of the monothong (sic) *e*-RR." That is, he would pronounce *saw* (SAA'ᵢᵣᵛ, SAA'), which would give the effect of adding an *r*. It is quite true that Londoners have a difficulty in distinguishing *saw sore, law lore, maw more,* generally saying only (SAA', lAA', mAA') for (SAA soo', lAA loo', mAA moo'), and that the principal difference to them is that the first words may not, and the last words must, have an epenthetical (r) before a vowel. It is therefore best to avoid this "vanish," and say (SAA) without relaxing the position for (AA). But really, as will hereafter appear, (SAA', *ee*'j, *oo*'*w*) are phenomena of precisely the same kind, (§ 2, No. 6, iv.) We also find (mumaa'·, pupaa'·) in the same way. The only objection is to the interposition of a trilled *r*, as *saw-r-ing* (SAA'·ríq). But the Basques interpose a "euphonic" *r* in the same way, and if we could only persuade grammarians to call the Cockney interposition of (r) "euphonic" also, the custom, which is a living reality, however unsavoury now, would be at once disinfected.

(SAA). The glide from (S) to (AA) is of the same nature as in (s'ks), No. 6.

12. FEATHERS, Bell's (fE-dhuiz), my (fe·dhizs).

(f). See No. 4, (f).

(E, e). See No. 7, (e, E).

(dh). This is the buzz of (th), see No. 3, (th). There is no initial (d), as Germans imagine, in English (dhen), which would require the un-English dental (,ddhen). The final (-ddh) does not occur, but we have (-dhd) in *breathed, bathed, swathed, tithed* = (briidhd, beedhd, sweedhd, to'idhd), in pronouncing which the retraction of the tongue from (dh) to (d) may be distinctly felt. And (d dh) constantly concur in successive words, as *and the,* see (1098, *a*).

(ui, i). On (r, i) see No. 3, (r), and No. 4, (i). Mr. M. Bell has peculiar theories about unaccented vowels, which will be better discussed in some special examples, given hereafter. The (u) only occurs in English in unaccented syllables, and it may be questioned whether the real sound in these syllables is not (ə). It is the same, or nearly so (for the exact shades of such obscurities are difficult to seize), as the obscure final *-e* in German and Dutch. When French *e muet* is pronounced, I seem to hear (ə) rather than (ə) or (œ), and there is a schism on this point among the French themselves. See also (548, *b*).

(zs). See No. 5, (fəiv), on this after-sound of (s), which is generally very clearly developed, especially in singing psalms, where it becomes disagreeably prominent. This final (s) should be very lightly touched as a mere relief from the unpleasant buzz (z).

(fe·dhizs). The word begins with an unvocalised hiss which is continued as long as the (f) position is held, so that the vocal chords must not be brought together till that position is released. The glide on to (e) may take place through the gradual closure of the glottis, and hence may be partly voiceless, but the voice is now continued, without break, on to (z). There is an interruption to its smoothness by the buzzing of (dh), but, unless there is a trill superadded to (i),—which is admissible, but unusual,—the voice is heard as an obscure vowel (u) or (ə) through (i). The result is (f < e > dh < u > z-s).

12. (fe'dhɪzs)—*continued.*

The syllable divides *somewhere* during (dh). The vowel (e) being short, the whole glide from (e) to (dh), and the whole continuance of the buzz till the glide from (dh), would generally be reckoned to belong to the first syllable. This is merely fanciful. The interruption to vocality by the buzz makes two groups (f<e>) and (<ɪ>z-s), between which there is an extra-syllabic buzz of sensible duration, and if it were exaggerated in length, we should have the effect of three groups. Practically, two groups only being felt, the length of (dh) is divided at pleasure between them, and is, I believe actually at times differently divided by means of a relaxation of force or slur ‿, to be described in No. 14. (wh), according to the momentary feeling of the speaker.

13. TONGS, Bell's (tɔqz), my (tɔqzs).

(t). See No. 2, (t).

(ɔ). See No. 10, (ʌ, ɔ).

(q). This bears the same relation to (n), as (g) to (d). It is simply (g) with a complete nasal resonance, and thus differs from (g,), with incomplete resonance, although in both the uvula is free from the pharynx, but whether to an equal extent has not been determined. The (q) is common in German, Italian, and modern Greek, and was clearly present in Latin and ancient Greek, though it has never received a distinct symbol in these languages, as it has in Sanscrit. But in these languages it is merely a euphonic alteration of (n) generated by a following (k) or (g). It is quite unknown in French, where it seems to Englishmen to have been transformed into a French nasality of the vowel, (aʌ) bearing to (a,) about the same relation as (aq) to (ag,). But the real differences which distinguish French Portuguese, dialectal German, American English, Gaelic, Hindu, and perhaps other undescribed nasalities, have not yet been determined, so that all analysis is provisional. Mr. Gupta (1096, *a*) pronounced the Sanscrit "necessary anusvâra" as (q), and not as a mark of nasalisation (ʌ). The nasal passages are so complicated and full of tremulous

13. (q)—*continued.*

membranes, and of secretions, that the resonance is necessarily very complicated. It is safest for Englishmen who cannot pronounce the French nasals to use (q) for (ʌ). On (67, *c*) I accidentally misstated Mr. Bell's analysis, which is properly *an*, *on*, *un*, *vin* = (ɔhʌ, ɔhʌ, əʌ, vɛʌ). Prince Louis Lucien Bonaparte's is (aʌ, o_1ʌ, əhʌ, e_1ʌ). M. E'douard Paris seems to analyze (aʌ, oʌ, œʌ, ɛʌ) in the Introduction to his "St. Matthieu en Picard Amiénois" (London, 1863, translated for Prince Louis Lucien Bonaparte). In fact it is not possible to analyse these sounds perfectly, because the mere detachment of the uvula from the back of the pharynx alters the shape of the resonance chamber for the oral vowel, and the addition of nasality effectually disguises its quality. By very carefully performed and recorded experiments with the phonautograph and Kōnig's manometric flames (see Poggendorff's Annalen, vol. 146) on vowels sung at the same pitch, with and without different nasalisations, it may be possible to discover the alteration of the quality produced by nasalisation, but even this is problematical, and, so far as I know, no experiments have hitherto been made in this direction. At present our connection of oral to nasal vowels is purely a matter of aural appreciation, and will probably differ for the same speaker from observer to observer. The form (aʌ) would mean, that, with the exception of the uvula, the organs are disposed as for (a), and that the uvula is so widely detached from the pharynx as to allow a perfectly free passage of vocalised breath through the nose as well as through the mouth. The form (a,) gives the same position, with the exception of the uvula, which is, I think, only slightly detached from the pharynx, so that the nasal passage is not so free as the oral, and hence the oral vowel is so distinctly recognized that probably Frenchmen would *not* recognize (a,) as intended for (aʌ). Both (a,) and (aʌ) are ori-nasal vowels, but the name is best applied to the second, while the first may be called a nasalised oral vowel. Between (a), with no nasality, and (aʌ), with perfect ori-nasality, there are many degrees; but, as before said, we have not yet succeeded in analysing them, although the different degrees in which the nasal

13. (q)—*continued.*

passage is opened by the uvula is of course one important element, producing an effect comparable to that of the different 'roundings' of the vowels by the lips, see No. 10 (ʌ, ɔ). But in (aq) we have first a purely oral vowel, followed by a glide (a > q), which may pass through some form of nasality, but can never reach either (a,) or (aʌ), because the oral passage is gradually obstructed more and more by the back of the tongue, till finally, all passage through the mouth being cut off by the (k) contact of the back of the tongue and soft palate, the voice issues in (q) entirely through the nose. These distinctions, pure oral (a), nasalised oral (a,), ori-nasal (aʌ), pure oral (a) + a glide which is partly nasal, and imperfectly oral + pure nasal (q), should be carefully borne in mind. It will then be seen that the English (ɔq, *oo*q, ɔq, væq) and the German (*a*q, oq, œq, bhɛq) are very imperfect approximations to the French *an*, *on*, *un*, *vin*, but are intelligible simply because (q) not existing in French, there are no other sounds which they could represent. It is remarkable that in received English no vowel occurs long before (q), so that even (*oo*q) is rather difficult to our organs. In America, however, (ɔq) is often (ɔɔq) or (ʌʌq), as (lɔɔq, sɔɔq) or (lʌʌq, sʌʌq). And in Icelandic the vowel before (q) is always intentionally long (546, *b*, *d*').

Mr. Goodwin is peculiar in his analysis of (q), his *ng*. He says (*ibid.* p. 10), "*Ng* represents a simple, elementary, and a liquid sound, combining a nasal and a palatal character, or intermediate between the two, being produced in the endeavour to pronounce an *n*, by pressing the middle of the tongue against the palate. *Nhg* (or *ngh*), the so-called French nasal, is related to *ng* as any other aspirate to its lene; that is, it is accompanied with an emission of breath, while the organs are in near approximation to the specific contact which characterizes *ng*." The description of (ʌ) is of course entirely incorrect. The description of (q), however, does not answer to the English (q), but to the probable Sans. (qj), which Englishmen confuse with (nj). The French, having no (q), confuse it with their own (nj). I have also known Fr (nj) pronounced (qj) in England. There is therefore no certainty respecting (q, qj, qj, nj) in

13. (q)—*continued.*

accounts of foreign sounds. The confusion is quite similar to that of (w, bh, v). In English (q), which has generally been generated by the action of a letter of the *k*-series on a preceding *n*, never occurs initially, so that English people find it difficult to make it glide on to a following vowel, as (qaa, qii, quu), which are found in some African and other languages. Hence when final, it is simply prolonged, as (lɔq), the strength of the voice dying off, and it seldom becomes voiceless (lɔqqh), because there is no inconvenience in prolonging the nasality. But sometimes the nasality is dropped, and then simple (g) results, as (lɔqg), which is treated as a usual final sonant, and may become (lɔqg'). This cannot be reckoned as a received form, although it may be historical. On the other hand, the voice is occasionally dropped with the nasality, and the result is (lɔqk'), which is reckoned vulgar, as in (th*i*qk') for (th*i*q), though common in German (192, *d*). We have, however, a final (-*i*q), in the participles, which certainly does not arise from a previous (k) form. The confusion of the (-q, -nd) participial forms is very old; it may possibly have arisen from confusing the participle and verbal noun or gerund, for many of our dialects ignore this (-q) altogether, and use (-n) as a termination for both, "not pronouncing the *g*," as glossarists assume, although Southern Scotch dialects distinguish them by vowels, (-ən) participle, (-*i*n) for gerund (Murray, *ibid.* p. 211). Similarly (nə·th*i*n, nə·thun, nə·f*i*n, nə·fun) are not uncommon vulgarisms for *nothing* (nə·th*i*q). Yankee and Irish English prefer the participle in -*in*. In the Forth and Bargy extinct English, *ng* and *n* seem to have been occasionally confused.

When (q) is medial, the difficulty is overcome in two ways. First, the glide of (q) on to the vowel is altogether omitted, by beginning the vowel with a glottid (, ;), or by slurring or relaxing the force of the voice on (q), so that the glide becomes inaudible. The clear (,) or catch (;) are, I think, uncommon either in English or German under such circumstances, but the relaxation or slur (‿) is, I think, the rule Thus *singer*, *longing*, are (s*i*·q‿ɹ, lɔ·q‿*i*q), not (s*i*·q,ɹ, lɔ·q,*i*q), and still less (s*i*·q;ɹ, lɔ·q;*i*q). Secondly, the nasality is

13. (q)—*continued.*

ultimately omitted, and the resulting (g) glides easily on to the vowel, as in *finger*, *longer* (fi·qgɹ, lɔ·qgɹ), where (q) passes into (g) with the same ease as (z) into (s) in (ɹizs).

When (q) is medial, and a hiss, not a buzz, follows, if we attempt to make the glide on to the hiss, some speakers naturally drop the nasality and the voice, developing (k), which glides on easily, as in *strength*, *length* (streqkth, leqkth). This is not necessary. Although (qth) could no more make an initial combination than (*u*th), there could be a non-nasal glide from (q) to (th), which resembles the glide from (g) or from (*u*) to (th), thus (q' > th). Or else the (q) may end suddenly, and there may be a hiss-glide on to (th), thus (q' > th). I think that this last is more frequently said. But the transition from the guttural (q) to the dental (th) being violent, many speakers, especially of the older class, and Irishmen, bridge over the difficulty by changing (q) into (n), thus (strenth, lenth). A third hypothesis is possible. The voiceless breath may be introduced during the (q), or in place of the (q), thus (streq-qh-th) or (streqhth). I have not myself observed either. Mr. Bell probably advocates the last, for he writes (mæ·qhki). This belongs to a theory considered in No. 15. I think (streqth, æ·qshəs, məqk, wiqkt) represent my own pronunciation of *strength*, *anxious*, *monk*, *winked*. When a voiced consonant follows, there seems no tendency to introduce (g), thus *tongs*, *winged* are (tɔqzs, wiqd), not (tɔqgzs, wiqgd), which would be difficult to English organs. An attempt to pronounce them would probably result in (tɔqg'zs, wiqg'd').

(zs). See No. 12, (fe·dhɹzs).

(tɔqzs). The glide from (t) to (ɔ) may be gathered from No. 2, (tuu). The voice is regularly continued through (q) to (z), when it falls off to (s), thus (t < ɔ > q-z-s).

14. WHIP, (whip), variants (whwip, wip).

(wh). See Gill's recognition of (wh), on (185, *b*), the observations on ags. *hl*, *hr*, *hn*, *hw*, on (513, *ab*), and

14. (wh)—*continued.*

Icelandic (543, *d*), and on *h* in general (221, *d*). So much controversy exists upon the points thus raised that it is worth while recurring to them. My (H) was identified with Mr. Bell's symbol, p. 15, col. 5, line *f*, with some hesitation, by Mr. Bell himself. But my own impression is that Mr. Bell has no sign precisely corresponding to what I mean by (H). In my original paper on Palaeotype (Philol. Trans. 1867, part 2, p. 16) I defined (H) as "the aspirate or jerk of the voice, not necessarily accompanied by a whisper, which could not be pronounced in certain post-aspirated consonants, as the Sanscrit भ, ध, घ (bH, dH, gH), and similar combinations in the Irish brogue. When the whisper is uttered, the effect should be represented strictly by (H')." Now most persons who have used my palaeotype confuse (H, H'), and I have certainly not been careful to distinguish them under ordinary circumstances. For the exact understanding, however, of such difficulties as have been raised respecting (wh), etc., it is necessary to enter into somewhat minute explanations. Referring to Mr. Bell's symbols, suprà p. 15, by simple number and letter as 5*f*, "the symbol in column 5, line *f*," the following are Mr. Bell's own explanations ('The Organic Relations of the Rudimental Symbols,' Visible Speech, pp. 46–49).

9*a*. "When the glottis and the superglottal passage are perfectly open, the breath creates no sound in its emission. A moderate degree of expulsiveness to render the 'aspiration' audible is implied in 9*a*. The symbol is pictorial of the expanded breath-channel in the throat." This I have written (H') on p. 15, the exact meaning of which will be explained presently, and (H'h) is the full sign.

5*a*. "When the glottis is contracted to a narrow chink, the breath in passing sets the edge of the orifice—the 'vocal ligaments'—in vibration, and creates sonorous 'voice.' This vocalising condition of the glottis is pictured in the symbol." This I mark (') on p. 15. The description, however, is inaccurate. If there is any 'chink,' there is no 'voice,' but only 'whisper.' See No. 8, (*eet*). Distinguish between 'open glottis,' through which passes *flatus* or voiceless breath ('h), which may or may

14. (wh)—*continued.*

not be audible; 'chink glottis' when the edges of the chords are brought almost but not quite in contact, producing whisper ('h); and 'closed glottis,' the edges of the chords being absolutely in contact to be forced asunder by the breath, closing by their own elasticity, and thus producing that series of 'puffs' which result in 'voice,' ('h). Different from all these is the supra-glottal implosion ('h), No. 9, (b).

9*b*. "When the glottis is open, and the super-glottal passage is contracted, the breath creates in the latter the non-sonorous rustling or friction which is called 'whisper.' The relative expansion of the throat-channel for 9*a* and 9*b* is pictured in the symbols." I have marked this as (') on p. 15. My symbol for 'whisper' is (") or voicelessness + voice. Hence ('v) is used for whispered (f), and ('i) is whispered (i). To indicate voicelessness, prefix (') to a whispered, or (") to a voiced letter. Thus ("v) = (f), and ("i) is the mere flatus through the (i) position, scarcely distinguishable from (jh), while ("u) will be the mere flatus through the (u) position, scarcely distinguishable from (wh), see No. 2 (uu), and No. 3 (ii). Now Mr. Bell goes on to say: "The organic effect of 9*b* will be understood by whispering a 'voiced consonant' such as *v*. The result is clearly different from the sound of the non-vocal consonant of corresponding oral formation *f*. For the former ('v), the fricativeness of the breath is audible from the *throat*, through the oral configuration: for the latter, (*f*), the breath-friction is audible only from the lip." I think that this account is imperfect, whisper being glottal and not pharyngal. There is a glottal wheeze (*h*), which is produced by driving the voice sharply through the cartilaginous glottis, between the arytenoid cartilages, and not between the vocal chords, and Mr. Bell inclined to mark this as 9*b* + 10*b*, that is, as a prolongation of the present sound. At another time he wrote it 9*b* + 9*g*, or with the mark of trill added to this sign. Now there is such a trilling effect possible by means of moisture, and some observers do consider (*h*) as an arytenoid glottal trill rather than a wheeze. If voice accompanies, the result is either the Danish glottal (ɪ) or the Arabic *ain* (ع), and

14. (wh)—*continued.*

the latter is perhaps only (.ɪ), that is a strong pronunciation of the former. I am confirmed in this view by the fact of Mr. Sweet finding (ɪ) very much like (*o*), and by the usual derivation of *o* from the Semitic *ain*.

9*h*. "The symbol 9*h* is a compound of 9*b* and 5*a*, and denotes whisper and voice heard simultaneously;—a vocal murmur modified by breath-friction in the super-glottal passage." I marked this as (") on p. 15, but on my present definition of whisper this does not properly express the fact described. In whisper, however, there is so slight a vocalisation, arising from intermittent puffing, and so much apparent escape of unintermittent flatus, that the effect is felt as a mixture of voice and flatus, only the flatus has the upper hand, and the whole effect is generally weak. But in buzzing we have a powerful voice, with apparent intermingled flatus, which, however, is I think merely caused by inharmonic proper tones due to an obstructed resonant chamber, and is in ultimate analysis rather *noise*, that is, beating harmonies, than real flatus.

9*c*. "The symbol 9*c* pictures the combined edges of the glottis, and denotes the 'catch' of the breath which is heard (with violence of percussion) in a cough. The linguistic effect of 9*c* is softer, but distinctly percussive, when an aspiration or a vocal sound follows the 'catch.'" The form of the symbol 9*c* gives a wrong impression of the position of the vocal chords, which are pressed tightly together, along the whole length of their opposed edges, (and not knicked in the middle only as the symbol seems to shew,) so that it requires considerable effort to separate them by an expiration. The closure is, for a time, air tight, as in 'holding the breath.' Hence the breath escapes explosively, either as flatus or voice. I write it (;).

9*l* and 9*m*. "The symbols 9*l* and 9*m*, by themselves, refer to the aperture of the mouth as affected by the close (9*l*) or open (9*m*) position of the jaws. Following other symbols, 9*l* denotes configurative compression, with consequent percussion on leaving the configuration, and 9*m* denotes configurative openness or organic laxity. Thus

"9*a* + 9*l*. An exhaustive aspiration from upward pressure of the diaphragm; —a wheeze.

14. (wh)—*continued.*

"$9a + 9m$. A gentle inaudible aspiration.

"$9e + 9l$. Glottal closure with distention of the larynx from pressure on the confined breath, and percussive emission on opening the passage;—a cough."

As will be seen by referring to (1106, *e*), I formerly marked $9l$ on p. 15 as (.), considered merely as representing *force*, which is supposed to be continuous, and $9m$ as („), considered as representing *weakness*, also supposed continuous. These do not quite represent Mr. Bell's symbols. His $9a + 9l$ is hardly (.ʜ'h), but very nearly so. His $9a+9m$ could not be („ʜ'h), because there is no jerk at all here, and („'h) is the nearest symbol for almost inaudible flatus. Again his $9e + 9l$ could not be (.;), because this alone, without sign of flatus, whisper or voice, has no meaning, but (.;'h) is not unlike it. Using the signs ($^1{}_1$) as proposed on (1107, *b*), we may, however, write $9a + 9l$ = ('h^1), though I think (.'h^1) better for the effect intended, $9a + 9m$ = ('h$_1$) or („'h$_1$), and $9e + 9l$ = (;'h^1) or (;.'h^1).

"$10f$ and $5f$. Whisper and voice may be produced by air going inwards ($10f$) or by breath coming out ($5f$)." Here I think Mr. Bell has made a slip. No 'voice' certainly, and no 'whisper' in the sense of (1126, *b*), can be produced by inspiration. I have written (;) for $10f$, and Mr. Bell first gave $9b$ and afterwards $5f$ for my (ʜ), but he must have been wrong in both cases. He proceeds to say: "All symbols except $10f$ and $10e$ imply emission." [Hence no special symbol for $5f$ was required.] "The symbol $5f$ is used to denote a transitional emission from the symbolized configuration in passing from one position to another." [This seems to mean 'glide' in my sense, denoted by > or <]. "The effect is different from the throat aspiration $9a$. Thus from the 'shut' position of the glottis $9e$, we may either open sharply upon an utterance of voice $9a + 5a$" [my (;'h)], "or we may *ease off the pressure* of the 'catch' by interpolating a 'breath glide' $9a + 5f + 5a$." Now this could not be (;ʜ'h), for this jerk would increase instead of "easing off" the pressure. In another place, quoted presently, he calls this $5f$ "an aspirated hiatus." It would be of course possible to interpose flatus, between the catch (;) and the voice ('h), thus (;'h'h), and when a real vowel is used the series (;+"a+a), hereafter abridged to (;ha), may be easier than (;a) without any interposed flatus, for the explosion may force the vocal chords so far apart that flatus escapes before they can be reduced to the vocal position, and as they would recoil to it suddenly the effect (;+"a+a) would be different from (;+"a+'a+a) or (;ˌa), which seems hardly possible. Still I own not to have caught the meaning of this symbol $5f$ thoroughly, and I regret that I was led to identify it with my own (ʜ). Mr. Graham Bell has used it at the end of words, when writing for deaf-mutes, to indicate what Mr. M. Bell calls the 'recoil' mentioned in the next citation, thus $8f + 3e + 5f$ is used for my (æt'). This would confirm my supposition that $5f$ is not really different from (< 'h), since (æt') is at full (æ > t < 'h). It remains therefore that Mr. M. Bell has no Visible Speech smybol for my (ʜ), although I think his $9l$, my (.), comes nearest to it, the difference being that (ʜ) resembles *impact* or is momentary, and (.) resembles *pressure* or is continuous.

"$10e$. The symbol $10e$ signifies that the organic separation or recoil from any symbolized position—which is always implied in final elements when the 'stop' is not written—does not take place. Thus $9e + 10e$ is an unfinished 'catch,' in forming which the impulse ceases with the *closure* of the glottis." But no effect would be heard if the glottis were kept closed. We must allow a single puff to escape at least to shew the 'catch,' and then we must shut up directly to shew the 'stop.' Thus in place of $9e + 10e$, or (;:) in my symbols, which would have absolutely no sound, I must have (;'h:) or (;'h:), often heard in a short checked convulsive cough.

"The effect of organic 'stop' is implied between elements in verbal combinations, such as *tl* in *outlaw*, *td* in *outdo*, etc.; where, necessarily, the *t* is not finished by an organic recoil, as it would be at the end of a word. In these cases of course the 'stop' does not require to be written." In practical phonetic writing much is not marked which *must* make its appearance in delicate phonetic discussions, and

14. (wh)—*continued.*

which is often of supreme philological importance. Thus (əutlAA, əutduu) are enough for many purposes; but if we are writing strictly, they are not nearly enough. We require (ə'u· > t)l < AA:, ə'u: > t)d < uu·), where) is the break explained in the next paragraph. The diphthongal glide is indicated by the accent shewing the element with principal force. The glides generally need not be written if the rule is laid down that there is *always* a glide between combined symbols. But then we must write (ə'ut lAA, ə'ut duu), and we should thus lose the effect of combination into one word; so that (ə'u·t)lAA:, ə'u:t)duu·) become the full forms. Generally (əu·tlAA, əutduu·) are enough. The 'recoil' should always be written when intended to be distinctly pronounced, as (ə'u·t'))lAA, ə'ut'))duu·).

"10*c*. In verbal combinations of elementary sound, each element is inseparably joined to the succeeding one." This refers to the inter-gliding, but is only true as a practical rule in writing. "When any element, except the last in a combination, is finished independently of what follows, the sign of 'hiatus' (10*c*) is used. Thus in analysis, or phonetically 'spelling' a syllable, we should say that 9*a* + 5*a* consists of the elements 9*a* + 10*c* + 5*a*—interposing a break. The effect of 10*c* will be understood by pronouncing the word 'bedtime,' in which the *d* and *t* are not disjoined, in contrast with the separate pronunciation of the two words 'bed, time.' The symbol 5*f* is an *aspirated* hiatus; the symbol 10*c* is non-aspirated, —a mere interval." I have hitherto marked this (,), but with the more accurate distinctions of glottids, something more is required, and I find ( )), half of the second half of a parenthesis, a sort of exaggerated comma,—already introduced by anticipation (998, *d*),—the most convenient for this mere break, which may or may not be accompanied by a 'clear' glottid. In this case, ( )) is opposed to (-).

After much thought and observation I have been led to the following views of these difficult, and yet, philologically, extremely important distinctions. I cannot consider my views complete, but I think that they will serve to form a basis for future work, and are more comprehensive than any yet suggested in print. They involve not so much a reconstruction, as a more accurate specification of the notation on pp. 10 and 11.

14. (wh)—*continued.*

Material of Speech-Sounds.

('ˌh) *Inspiration*, audible inspired breath, the audibility arising from the friction in the air-passages, arising from their constriction and internal roughness, and velocity of the entering air.

('·h) *Implosion;* a dull thud-like sound arising from suddenly condensing, by the action of the muscles of the inclosing walls, breath confined in the passages, neither passing out of the mouth, nor through the larynx (1097, *c*. 1113, *a'*).

(‡h) *Click* or *smack;* a smart sharp sound produced by suddenly separating moist parts of the organs, as tongue and palate, etc., independent of inspiration or expiration. It is quite easy to click in the mouth while inspiring and expiring through the nose.

('h) *Flatus*, audible but unvocalised expiration, the vocal chords well separated, and a full column of breath passing easily. The audibility may be conditioned by degrees of force or narrowing or interruption of the passages of exit.

("h) *Whisper;* the edges of the vocal chords are almost but not quite in contact; part of the passing breath is unaffected, part rustles, part is broken into pulses, resembling voice, just as on a flute we hear the musical tone accompanied by the rustle or rushing noise of the performer's breath against the side of the mouthpiece.

('h) *Voice;* the edges of the vocal chords in actual contact, and opening and shutting by the action of expiration and their own elasticity, so as to break all the air into pulses. But the break does not necessarily produce a musical tone. On the contrary, just as in any blown reed (in clarinet, hautboy, etc.), or interrupted air current (in whistles, flutes, etc.), many different musical tones result in this case also, of which several are of nearly the same pitch or even of incommensurable periodic times, and these 'beat' with one another, thus producing a confused noise, or obscure murmur, which is really the 'natural' voice. It is by adapting various resonant chambers to

14. (wh)—*continued.*

this last sound that we 'select' those musical tones which go to form the distinct 'qualities' of speech-sounds. When ('h) simply is written, it indicates some obscure voice sound which we are unable distinctly to characterise.

In the above notations (h), as usual, is 'diacritic,' and is in fact only used as a 'support' for the other signs, so that when other letters are present (h) is omitted if its absence will occasion no ambiguity. It will be doubled to express prolongation. Most alphabetic letters inherently imply flatus ('h), or voice ('h), some imply clicking (‡h), but none imply inspiration ('ˌ), implosion ('ʼh), or whisper ("h). Thus (f) implies flatus or ('h), and (v) implies voice or ('h). Add voice to flatus or flatus to voice and the result is whisper; thus ('f) = ('v) is whispered (f) or (v). In speaking in a so-called whisper, (f) remains with flatus, and (v) becomes ('v). Similarly ('i, 'a, 'u) are whispered vowels.

Add flatus sign to whisper sign, and the result is made to symbolise flatus only. Thus ("f) = ("v) = (f) simply. And ("i, "a, "u) are simple flatus through the vowel positions. The distinctions ("i, 'i, i), flatus, whisper, voice, in connection with the (i)-position are important. I do not symbolise position only, except in the mutes (p, t, k), as I find it more distinct to write the word "position" at length, after the symbol of the sound uttered in that position, thus: the (f)-position.

At the end of a group of letters (') and (') are written for ('h) and ('h), thus (*ii*', ee', oo', *uu*'), which stand for (*ii*'h, ee'h, oo'h, *uu*'h), are the diphthongs (*iiɪ*, eeɪ, ooɪ, *uuɪ*), already considered (1099, *a*'), when deprived of the permission to superadd a trilled (r), so that (*iiɪ*) = either (*ii*') or (*ii*'r). Again (æt', æd') are the same as (æt'h, æd'h), and figure the 'recoil.' When this recoil is a pure click, it should always be written as (æt‡, æk‡), for it is quite exceptional, although we sometimes hear the click first, and then flatus, especially after (k), as (æk‡'h). The click sign added to the organ determines the click. Thus (ꝑ) = (t‡) or (ꝑ‡), (ꝛ) = (t↓‡), (ꝓ) = (tjδ‡) or (kjδ‡), (ꝕ) = (tj‡) or (kj‡), (ꝗ) = (κ‡), see p. 11.

For the mutes (p, t, k), and sonants (b, d, g), ('p) = ('b) = whisper, instead of voice, forced into the (p)-position. And ('ʼp) = imploded (p), which is readily

14. (wh)—*continued.*

confused with ('b) on the one hand and (p) on the other (1113, *a*').

The term 'mute' is used for (p, t, k), as they have actually no sound of their own, but only modify other sounds by position, giving rise to glides.

Vowels.

These are 'voice' modified by resonance chamber. Each has its own definite 'pitch,' and when sung at other pitches is modified by the action of that pitch, in a manner only recently understood, by the researches of Helmholtz, Donders and Koenig, and not yet by any means fully observed or explained. Every variety of pitch and force really alters the character of any particular vowel, which is hence only to be recognized as a 'genus' having several 'species.' In all cases a vowel is a 'quality' of tone, the appreciation of which differs greatly individually and nationally. Further details are given in my paper on Accent and Emphasis (Philol. Trans. 1873–4, pp. 113–164). I here, for brevity, take the vowels for granted.

Glottids.

The modes of beginning, ending, and conjoining vowels, being principally due to actions of the glottis, will be termed 'glottids.' They comprise many effects not yet classed, and others known indefinitely as 'breathings, spiritus asper et lenis, aspiration,' etc.

(ˌ) *gradual* glottid, (1112, *b*), so that (ˌaˌ) = ("a-'a-a-'a-"a), flatus gradually falling into whisper, then this into voice, which returns back to whisper and flatus. With mutes, as (ꝑa), it shews that when the (p)-position is assumed and released, the glottis is open, as for ('h), see (1097, *a*'). Much of what is called post-aspiration is really due to the gradual glottid. I think that what Mr. Sweet (Philol. Trans. 1873, p. 106) calls "the aspiration of the voiceless stops" in Danish, and writes (kнat, tнil, pнeqə, pнipə), would be more truly represented by (kˌat) or by (kˌhat), where (ˌh) is the *flatus* glottid, or the gradual glottid with greater prominence given to the flatus preceding or following the vowel, so that (ˌha) is rather (.''aa-'a-a) than ("a-'a-a).

(,) *Clear* glottid, (1112, *b*), the vocal chords are in the position for voice,

14. (wh)—*continued.*

which begins without any introductory flatus. This is the position for English mutes, thus (p,a) as distinct from (pıa) or (pıha).

(;) *Check* glottid, (1112, *b*); there is an air-tight closure, which is forced asunder, and there may easily arise a puff of flatus before the chords vibrate properly, as (;'h) abridged to (;h). Brücke attributes this position to the English mutes, thus (p;a), but I think he is in error, as the use of (;) is not an English trick.

(*h*) *Wheezing* glottid. Here there is an escape of flatus, but it does not pass the open glottis, nor between the vocal chords, which are apparently tightly closed, but through the cartilaginous glottis beyond it. Czermak (Sitzungsberichte der k. Akademie der Wissenschaften, math. naturw. cl. vol. 29, No. 12, for 29 April, 1858, Wien, pp. 576–580) gives the result of actual observations with the laryngoscope on an Arab, corresponding with this description. Prof. F. W. Newman says (on p. 8 of Handbook of Modern Arabic, London, 1866, pp. 190): "Strong *h* is often heard from Irishmen. It is wheezing and guttural, with something of a *w* in it at the beginning of a word. The force of air in the throat is considerable, and is strangely prolonged when it ends a word, as (meliii*h*, raa*h*) 'good, he went.'"

(ɡh) *Trilled wheeze.* This differs from (*h*) solely in the production of interruptions or trills, by interposing some rattling mucous.

(ɡ) *Bleat* or *ain.* The Arabic ع is the same as (ɡh) with the accompaniment of the voice, so that (ɡh) = ("ɡ). If this is taken very gently, the result seems to be (ɪ) = („ɡ), the Low Saxon glottal trill or quack, which can also be pronounced during a vowel.

Any of these glottids can be uttered with various degrees of force, thus noted.

Medium force requires no note.

(ı) *evanescent*, is scarcely perceptible.

(„) *weak*, is decidedly below the medium.

(.) *strong*, is decidedly above the medium.

(.,) *abrupt*, properly strong and clear, is almost explosive.

These force-signs denote continued pressure, as in the motion of an ordinary bellows. If, when blowing, the end of the nozzle is stopped, the air becomes

14. (wh)—*continued.*

condensed, and, on removing or detaching the stop, issues with explosion, of which (;) may be considered the general sign, (p, t, k) being much more moderate explodents. No such signs however are sufficient for all purposes. For anything like a discriminating view of force I recommend a series of numbers written in a line below, and forming a scale, 5 being medial force, 1 just audible, and 9 greatest. By this means sudden changes of force during a syllable can be distinctly registered. For most purposes, however, the much less distinct musical signs *pp*, *p*, *mf*, *f*, *ff*, with *crescendo* and *diminuendo*, *staccato* and other signs, might be written in the line below.

(н) *Jerk.* This, like explosion, can be imitated with the bellows by sudden increase of pressure, followed by a decrease. It is not at all necessary that the increase of pressure should be great; it is only necessary that it should be *sudden* and not continued. This is *my* meaning of (н), and it is evidently not Mr. M. Bell's *5f*, (1127, *b'*). When this jerk is accompanied by flatus, we have (н'h), which may be more conveniently abridged to (нh) than to (н') as heretofore, because (н'a) ought to mean the whispered vowel ('a) commenced with a jerk (н), but (нha) will mean a jerked flatus (н'h) gliding on to a vowel (a). Observe however that (нa) simply, without any interposed flatus, is not only possible, but, I think (I do not feel sure), the more common English and, as will appear hereafter, modern *Indian* sound. (н) may also be combined with (ıh), as (нıha), which would shew distinct flatus jerked out before the vowel. I would distinguish between (нha) = (н'ha) and (нıha) by using the latter only when the flatus is sharp and distinct. The former merely shews jerked flatus without distinguishing its prominence.

Glides, Slurs, Breaks.

>-< *Glide.* When voice is continued through change of position, we have a *voice glide.* When flatus changes to voice, possibly through whisper, or conversely, we have a *mixed glide.* When flatus continues, we have a *flatus glide.* By placing the symbols of the two extreme sounds in juxtaposition, the glide is always im-

14. (wh)—*continued.*

plied. But it is sometimes convenient to mark it by > when the position changes to one closer, and by < when it changes to one opener (1111, *b'*), but by (-) when the positions are equally open or close, as in *maze* = (m < *ee* > z-s), or (m*ee*zs). The contracted form requires the introduction of such a sign as

) *Break*, for which, up to p. 998, I have generally used the clear glottid (.), see (1128, *a*, *cd*). Any glottid will form a break, as (aна, aнha, a;a, a.a aıa), but (a)a) simply breaks without indicating the precise mode in which the disconnection is effected.

⌣ *Slur*. We may also produce the semblance of a break by diminishing force, without taking off the action of the voice at all. We might write (a,,i) to shew this effect, or interpose ⌣, a slur, which differs from > and from (,,) by implying a very brief diminution of force, and is therefore opposed to (H) the jerk. In music (H) corresponds to *staccato*, and ⌣ to *legato*. Two vowels connected by a > or < glide form a diphthong, the glide being held *longer* than one of the extreme vowels, and the force increasing or diminishing *throughout*. This is shewn by an acute accent placed over the vowel which has greatest force, as (ái, íu, iú) or (á > i, í-u, i-ú). See (419, *c*). Two vowels slurred form an Italian diphthong, and the force is nearly even, as (i⌣o, mi⌣E⌣i), but they reckon as one syllable. In this case we may unite them and omit the acute, thus (io, miEi). Employing the mode of representing force by a scale of numbers, we might write (á > i, í - u,

5 43 2 5 43 2

i - ú, i⌣o, mi⌣E⌣i), but this notation

2 34 5 51 2 45 54 2 454 2 45

is incomplete without proper indications of length and pitch, which may be effected by a second line of figures, from 1 to 9, placed above, 5 indicating medium length, accompanied either by such marks as (- ′ ˋ) or (·· .. .· ·.), as given on p. 12, shewing continued, rising or falling pitch, or by notes of the musical scale, indicating the commencing pitch of each vowel-

r ♯r ♯r

sound, as (á > i), which shews: by

5 43 2

the middle line, that the vowel (a) glides on to (i) from an opener to a

14. (wh)—*continued.*

closer position, and has the stress; by the under line, that the force with which (a) is pronounced is to that with which (i) is pronounced as 5 to 2, but that the force of the voice gradually diminishes from the 5 to 2 through the glide, in which only the forces 4 and 3 are noted; by the upper line, that the lengths of the (a) glide and (i) are respectively 1, 2, 3, and that the voice continuously descends in pitch, by an unstated amount.

In violin music *slurred* notes are played to the same stroke of the bow; *glissées* notes have the finger *slid* down from one position to the other; *detached* notes have each a distinct bowing; *staccato* notes have the bow suddenly touched and raised. These will serve to distinguish (⌣ >) H) respectively.

We are now in a position to represent and appreciate the different theories of aspiration.

In Sanscrit there are five letters in a series, as (p, pH, b, bH, m), as I have hitherto written them. The Prâtiçâkhyas speak of these as first, second, third, fourth, and fifth or last. Now the Ath. Veda Pr. (Whitney's edition, p. 16) says: "The second and fourth of each series are aspirates," on which Prof. Whitney observes, "The term *ûshman*, literally 'heat, hot vapour, steam,' is in the grammatical language applied to designate all those sounds which are produced by a rush of unintonated breath [flatus] through an open position of the mouth organs, or whose utterance has a certain similarity to the escape of steam through a pipe; they are the sibilants and aspirations or breathings. In the term *soshman*, 'aspirated mute,' and its correlative *anûshman*, 'unaspirated mute,' *ûshman* is to be understood not in this specific sense, but in that of 'rush of air, expulsion of unintonated breath.'" This, however, is merely his own conjecture. There seems nothing in the explanation given of *ûshman* to require *flatus* rather than *voice*. It is the *explosive rush* alone which comes into consideration. The native commentator on the passage quotes the words *sasthânâir ûshmabhiḥ* referring to the "aspirates," which Prof. Whitney says, would be most naturally translated 'with their corresponding *ûshmans* or spirants,' "but," says he, "this is hardly to be tolerated, since it would give us

14. (wh)—*continued.*

ts and *ds* instead of *th* and *dh* as the dental aspirates." The commentator, however (*ibid.*), cites another authority, who says: "Another has said the fourths are formed with *h*," [considered afterwards], "some knowing ones have said that there are five 'first' mutes" [viz. (k, kj, т, ‚t, p)]. "Of these, by the successive accretion of secondary qualities, *guṇa*, there takes place a conversion into others. They are known as 'seconds,' when combined with the qualities of *jihvâmûlîya*" [identified with (kh), *ibid.* p. 22], "*ç*, *sh*, *s* and *upadhmânîya*" [identified with (ph), *ibid.* pp. 26 and 30]. "The same, uttered with intonation, are known as 'thirds,' and these, with the second spirant, are known as 'fourths.'" This 'second spirant' seems to mean Sanscrit *h*, as we shall see hereafter. The 'seconds' are not, I think, intended to be fully (k-kh, kɿ-ɹh, т-sh, ‚t-‚s, p-ph), although these are sounds into which they might develope. At any rate we have (‚t-‚s, p-ph) in high German *z*, *pf*, and English *picture* gives almost precisely (т-sh). But I take them to be merely (kɿh, kjɿh, тɿh, ‚tɿh, pɿh), arising from commencing these letters with the open glottis, as (kɿ), etc., and making the resulting flatus audible. If the mute-position were only slightly relaxed, (k-kh), etc., would result. But if it opened fairly on to the vowel, we should have the mixed glide (kɿh < a), etc. This would be tantamount to the Danish consonants, and might, if jerked, be written (kнɿha), etc. The reference to the spirants would then merely indicate the nature of the effect, not the exact effect, which is certainly totally different from the classical examples *inkhorn*, *haphazard*, *nuthook*, for these when written fully are (*i*˙ > q-kj - нhaaɹ > n, нhæ˙pjнhæ˙ > z < ɹ-d', n < ə˙ > tjнhu > k'), where there is no (k < нhaa, p < нhæz, t < нhuk), the mutes and jerk being totally unconnected. The trouble arises with the sonants *gh*, *jh*, etc., for which there could not possibly issue a flatus without interrupting the voice, and saying (g'h-нɿh < a) or ('hgнɿha), neither of which appear probable.

The initial (н'h, нh, ɿh), or (нɿh) seems to be what is commonly understood by the *spiritus asper*, while simple (ɿ) is possibly the *spiritus lenis*. Prof.

14. (wh)—*continued.*

Whitney says (*ibid.* p. 66): "The pure aspiration *h* is a corresponding surd to all the sonant vowels, semivowels and nasals of the alphabet; that is to say, it is produced by an expulsion of breath through the mouth organs in any of the positions in which those letters are uttered; it has no distinctive position of its own, but is determined in its mode of pronunciation by the letter with which it is most nearly connected." This makes *his* aspiration (which must not be confounded with Sanscrit *h*, or with any other person's *h* for the moment) to be my (ɿh), whether before or after a vowel, and does *not* involve the jerk (н) at all. The Tâitt. Pr. says of the *visarjanîya*, "some regard it as having the same position with the preceding vowel." "This latter," observes Prof. Whitney thereupon (*ibid.* p. 21), "is the most significant hint which any of the Prâtiçâkhyas afford us respecting the phonetic value of the rather problematical *visarjanîya*, indicating it as a mere uncharacterised breathing, a final *h*." It is, however, strictly characterised by being a distinct flatus *through* the position of the *preceding* voiced letter. From the usual Sanscrit *sanhitâ* action this flatus is affected by the succeeding consonant, producing many curious effects, to be considered presently.

The Japanese arrange their syllabary in groups of five according to their five vowels, which sounded to me, from the mouth of a native, as (a, *i*, *u*, e, o). These consonants seem to affect aspirates and post-aspirates very differently. Thus I seemed to hear the whole syllabary thus, as it was most patiently explained to me by a Japanese gentleman, but great allowances must be made for a single hearing on my part:

1.	(a	*i*	*u*	e	o
2.	kɿa	kɿ*i*	kɿ*u*	ke	ko
3.	sa	sj*i*	s*u*	se	so
4.	tɿa	tsj*i*	ts*u*	tɿe	to
5.	na	n*i*	n*u*	ne	no
6.	нha	kjh*i*	ph*u*	нhe	нho
7.	ma	m*i*	m*u*	me	mo
8.	ɹa	*i*	*u*	e	ɹió
9.	ʲra	ʲr*i*	ʲr*u*	ʲre	ʲro
10.	wa	*i*	*u*	e	o
11.	ga	gj*i*	g*u*	gje	go
12.	za	z*i*	z*u*	ze	zo
13.	da	dzj*i*	dz*u*	de	do
14.	ba	b*i*	b*u*	be	bo
15.	pɿa	pɿ*i*	pɿ*u*	pe	po)

14. (wh)—*continued.*

The symbol (ˡr) in line 9 means very short (l), on the principle of (1116, *ba*) followed by trilled (r). My teacher seemed unable to pronounce (r) with an entirely free tongue. He involuntarily struck the palate first, and although he seemed to remove the tongue immediately, he produced so much of an (l) effect, that the real (r), also very briefly trilled, became obscured. This pause before trilling resembled the catch in harmonium reeds by which they refuse to speak when very suddenly called on, unless there is a percussive action. The sound (ˡr) is very remarkable for its numerous Oriental relations. The symbols (sʉ, tsʉ) in lines 3 and 4 are given with great hesitation, the (s) seemed to be prolonged and the vowel very short and indistinct, with a kind of hiss running through it; when the speaker prolonged the syllable, his lips came together, and he made a complete (s*ʉʉ*) to finish with. Perhaps (ssʉ*ʉ*) might represent the sound, but I was unable at one sitting to understand it, notwithstanding the great patience of my instructor. But this is not the chief point of interest, for it only shews the action of the hiss (s) on a following (*ʉ*). Of course all my coronal or gingival (t, d) may be erroneous. I was not on the look out for dental (.t .d), and I can only say that if the letters were dental, the dentality was not strongly marked. The change of the aspirate in (нha kjh*i* ph*ʉ* нhe нho) is sufficiently remarkable. I will not guarantee (нha нhe нho) as against (нa нe нo), but there was no greater change. In (kjh*i*, ph*ʉ*) a consonant had taken the place of the simple aspirate, and in each case it was not the next related consonant, not (ɟh*i* whe*e*), but one step further advanced. The (ph*ʉ*) was very distinctly ascertained *not* to be (f*ʉ*), as it is quietly written by Lepsius. My Japanese teacher had had so much difficulty in learning to say our (f) that he utterly disclaimed it. Now, why this change here only? On uttering the English words *he*, *who*, I experience no tendency to fall even into (ɟhi, whu). I do not seem to say (нʿʿii-ii, нʿʿu-u) or (нꞁhii, нꞁhuu), and certainly not with such force as to approach (ɟhii, whuu). If I try for (нhi, нhu), there seems to come a gentle puff of flatus before the vowel, which has no tendency to become a hiss. And I have not remarked this hissing tendency even in German *hier*, *husten*. So far as I am concerned, so far as I seem to hear others speak (I speak with great diffidence, knowing the great liability to err owing to my 'personal equation'), I do not hear in the English aspirate a strong flatus, or any flatus *through* the vowel position, before the vowel. I am acutely sensitive to any 'dropping of an *h*.' But I do not hear (нʿʿii-ii, нʿʿuu-uu) for *he*, *who*. I believe I *say* purely (нii, нuu), at any rate I find even an intentional (нhii, нhuu) to be somewhat of an effort, and (нꞁhii, нꞁhuu) to be a great effort. Still I know that at least (нh) exists, and very possibly (нꞁh), and I shall therefore generally assume that writers on sound mean (нh). But Mr. M. Bell's 9*a*, which I have hitherto transliterated by (нʿ),—meaning (нʿh), and henceforth written (нh),—is certainly sometimes simple (ʿh) or (ꞁ). Thus (Visible Speech, p. 50) he writes "silent respiration" by 9*a* + 9*m* + 10*f* + 9*a* + 9*m* + 10*b*, which must be, I think, („ʿh¦ „ʿhh) = gentle, flatus, drawn inwards, gentle, flatus prolonged (outwards). The 'outwards' is not written either by him or by me, the prolongation is shewn by doubling the h, and the sign gentleness is placed in a different order in my notation. "Painful respiration" is written 9*a* + 10*b* + 10*f* + 9*c* + 5*f* + 9*b* + 10*b*, or (ʿhh¦¦*hh*), that is flatus, prolonged, inwards, catch, (outwards), wheeze prolonged, but perhaps the 9*b* should be (ʿʿh) and not (*h*), or simply (.ʿh), see (1126, *a*). Thus his "naso-guttural respiration," or 9*b* + 9*d* + 10*b* + 10*f* + 9*b* + 9*d* + 10*b*, seems to be (.ʿhh¦ .ʿhh¦) strong flatus, prolonged, nasal, inwards, strong flatus, prolonged, nasal, (outwards).

To return to the Japanese, it would seem that the positions of (e, o, a) do not squeeze the uttered flatus sufficiently to produce a sensible frication or hiss, but the (*i*, *u*) positions do so. Hence (нꞁh*i*, нꞁh*u*) are ready to develope into (ɟh*i*, wh*u*) or (kjh*i*, ph*ʉ*). Now in combining Sanscrit words in *sanhitâ*, we have necessarily as strong an action of any consonant position on a preceding flatus as in the Japanese vowels (*i*, *u*); that is, each consonant converts the flatus into its own continuant or spirant. Hence the final *visarjanlya*, which was probably merely (ꞁh), or a final flatus through the vowel position,

14. (wh)—*continued.*

developed before (k, kj, т, ṭ, p) respectively, the continuants (kh, ɲh, sh, ṣ, ph), see Whitney (*ibid.* p. 96). The first and last of these, (kh) or *jihvâmûlîya*, and (ph) or *upadhmânîya*, are never heard in Sanscrit except when thus 'generated,' and hence, although recognized under these names by the native grammarians, are not accommodated with separate signs. They are by no means peculiar in this respect, either in Sanscrit or other systems of writing. This seems conclusive as regards the value of श, for which (ɲh) answers in every respect, as a palatal hiss, as degenerating into (sh) (Whitney, *ibid.* p. 23), and as corresponding to (k, s, kh, sh) in cognate languages. See (1120, *b*) to (1121, *cb*). The flatus of the final *visarjanîya*, therefore, corresponds closely with flatus after mutes.

Now as to Sanscrit ह, usually written *h*. The following are the native descriptions (Whitney, *ibid.* p. 21). "Of the throat sounds, the lower part of the throat is the producing organ. That is to say, as the commentator goes on to explain, the upper part of the throat, as place of production, is approached by the lower part of the throat, as instrument of production. As the sounds constituting the class, he mentions *a*, in its short, long, and protracted values, *h*, and the *visarjanîya*." The Rik Pr. classes *h* and the *visarjanîya* as chest-sounds; the Tâitt. Pr. reckons only these two as throat-sounds, and adds, "some regard *h* as having the same position with the following vowel, and *visarjanîya* with the preceding vowel." From the latter we previously deduced the value of *visarjanîya* as simply (ɦ). But *h* is *not* flatus; it is *voice*, being classed by the native commentator (*ib.* p. 18) with the vowels, sonant mutes, and semivowels. This Prof. Whitney, taking *h* to be (ɦ) in Sanscrit as well as in his own English (1132, *a'*), calls a "striking anomaly." It is certainly impossible that *h* should mean (ɦ) and be a voiced sound. Prof. Whitney says that in the fullest account (that in the Tâitt. Pr.) we read "that, while sound [voice] is produced in a closed throat, and simple breath [flatus] in an open one, the *h*-tone is uttered in an intermediate condition; and that this *h*-tone is the emitted material in the consonant *h*, and in 'fourth' mutes or

14. (wh)—*continued.*

sonant aspirates." And then Prof. W. adds: "I confess myself unable to derive any distinct idea from this description, knowing no intermediate utterance between breath and sound, excepting the stridulous tone of the loud whisper, which I cannot bring into any connection with an *h*. The Rik Pr. declares both breath and sound [flatus and voice] to be present in the sonant aspirates and in *h*, which could not possibly be true of the latter, unless it were composed, like the former, of two separate parts, a sonant and a surd; and this is impossible." Now it is evident that the writers are attempting to describe something which they can only vaguely hint at, for the whole glottal action was evidently unknown to them, that is, they had only vague subjective feeling in place of actual observation to deal with, and they were obliged to invent their language as they proceeded. The wonder is, not that they should be indistinct, but that they should have been generally so much *more* distinct than the host of European grammarians and orthoepists who succeeded them. Now the last indication, which is so impossible to Prof. Whitney, corresponds closely enough to the sensations produced by a *buzz*, in which there is much obstruction, so that the tone is broken, and the effect is felt as that of a mixture of breath and voice (1101, *e'*). The sound of a whisper ("h), which really partakes of both characters (1128, *c'*), would be too weak. The buzz results from much interruption to the tone, producing many strong beats, as heard in bass chords on an harmonium, and the 'natural' voice (1128, *d'*). It appears to me then that the whole description of the Tâitt. Pr. can be read thus: "*h* is a glottal buzz." There is, however, only one such sound, the bleat (ɡ), see (1130, *e*). This is fully glottal, and can be uttered in the same position as the following vowel. In fact it is often uttered simultaneously with the vowel, which we may indicate by writing the vowel with a small ɡ below, thus (ɡa). Then by (ga) we properly mean (ɡa + a), which is the exact counterpart of (ɦa) = ("aa + a). It may also in this case be nasalised, explaining the rule, "After *h* is inserted a *nâsikya* before a nasal mute" (Whitney, *ibid.* p. 66), so that *brahma* would be perhaps

14. (wh)—*continued.*

(bra,a,ma). Any one who has listened to numerous sheep bleating and noted their various tones (as I have done today, 21 July, 1873, in Kensington Gardens), will have observed how extremely *nasal* they are, as are also the snarling beats of the canine *r*, which we have all learned "*sonat de nare.*" It may also be uttered with a jerk, so that (gнga) is quite conceivable. The forms (kнlha, gнga) are then exactly correlative. I give the above as theoretical restitutions of the Sanscrit 'seconds and fourths,' founded upon an interpretation of ancient native explanations, as translated by Prof. Whitney. But it does not follow that they are correct. I may have misunderstood the translator, the translator may have misunderstood the native author, and, very probably, the native author himself may not have been himself clearly conscious of his own feelings, may have failed to express himself properly, and may have been hampered with conventional terms. It becomes important, therefore, to examine the existing native use of these 'seconds' and 'fourths,' and the aspirate, all of which are living and significant in modern Hindustani.

If the observations of Brücke upon a moonshee, as detailed by Rumpelt (on pp. 138–140 of Das natürliche System der Sprachlaute, Halle, 1869, 8vo. pp. 227), are correct, the first (kнlha) remains, and the second (gнga) is changed. He says: "The mutes explode with open glottis (bei nicht tönender Stimritze); when *not* aspirated, the glottis is immediately contracted for voice, so that the vowel may sound directly after the closure is relaxed; when aspirated, the contraction of the glottis is delayed, the flatus is allowed to escape for an instant through the open glottis, and *h* results, gliding on to the following vowel as the glottis again contracts for voice." This corresponds really to (k,a, klha). The Indian himself said, according to Arendt (Rumpelt, *ib.* p. 139), that the German *p*, *t*, *k*, were neither aspirated nor not-aspirates, but nearer to the former than the latter. That is, probably, he heard (pl, tl, kl). The 'fourths' were never pronounced (g'нha), as is customary with German Sanscritists, but "generally the glottis was opened *before* the relaxation of the closure of the mouth,

14. (wh)—*continued.*

so that the sonant, begun with voice, exploded as voiceless, which might be written *gkha*" = (g-klha) or nearly ('gklha). "When this was not the case, the *h* was fully separated from the mute, as in syllabic division, e.g. *pig-hälna*, *ad-ha*, *ab-hi*, and even finally as *bag-h*." These cases are both easy, as (adнlha, bagнh'h). But Rumpelt adds: "Be this as it may, I doubt whether the pronunciation of this Indian scholar gives the universal rule, but think it may result from a deterioration which is not universal in the east," and he prefers ('gнlha), which is of course possible, but totally opposed to the native commentators just cited, who make the aspiration sonant.

The above identification of the ancient Sanscrit *h* with the Semitic (ع) is quite new. Prof. Whitney (*op. cit.* p. 18) suggests the Arabic (grh), but this is formed with the uvula, tongue and palate, and the Sanscrit *h* must be glottal. The same objection applies to (gh), which Bopp adopted, and to which I leaned before reading the native explanations just cited. That (ع) should be confused with (grh) is natural. Even in Denmark the (ר) is imitated by (*r*), and (ר, *r*) = (,,ع, ,,grh). In the Septuagint we constantly find γ for ע, and γ was then probably (gh) as now. Sometimes the Greeks omit it, and it is generally supposed that the letter ע represented both sounds (ع, grh), but this is not at all phonetically necessary. Consequently that an historical घ *gh* = (gع), which is the etymological descent of Sanscrit *h* in almost all cases (Whitney, *ib.* p. 18), should degenerate into (ع) by the omission of the (g), is what this hypothesis would lead us to anticipate. Sanscrit *h* corresponds with Latin *h*, *g*, *c*, Greek χ, γ, κ. Lithuanian *z'*, *sz*, *g* = (zh, sh, g), Gothic *h*, *g*, old high German *k*, and Persian (нh, s, krh), which are also explicable by (ع) through the (grh) relation. Although this (ع) value of Sn. *h* is thus seen to answer every required condition, yet the extreme difficulty which English people feel in appreciating (ع) leads me to recommend them the use of the easy (н) in its place, where no flatus at all is uttered, thus distinguishing ख घ as (klha, gнa), surd and sonant.

Since writing the above I had the

14. (wh)—*continued.*

opportunity, already mentioned (1102, *b*), of examining the pronunciation of Mr. M. O. Mookerjey. So far as I could observe, his *h* ह was a pure jerk (H), not very strong and unaccompanied by any hiss. The "first" क (k) was thoroughly English (k,a), without any tendency to (kɪa) that I could detect. In the "second" ख I heard generally (kɪa), sometimes (kɪha), but scarcely ever (kHɪha), unless perhaps he was particularly anxious to make me hear the sound. The "third" ग was indistinguishable from English (ga), there was none of the German inflatus ('ga), or implosion ('ka). The "fourth" घ seemed simply (gHa), that is in pronouncing (ga) the vowel was brought out with a little more force. Most Englishmen would have considered his (kɪa, gHa) as mere foreign 'corruptions' of (ka, ga). There was nothing in them that they had not heard from foreigners, and from Irishmen constantly. The sound was not (gga), but of course (gHa) might very easily become a refinement of such a sound. The point however which struck me was, that the old Indian ह, which the native commentators classed with the sonants, was still a sonant, to the extent of not being a surd, with not even a buzz or trill about it, but merely a method of jerking out the following vowel. My instructor volunteered that when he said घ he only pronounced the following vowel "a little more strongly," and he mentioned, in order to repudiate it, the late Prof. Goldstücker's pronunciation (g'Hha), of his own accord, that is, without anything said by me to lead up to his observation. It appears then that the recommendation I have given to call ख घ (kɪha gHa) accords so closely with one native gentleman's pronunciation that when I thus pronounced to him he acknowledged the sounds. I did not take the case of a final *h*, as in (bragma), and hence this information was incomplete.

It was in order to complete the information I had received from Mr. Mookerjey, and to contrast it with the usages of others, that I obtained the assistance of Mr. Gupta (1096, *a*), who was pointed out to me by Prof. Childers, of the India Office Library, as the person from whom I could obtain the

14. (wh)—*continued.*

most trustworthy native assistance in London, and I am greatly indebted to Mr. Gupta for the patience and care with which he sought to meet my wishes. Of course it would be advisable to hear very much more than it was possible to condense into an hour's observation, and also to hear different readers of equal information read the same words. But as phonetic observations upon cultivated native Sanscrit pronunciation at the present day, made by persons who have studied the theory of speech-sounds, are certainly rare, I think it will be advisable in this place to reproduce the notes I made at the moment, as a basis for future observations. I have already had to refer three times to the information then obtained (1096, *a*. 1103, *c*. 1120, *c*), but it will be convenient to repeat the notes in their proper place. The method adopted was to present certain combinations in Sanscrit characters, prepared beforehand, and, by hearing them repeatedly pronounced, to note the sounds in palaeotype, making a few hasty observations, which were expanded immediately after Mr. Gupta's departure, while my recollection of the conversation that had passed was quite fresh. I shall now print the Sanscrit and palaeotype, with nearly a verbatim reproduction of those notes, which I regard as documents, and hence bracket all subsequent additions.

Modern Indian Pronunciation of Sanscrit.

अ (*a*) आ (aa) इ (*i*) ई (ii) उ (*u*) ऊ (uu). Observe the pairs (*a* aa, *i* ii, *u* uu). [The short vowels were distinctly of a different quality from the long. The two first were *not* (ə, AA), as usually laid down. The Scotch (*a*) and English (*i*, *u*) were very marked.]

ऋ occasionally ('ri) when pronounced separately, but otherwise (ri), *not* (ari). [Also not (ori). Dentality not noticed.]

ॠ ('rii, rii) under the same circumstances.

ऌ (lri) when pronounced separately, but क्लृप् was (klip) [exactly like the English word *elip*], not (klrip). [In this (lri) the (l) seemed to me more evident and the (r) less evident than in the Japanese (ˡr), so that the result might

14. (wh)—*continued.*

be rather written (lʳ). But as the sound never occurs except as the name of a letter, very little weight is attachable to this observation.]

ॡ (lrii) so called, but it does not occur separately.

ए (ee) or even (EE), distinctly very open [and this was still clearer in combination].

ऐ(âi), occasionally (*di*), and when pronounced separately, fully (â⌣*i*) [with the Italian looseness and slur].

ओ (oo) quite open, nearly (AA) in connected words [no approach to (*oo*, *oo'w*)].

औ (âu) or (*du*, â⌣*u*) as for (âi). [In neither (âi) nor (âu) was there a further prolongation of the first element than is natural to a slurred combination, in comparison to the English type (ˌâiˌ).]

का (k,aa) quite English [that is, with closed glottis; not as in Germany].

खा (kɩaa), it seemed to be merely the open glottis (kɩ), but occasionally (kɩh) might be heard. [It was distinctly *not* (kHaa) or (kHɩhaa), and totally different from *kh* in the celebrated *inkhorn*.]

गू (guu) English [no German inflatus (1113, *b*)].

घू (gHuu), with stronger vowel, distinctly *not* (g'Huu, g'Hhuu), which was derided. [The sound may be heard from many an Irishman saying *goose*. The vowel seemed to be *jerked* out quietly with the (H) which is natural to me. The form (g.uu) would seem to imply a greater continuity of pressure, and (g.,uu) too much abruptness. Neither does (g¹uu) with the sign of closeness (1127, *b*) appear correct. The result was identical with Mr. Mookerjey's. It appears, then, that the conjecture respecting the pronunciation of **भ ध घ** as (bH dH gH),—where I ought of course to have written (ˌdH),—which first led me theoretically to the assumption of a pure *jerk* (H) as the basis of post-aspiration (1125, *b'*), is entirely confirmed by the actually observed practice of two native Bengalese gentlemen.]

ङ. Not used initially, this **ङ** is merely (q), and is used final for necessary (*anusuâara*). [Mr. Gupta did not seem able to say (qī), and hence the combination was not pronounced.]

चो (kjoo), Bell's 2*e* (15, *b*), distinctly an explodent, no hiss at all, not (tj). [See (1120, *e*).]

छो but in this letter a hiss occurred (kjɩhoo), and hence the resemblance to English (t,sh) was very close, in fact (tˌsh) was near enough. [The close squeezing of (kj) when opened on an open glottis, as (kjɩ), necessarily engenders (jh), and the resulting (kjɩh) comes so close in effect to English (t,sh), that the two sounds are readily confused, and I have no doubt that I confused them at the time, as (kj) was not a familiar sound to me.]

जा (gjaa) decidedly an explodent, and *not* (d,zh), nor (ˌzh) simply.

झा (gj'Haa) for (gjHaa); the intention was always (gjHaa), but (gj'Haa) was occasionally said; some speakers, according to Mr. Gupta, make the sound closer than others. [This was his expression when I pointed out to him the insertion of ('), but observe that even then no (Hh)—that is, no flatus—was introduced. The combination is rare, but (gjHaa) is quite as easy as (gHaa), after a very little practice.]

ञ (nj), very close as in closest French, but not (nɹ) at all, only used before (kj, gj). [I heard (nj), but this may have been an error of ear for (qj).]

टा (t,aa), simple English (t), no inversion of tongue at all, see (1096, *b*).

ता (ˌt,aa), pure dental (ˌt), tongue against teeth, French *t;* the only English dentals, according to Mr. Gupta, are (th, dh). [These (t, ˌt) were pronounced with vowels, thus (taa ˌtaa, tii ˌtii, tuu ˌtuu), in rapid alternation, till the distinction became as clear as between (sh, th).]

था (ˌtɩaa) or (ˌtɩhaa), **ठा** (tɩaa) or (tɩhaa). [These were written in a different order to the last pair, and rapidly alternated, to shew the distinction.]

धा (ˌdHaa), **ढा** (dHaa).

ना (ˌnaa), before a dental **त द** (ˌn) is heard, and the sound is perhaps always (ˌn).

णा (naa), before a cerebral **ट ड** (n) is heard, before a vowel **न ण** are both (ˌn), not distinguished (1096, *e'*).

14. (wh)—*continued.*

पी (p,ii), quite English, फी (pɪii, pɪhii).

बू (buu), भू (bʜuu) distinct, no approach to (b'ʜuu).

मी (mii), English.

ये (ɹee), English (ɹ).

रे (,ree) or (ree). After a dental *r* is dental, the tongue *not* being drawn back, as (,t,r). Mr. Gupta could not recall a word where *r* stands after a cerebral. [Initially Mr. Gupta had always an apparent tendency to insert (ə) or ('h) before (,r), thus (ə,rii); this arose perhaps from some voice escaping before the beat of the trill became evident. The Prâtiçâkhyas require a ('h) to be inserted distinctly between (,r) and a following 'spirant' (ɹh, sh, s, ʜ), and more briefly between (,r) and any other following consonant. I did not observe this, which is, however, common in European speech when there is a trill. I have frequently not noticed the dentality of (,r), probably from not knowing it well.]

ले (lee), English [that is, I did not detect any special dentality, as (,l)].

वे (vee), but often (ʌvee) [that is, with very moderate dentality], and apparently very like (bh, b) occasionally, in Bengalee always (b). See (1103, *c*). After a consonant व is quite (w) or rather (u-) diphthongising with the following vowel, and I find य becomes a similar diphthongising (i-) under the same circumstances.

शी षी both (shii), no distinction whatever made between श ष, they are different letters having the same sound; occasionally श seems more retracted, but the distinction is now quite lost. See (1120, *c'*).

सी (sii), English. In conversational Bengalee often (ʜ), not (ʜh). [The last fact was ascertained by special questioning, as I anticipated hearing (ʜh), on account of the hiss, and the old ʒξ *sex* relations.]

हा (ʜaa). When Mr. Gupta was emphatic, (ʜ'h) crept out; but it was always a very mild sound and the intention was evidently to emit no flatus. It was in no respect an (ʜh) which could have grown from a (kh). In conversation uneducated Bengalees leave it out altogether. [A remarkable fact in connection with our own frequent omission of *h*, and its powerlessness to save a vowel from elision in older English as well as Greek and Latin, and its disappearance in modern Greek and Romance.]

This pronunciation is after Benares and not Bengalee custom. [In addition to the above pronunciations of simple syllables, I tried a few actual words, which will illustrate the Sanscrit phonetic synthesis; but this is so peculiar and important, and was so totally unanticipated by me, that instead of a few examples at the end of an hour's instruction, a long study should be devoted to it. Some of the following observations, however, appear to be new.]

प्रातिशाख्य (praatishâaikɪiá), the य occasioned an anticipation of (i) in the preceding syllable, and the ख्य became =(kɪiá), that is, nearly =(-kɹha). [We have here an instance of the anticipation of a following vowel by absolutely inserting it audibly in the preceding syllable, just as a note of a following chord is often anticipated to form a dissonance in the preceding chord, whereas in the German *umlaut* the following vowel merely gradates the preceding in a peculiar manner. Next we see the change of (ɹ) to (i) after a consonant, this vowel however diphthongising with the following. The action of (kɪ) on this vowel necessarily produces ("i), which is scarcely separable from (ɹh). In fact a written (aakɪɹa) becomes a spoken (âaikɹhiá), the hiss after the (k), which arises from commencing with an open glottis, being converted by the following (i), used for (ɹ), into the true palatal (ɹh), by the same action which determined the native rule: "*visarjanîya*, before a surd consonant, becomes of like position with the following sound" (Whitney, *ibid.* p. 96). As I was totally unprepared for this complicated action, I was much impressed by it, and ascertained the correctness of my analysis by several repetitions. On inquiring respecting the position of the *accent*, the answer was:] No accent beyond the quantity, no other accent known. Mr. Gupta knew that accents were written in the Vedas, but he knew nothing of the Vedas, or of the meaning of their

14. (wh)—*continued.*

accents. He read by quantity strictly [making a very marked distinction between short and long vowels. In speaking English Mr. Gupta seemed never to place the accent wrongly, as I have heard Indians not unfrequently do, who spoke English otherwise very well. He must have therefore fully understood my question. The next words are from Bopp's Nalus, lib. i. sloka 3, and the Latin translation added is Bopp's].

ब्रह्मण्यो *religiosus* (bra:muái,nnjióo), (bra:) followed by a silence, not (ʜ), not (ʜh), not (ɽ). [The (:) is a sudden check to the sound, a dead pull up; but it did not seem to be done with a jerk, although it imitated the jerk and replaced it. It was not (ɛ), there was hence no such effect as (br,a,), already described (1135, *a*), indeed the **ह** *h*, although written as interlaced with the **म** *m*, instead of allowing the nasality of (m) to be anticipated on the vowel, completely separated the vowel from the (m). If any nasality was anticipated, I failed to notice it. But there were so many other curiosities in the word, that I might have readily overlooked so slight a difference as that between (*a a*,). The silence after (:) produced the effect of lengthening the first syllable, although in itself this syllable was extremely short. I regret that I had marked no case like *upadhmâniya*, where a post-aspirated media comes before a sonant consonant. I can only conjecture by analogy that the effect of the post-aspirate would be merely to check or shorten the preceding consonant, introducing a pause, and that this word might consequently be called (*upa*,d:m*u*ñai,nqjiɪ*a*). It is well known that *dh* before a pause becomes (,t). The latter part of the word is given on the analogy of what follows. The next sounds shew remarkable effects, and I had the word repeated many times to note them. The Sanscrit letters indicate only (m*a*,nɹoo), all else is generated. The labiality of (m) generated either an (u) or (o) sound upon the coming (*a*); (ɔ) being as we know the labialisation of (*a*), it would be most natural, but as Indian organs are not accustomed to any short (ɔ, o)-sound, but are used to short (*u*), it is probable that (*u*) was really uttered, although I received it as (u). It was very transient, but unmistakably touched. Then came (*a*) short with the force, and followed, as in the last case, by an (i) anticipated from the **य** (*ɹ*) in the next syllable. Result so far, (m*uái*), which is probably more correct than (muái). Representing a short vowel, the whole triphthong was short and glided on to the (,n), on which weight was laid. Now however ensued an action of the **य** (*ɹ*), converted into (i) after a consonant as usual, and this displayed itself by converting (,n) into (nj), as it sounded to me, but (qɹ) may have been the sound of course, as a palatal generated by the palatal. By this introduction sufficient time was gained for lengthening the syllable, and then the voice fell rapidly and briefly on the (i), and passed on to a long broad sustained (oo), producing the singular result (bra:)m*uái*,nqɹió0), as it may perhaps be written.]

वेदविच् छूरो *Vèdorum-gnarus, heros*, (vee,d*a*v*i*t kɹ]uu,roo). I think (tkɹ]) was (tjkɹ]) meant for (kɹkɹ]), after the Italian model. Mr. Gupta complained of the separation of the words, the **च् छू** for **च्छू** causing him to hesitate. There was no real doubling of (kɹ), but the first seemed to be a coronal (t), and not the dental (,t), which would have been impossible as the substitute for a palatal. The lengthening of the syllable (v*i*t) by the doubled consonant was very clear.] The quantities were brought out beautifully.

निषधेषु *in Nischadhis* (,nishadʜee-sh*u*). [The long vowel quite distinctly marked, no glide of (sh*a*) on to (dʜ), the (dʜee) given very quietly, but quite distinct from (dee), and with no approach to (sh*a*d)ʜhee).]

महीपतिः *terrae-dominus* (mʜii-p*a* t*i*]). Observe the visarga at the end distinct. [The effect of (,t*i*]) was clearly (,t*i*''i) or nearly (,t*i*ɹh), but very short and quick, just touched, and hence not so strong as would be implied by writing (,t*i*h). The medial (ʜ) was quite different from (ʜh). The first six words that follow are from the 5th sloka of Nalus.]

तथै 'वा "सोद्र विदर्भेषु *ita quoque fuit in Vidarbhis* (,ta,t]ai vaa sii,d

14. (wh)—*continued.*

vi,darbheeshu). [The dentality of (r) not observed.]

भीमो भीमपराक्रमः *Bhimus timenda-vi* (bhiimoo bhiimaparaakramaḷ). [The dentality of (r) not observed; the (aḷ) distinct.]

धर्मवित् *officiorum-gnarus* (,dharmavi,t). [Sloka 7.]

सुमध्यमा *pulchro-medio corpore praedita* (suma ,dhiámaa). [There being no hiss, there is no generation of (ɜh) in (,dhiá). It is seen that the difficulty of (,dhɜ) was got over by taking (ɜ) as (i). From sloka 10.]

शतं सखीनत्र च *centum amicaeque* (shataq sakjii,naanj kja). [Perhaps (qj) would have been more correct than (nj). Sloka 11. This concludes the observations on Mr. Gupta's pronunciation.]

Returning to English sounds I may notice the following information received from Prof. Haldeman: "About the year 1850, the lower classes of New York developed the form *b'hoy* from *boy*. It came to Philadelphia, and I heard it as far south as Washington, but there it acquired a vowel, say *bəhoy*. This sound is rather an enforced than an 'aspirate' *b*, and is due to energetic speech, like German *pf* for *p*. In questions between Greek and Sanscrit, I believe that *p* is older than *p'h*, *pf*, and *f*, and *f* often newer than *p'h*; and *k*, *k'h*, *kh*, χ, have the same relations. It is a curious fact, that in India itself *p'hal*, fruit, has fallen into *fal* dialectically—if the sound is not really the labial *ph*." Query, was this lower-class New York sound (bhɔ'i), and was it adopted from the Irish (bhɜ'iz) who abound there?

The English language has the following pairs of mutes and sonants (p b, t d, k g), occasionally but not intentionally passing into (pḷh bh, tḷh dh, kḷh gh). It has also the pairs of hisses and buzzes (f v, th dh, s z, sh zh) and, as I think, (wh w, ɜh ɜ). But the murmurs (r, l, m, n, q) have at least no acknowledged hiss. Now in Dutch these are acknowledged, though not written, as (lh, rh) developed by a *sanhitá* action of a following voiceless letter (1114, *b*), to which I draw particular attention, as it is the most marked European correlative of this combined Sanscrit action, to which we have very little corresponding in English. In all languages there are many synthetically generated sounds which are not marked in the alphabet. Thus I noticed a generated (z) in Mr. Magnússon's Icelandic (547, *ab*), and a generated (lh, mh, nh) after or before mutes (545, *d*. 546, *a*). In Sanscrit we have already noticed (1132, *a*) a generated (kh, ph) from Prof. Whitney, and other generated sounds from Mr. Gupta's pronunciation. The rules for the conversion of Sanscrit *m*, *n*, before surd mutes, into *visarjanîya* (Whitney, *ibid.* pp. 84, 85), seem to me to speak of this insertion of a generated (mh, nh) as (m-mh-p, n-nh-t) for (mḷh, nḷh) = (m-mh, n-nh). "It is sufficiently evident," says Prof. Whitney (*ibid.* p. 86), "that this insertion of a sibilant after a final *n*, before a surd mute, is no proper phonetical process: the combination of the nasal and following non-nasal is perfectly natural and easy, without the aid of a transition sound, nor can any physical explanation be given of the thrusting in between them of a sibilant which only encumbers the conjunction," and consequently he resorts to an historical development, which of course may have been the real process adopted. But it does not follow that the insertion may not be perfectly natural. The difficulty arises, not from the passage of a nasal into a non-nasal, but from voice to voicelessness. Now to us such a passage as (tiit) is easy enough, and most of us say simply (t < ii > t'). But it is easily imaginable that the glides must be mixed in some persons' mouths as (t < "ii-'ii-ii-'ii-"ii > t < 'h) or (tḷhiiḷht'), where the change from voicelessness to voice takes place *in the position of the* voiced letter. In this case such a combination as (felt, læmp, tent, thíqk) would be impossible, or at least disagreeable to his organs, which demand (fel-lh-t, læm-mh-p, ten-nh-t, thíq-qh-k), or, using the *visarjanîya* (ḷh), as would be natural in languages which had a sign for that, and not for (mh, nh), we should write (felḷht, læmḷhp, tenḷht, thíqḷhk). Is such a state of things actual or only theoretical? I hear the four English words as (felt', læmp', tent', thíqk'), Mr. Melville Bell gives them as (felht, læmhp', tenht', thíqhk'),

14. (wh)—*continued.*

and says expressly (English Visible Speech for the Million, p. 15): "The abrupt *non-vocal* articulation of the 'liquids' *l, m, n, ng*, when before non-vocal consonants, is exhibited in the printing of such words as *felt, lamp, tent, think*, etc. In deliberate pronunciation, the voiceless *l, m*, etc., receive an initial *trace* of vocality from the preceding vowels;" that is, he admits (fɛ̯l-lht'), etc., "but if an attempt be made to *prolong* the 'liquid,' without altering its vernacular effect, the *characteristic voicelessness* of the latter will be demonstrated to the ear. The peculiarity of 'foreign' pronunciation of these English syllables arises simply from the undue *vocality* which is given to the *l, m*, etc." I do not know to what particular 'foreign' pronunciation he was alluding, but I do not recognize a *predominance* of (lh) as English. It is possible that (fel-ɹlh-t'), etc., may be said, but I have no more difficulty in saying (felt') than in saying (fæt'), that is, I can run the vocality on to the voiceless mute, and then cut it suddenly off, without any interposition of the hiss (lh). A distinct and much more a predominant pronunciation of (lh), etc., is something new to me. But in listening in 1870 to the English public speaking of Keshub Chunder Sen, a Bengalese gentleman, of considerable education, founder of the Brahmo Somaj or Indian theistic church, I was struck by the way in which he conveyed the vocality of his (l, m, n) into the following consonant, when it should have been quite voiceless, and then having given a faint indication of the voiced effect, passed on to voicelessness, *during* that consonant. This was more apparent when the following consonant was a hiss. His *since* was (sin-ɹz-s), his *felt* was (fɛl-ɹd-t'), the effect of which to an English ear was to create a confusion between *since* and *sins, felt* and *felled*. Now this was the more remarkable, because of our own habit of calling *sins* (sinzs), see (547, *b*) and (1104, *c*), so that it would certainly be more English to call *since* (sinnhs) than (sinɹzs). But the point to be noticed here is the *visarjanîya* or (ɹh) effect produced, the real change from voicelessness to voice and conversely, in the same position. We might write (sinɹhs, sinzɹh) for (sin-nh-s, sinz-s). The introduction of whisper before or after

14. (wh)—*continued.*

voice is *not* confined to vowels, but may occur with any voiced consonants, and different ears will recognise the effect of the same pronunciations differently, according to the attention which education or habit has led them to give to the voiced or voiceless parts respectively. A German says (szizee·un) for *sie sehen*, and (szii! szii!) for *sieh! sieh!*, but he only knows and teaches that he says (zizee·un, zii! zii!). An Englishman says (briidhzs), but believes he says (briidhz), and if a voiced letter follows he does so. But he never says (thdh*eei*) as a German would, if he could. German is very deficient in correspondences of voiced and voiceless letters. Even if we admit initial and medial (pɹh b, ̩tɹh ̩d, kɹh g), we find only final (p, ̩t, k) or at most (-bp, -̩d̩t, -gk). Then to German (f) there is no (v), except in the north of Germany, and even there the (v) for (bh) arises so differently that there is no feeling of pairing, and hence (fvii) for (bhii) would be strange. And in those parts of Germany where (bh) is certainly pronounced, (ph) is only generated, and not even acknowledged, except by phonologists, in *pfau* = (p-pháu), so that (phbhii) could not occur. The Germans have (sh) but no (zh), and (̩t̩sh) but no (̩d̩zh). They have (kh, kjh), but only medial and final, except in the syllable *-chen*, and some generated *ge-*'s. Their (gh, gjh) are only medial. They know nothing of (lh, rh, mh, nh, qh), and hence there is no tendency to any *visarjanîya* consonant effect, except in initial (sz-). In English we have certainly, before a pause, (-zs, -dhth) frequently, and (-vf) occasionally, but as (zh) is never final, we have no (zh, sh). The consonantal diphthong in *judge*, however, often yields (d̩zhəd̩zh̩sh), which Germans, at best, pronounce (t̩shədt̩sh), and a very curious effect they produce, making the (əd) extremely short. In the case of (l, m, n, q) we prolong them indefinitely as vocal, and so, I think, do Germans, with the exception of (q), which becomes (qk') very often in Germany.

We are now prepared to consider the very difficult Ags. *hw, hr, hl, hm, hn*, with the Old Norse *hj, hv*, see (513, *a*), (544, *a*). Prof. Whitney, after defining *h* as (ɹh), see (1131, *a'*), continues (Ath. V. Pr. p. 66): "Thus the *h*'s of *ha*, of *hi*, of *hu*, and those heard before the

14. (wh)—*continued.*

semi-vowels *w* and *y* in the English words *when* and *hue*, for instance, are all different in position, corresponding in each case with the following vowel or semi-vowel. *H* is usually initial in a word or syllable, and is governed by the letter which succeeds, and not by that which precedes it." He therefore says, and hears from such American English speakers as do not omit the voiceless part altogether, (ɥhaa, ɥhii, ɥhuu, ɥhwen, ɥhiú), and he is apparently so convinced that all English speakers agree with himself and those whom he has both heard and noted, that he says elsewhere (Oriental and Linguistic Studies, p. 251) that Prof. Max Müller's "definition of the *wh* in *when*, etc., as a simple whispered counterpart of *w* in *wen*, instead of a *w* with a prefixed aspiration, is, we think, clearly false." When Prof. Max Müller, as a German, appealed to the opinions of Mr. M. Bell and myself as English phonologists who agreed with him, Prof. Whitney replied (*ibid.* p. 271): "The true phonetic value of the *wh*, as is well known to all who have studied English phonology, is greatly controverted; we happen to have a strong conviction on one side, which we take every convenient opportunity of expressing, without intending disrespect to those who differ from us." And then, alluding to me, he says, "We feel less scruple about disagreeing with him as to this particular point, inasmuch as he (and Bell as well) has what we cannot but regard as a special weakness in respect to labial modifications of vowels and consonants. With one who can hold the initial consonant sound of *dwell*, for example, to be not a *w* with *d* prefixed, but a labially modified *d*, we should not expect to agree in an analysis of the *wh* sound." On (d*w*) see (1115,*b*), where the last sentence was quoted without its context. The cases of (wh, d*w*) are not quite parallel, but this is of small importance. Prof. Whitney's *wh* = my (ɥhw) = my (wh-w). Now, of course, Prof. Whitney is an incontrovertible authority as to the way in which he pronounces, and wishes others to pronounce, the initial sounds of his own name, but that he should find it necessary to "take every convenient opportunity of expressing" his own "strong conviction" respecting the correctness of his analysis, shews me that he must have met with many who disputed it. Possibly he is often called (Wi·tni), as he certainly would be generally in London, and that must be as annoying as for *Smith* to be called (Zmis), as he would certainly be in France. That, however, (ɥhwiil) = (whwiil) is an acknowledged theoretical American pronunciation, the uncorroborated assertion of Prof. Whitney would be sufficient to establish. And it is not uncorroborated.

14. (wh)—*continued.*

Prof. S. S. Haldeman, of Chickies, Columbia, Pennsylvania, U.S., says (Analytic Orthography, p. 101): "Latin V has a surd aspirate in English *wh*, which is always followed by V *way*, as in *when* = (whwen), which is not (when), as some suppose, nor is it *hwen*, as *hden* is not *then*. Unfortunately, this sound is departing. We heard *wig* for *whig*, the first time in July, 1848, and not unfrequently since. When this confusion is established between when wen; where were; which witch; whet wet; whey way; wheel weal; the language will have ceased to be a refined one. The sound probably belongs to Welsh, provincial Danish, and ancient Greek." And in a note received while this was being prepared for press he observes: "If *when* is not my *wh-w-e-n* but *wh-e-n*, it approaches *fen*, as *wh-i-ch* approaches *fitch*," [precisely, and so we get Aberdeen (f) for initial (wh), and have got our received final (f) in *laugh dwarf*.] "I think those who say *w-e-n* drop *wh* and do *not* drop the aspirate merely. Similarly if *hue* is not (ɥh-ɹ-u) but (ɥh-u), then it approaches (sh-u)." Query, are not Lancashire *hoo* and Leeds *shoo*, both meaning *she*, both derived from *heó* ags., the one through (ɥheóo, ɥhû*o*, ɥhu', ɥhuu) regular dialectal changes, and the other through (ɥheóo ɥhióo ɥhóo shóo)? The peculiar dialectal pronunciations will be discussed hereafter. The usual theory gives *hoo* to *heó*, and *she*, *shoo* to *seó*. But *she* could also come from *heó* through (ɥheóo ɥhêoo ɥhê' she). The vowel changes will be justified hereafter. The form ȝ*ho* occurs in Orrmin (488, *d*), and *ghe*, *ge* in Genesis and Exodus (467, *cd*).

Prof. Haldeman adds: "I have known an intelligent lecturer on grammar to assert that in *when*, etc., the *h* precedes the *w*—meaning a true *h*. I then proposed that he should set his mouth for the initial of *hen*. 'Now

14. (wh)—*continued.*

say *when.*' Of course he failed, and admitted the labial nature of the initial. I have a cognate experiment upon about the only point where we do not agree. I say, 'Set the mouth for the initial of *ooze*, let it stand while you are *imagining* the syllab *now*, but relax at its final element and let the lips drop into —*w*. The result is a closer sound than that of *ooze* or *full.*' 'Set the mouth for the vowel of *eel* or *ill*, then imagine the organs relaxed upon the last element of *eye* or *boy*, when a closure of the organs will be felt.' I admit your glide, but a glide that proceeds to a consonant, and might proceed from *oo* to *b*. The glide is present in *boa* and *chaos*, but it cannot turn them into monosyllabs." These last remarks relate to my theory of diphthongs, and the experiment is to shew that the last element is consonantal. So it is, in the pronunciation of several English persons, but that is not sufficient for a general theory of diphthongs. The last examples, *boa* and *chaos*, are met by my slur ‿ theory.

Prof. F. A. March, of Easton, Pennsylvania, U.S., in his private letter of 22 March, 1872,—already cited (1092, *c*),—has most obligingly entered into so much detail that I think it will be interesting and useful to quote his remarks at length. He says: "You call my *wh* (wh + w). I suppose you call my *h* (wh) because I have set my organs for (w) when I issue it. I suspect something wrong here, and fear that I have misled you as to the sound. When I say *he*, I set the organs for *e* (ii) and issue surd breath; to say *ha*, I set for *a* (aa) and issue surd breath, and so for other combinations" [That is, he says ("ii, "aa) initially, or (ɦii, ɦaa) conjointly.] "No separate characters are used to indicate these 'settings.'" [*Hinc illae lacrymae!*] "I do not then see why *hw* is not the proper notation for my *wh*." [If *h* always indicated (ɦ), then *hw* would indicate (ɦw) = (whw), which is Prof. March's *wh*,—but not mine.] "When I compare *hoo* and *hwen* = when, it seems to me that the initial surd sound before the lip movement in *hw* is identical." [If (w) differ from (u), as I believe, then (ɦw) differs from (ɦu), the first giving (wh-w), the second ("u-u).] "I have this moment stopped writing, and tried the experiment of saying *who eat*, pronouncing it as one word with

14. (wh)—*continued.*

the accent on *eat*, and the *o* = *oo* with slight sonancy. I find a person of good ear and some skilled attention takes it for *wheat*, and thinks it correctly uttered, though often repeated." [This depends upon habit. Now there are very various ways of uttering these words, and I feel sure that my *who eat* (ʜuˌii·t), even when allowed to degenerate into mere (ʜuíit) is not at all like Prof. March's *wheat* = (whwiit), but of course his (ɦuíit) would differ from (whwiit) only as (uíi) from (wii), and the existence of this difference for at least 300 years, since the time of Sir Thos. Smith (185, *a*), has been a matter of dispute in England.] "This seems to me to indicate that in our pronunciation the initial sound is *h* as in *hoo*, and that the following sound is very like your diphthongal *ŏŏ*" [that is, (u) forming a diphthong with a following vowel which has the chief stress. Here I omit a passage on etymology, subsequently referred to.] "I cannot but think that phonetically, as certainly etymologically, Ang.-Sax. and New England *hw*'s are labialised *h*'s, standing parallel with Lat. *qu*." [Here Prof. March actually adopts as an argument an idea of my own, that *qu* = (k*w*) and not (kw), which Prof. Whitney adduced as a reason for disagreeing with me!] "I think it likely that these remarks are wholly needless; but I find that I *can* issue breath through organs set for *w*, in such a way that it will have from the first a plain labial modification, so that I should call it *wh*. The sound I *do* make for *hw* is not that, I think; but, as I have tried to expound it, like *h*. Perhaps, I do not really set my organs for your *w*."

Another American phonetic authority propounds a slight difference. Mr. Goodwin (*op. cit.* p. 10) says: "As to *wh*, it has generally been maintained by modern English grammarians that it is pronounced *hw* (i.e. *hoo*), as it was written by the Anglo-Saxons. But we doubt not that if a man will observe carefully for himself how, and with what difference, he pronounces *wit* and *whit*, he will be satisfied that the *h* is really pronounced neither before nor after the *w*, but in the same sort of constant combination with it, which characterizes any other aspirate as connected with its lene. Whether the *h*, therefore, should be printed before or after the *w*, is a matter of indifference,

14. (wh)—*continued.*

except so far as consistency in the notation of a given alphabet is concerned. *Wh* is certainly the most consistent with the rest of the English alphabet." This seems to favour (whít) rather than (ɥhwít).

It seems to me that the difficulty has arisen from want of discriminating symbols. Now that it is quite possible to distinguish (нuíit, нhuíit, нɥhuíit, ɥhuíit, whiit, нwhiit = нɥhwiit, whwiit = ɥhwiit, wiit), we may inquire in any particular case what *is* said. It is very probable, most probable, that in a case where accurate attention has been little paid, and where even symbolisation failed, great diversities exist, both traditionally and educationally, and that theorists should differ. Now it is certainly curious that three such competent American observers as Professors Whitney, Haldeman, and March, should practically agree in (wh-wiit) = (ɥhwiit); and that two practised English observers like Mr. Melville Bell and myself should agree in (whiit). I have myself heard (wh-w) from Americans, and know that it differs from my own (wh-). Our Scotch friends called *quhat* (k*w*h*a*t), not (khw*a*t), and in Aberdeen we have (f*a*t), or perhaps (ph*a*t), see (188, *b*. 580, *c*). Now this last (f*a*t) is as easy to say as (fæt), which no one would think of calling (fvæt), except perhaps in the Somersetshire district, where this may be the real sound that generated (væt), see (1104, *b*). But such combinations as (fv-, thdh-, sz-, shzh-) are as un-English as (lhl-, mhm-), etc., and hence I think that the analogy of our language is in favour of (whiit, ɹhu) = *wheat*, *hew*. It is true, I call the last word (ɹhiúu), which certainly approaches (ɹhɹuu), but may be an individuality, but the word is not common; and when it is used, the sound flutters between (ɹuu) and (нiúu). And similarly for *human*, *humour*, etc.

What *ought* we to say is another question. Should the Anglo-Saxon *hw* lead us to (wh-w-) in all cases? Prof. March, who is a potent authority in Anglo-Saxon, says, in passage omitted on (1143, *b*'), from the letter there cited: "Is it not true that this initial *h* is a weakening of a guttural aspirate *ch*, which again is a shifting from a mute *k*, and that the labial *v*, *w*, *u* is a parasitic utterance, which has here and there attached itself to the true root letter? Sansk. *ka-*, Lith. *ka-*, Slav. *ko-*, Lat. *quo-*, Goth. *hva*, A. Sax. *hwa*, Engl. *who*." We enter now on a great question, the discussion of which would lead us very far, namely on "parasitic utterances," where a new sound intrudes itself. This new sound in the case of vowels is generally (i, u), which shews itself often by a mere palatalisation or labialisation of the preceding consonant, and sometimes ousts the consonant altogether, compare Lat. *homo*, Ital. old *huomo*, new *uomo*. Sometimes the intruder is (a) before (i, u), which through (ai, au) sometimes pass to distinctly different vowels, as (e, o), and sometimes dropping the old original vowels altogether, yield up their lives to the intruder, as in Yorkshire (aa) for *I*, and (aas) for *house*, ags. *hús*. All of this will naturally present itself later on, § 2, No. 6, iv. It would be too far to go to Sanscrit *ka-* or Latin *quo-* as an authority for the pronunciation of English *who*. It is enough to go to ags. *hvá*, and observe that what on this theory we must regard as an intrusive parasitic *v* has in this case quite absorbed the *á*. If ags. was (whwaa), English is (нuu) or (ɥhuu), or rather both.

Let us rather observe what has happened in old spellings, and we find *hw* of the XII th and XIII th centuries becoming *wh* in the XIV th, which may be due to a change from (whw-) to (wh-), or may simply be due to a revision of orthography, the sound remaining unchanged. In the latter case the *h* was placed after to shew that the sound was one, not two, precisely as in the case of *th*, *sch*. But we also find at a very early date simple *w*, continually in Robert of Gloucester, sometimes in Layamon. The old *hl*, *hr*, *hn*, sank to *l*, *r*, *n* very rapidly. I see no means of determining whether the sounds were originally (khw, khɹ, khl, khr, khm, khn) or (ɥhw, ɥhɹ, ɥhl, ɥhr, ɥhm, ɥhn) = (whw, ɹhɹ, lhl, rhr, mhm, nhn) or (wh, ɹh lh, rh, mh, nh). Plausible arguments and analogies will apply to all of them. The modern (w, ɹ, l, r, m, n) could descend from any one of them. But on the whole I am most tempted to believe that (wh, ɹh, lh, rh, mh, nh) existed at so very early a time, that I feel unable to go higher. As a matter of, say, habit, I use (wh, ɹh, l, r, m, n) at present. If asked what is the sound of *wh* in *wheat*, I reply, that *I* say (wh), others say (whw), and by far the

14. (wh)—*continued.*

greater number of educated people in London say (w). These speakers are mutually intelligible to each other. Perhaps the (wh) and (whw) people may mark the (w), and think that "*h* is dropped." Perhaps the (w) may think the (wh) and (whw) folk have an odd northern pronunciation, but generally they will not notice the matter. The (wh) and (whw) people might converse together for hours without finding out that there was any difference between their habits. How many Englishmen, or even Germans, know that Germans habitually call *sieh* (szii) and not (zii)? How many Englishmen know that they habitually call emphatic *is* (*iz*s) and not (*iz*) before a pause? Who is to blame whom? In such a matter, at least, we must own that "Whatever is, is right"—(whote:vəri·zs, izrə'i·t), as I repeat the words.

In these very excursive remarks the subject of aspiration is far from being exhausted, but as respects *wh* itself, it has been considered initially only. It constantly occurs *finally* in older English, as a form of ȝ, perhaps at one time for (kh), or (k*w*h), of which it is an easier form, the back of the tongue being not quite so high, and hence the frication much less harsh, in (wh). Now this (wh) falls into (u), or drops away entirely, or becomes (f). Does not this look like (-k*w*h, -wh, -ph, -f) on the one hand, and (-k*w*h, -wh, -w, -u) on the other? I do not see a place for (-wwh) = (-w|h), or *w* with *visarjanîya*. This observation points to the pure hiss (wh) in all cases, rather than the mixed (whw-) in one case, and the pure (-wh) in the other. But these are points for the older pronunciations. To gather present usage, we shall have to watch speakers very carefully.

(*i*). See No. 3, (ii), and No. 6, (*i*).

(p). The lips shut firmly, and the glottis closed airtight. If the glottis is in the voice position, the voice will sound producing (b), see (1103, *a*). In this case, where (p) is final, the effect is described (1111, *d*').

(wh*i*p). The glide (wh < *i*) is similar in its nature to the glide (s < *i*), see (1106, *a*). The glide (*i* < p) is similar

14. (wh*i*p)—*continued.*

to the glide (*i* > k), *ibid.* And the (p) glides off into pure flatus ('h) before a pause. Thus (wh*i*p) = (wh < *i* > p < 'h) before a pause.

With regard to the length of the glide (*i* > p) and such like, the following remarks of Mr. Sweet are very important (Philolog. Trans. 1873–4, p. 110): "In Danish all final consonants are short without exception. In English their quantity varies, the general rule being that they are *long* after a short, *short* after a long vowel; *tell* (tɛll), *bin* (bi·nn), *tale* (teil), *been* (biin). Compare English *farewell* (feeəhwɛ·ll) with Danish *farvel* (faɪvɛ·'l). Liquids and nasals coming before another consonant follow the same laws in both languages: they are *long* before voice, *short* before breath consonants: (this was first noticed in Danish by E. Jessen; see his Dansk Sproglære, p. 21. He has also noticed (in the T. f. Ph. ii.) the length of the E. final voice stops, treated of below, which I first discovered from comparing the E. and Norse sounds:) *ham* (ɦham), *hammre* (ɦhammɪə), *vel* (vɛl), *vældig* (vɛlldigh), *vælte* (vɛltə); *bill* (bi·ll), *build* (bi·lld), *built* (bi·lt)." [It is possible that the different lengths of (ll, l) in such words as (bi·lld, bi·lt) led Mr. Bell to his distinction (bi·ld, bi·lht), see (1141, *a*).] "The short final stops in Danish and Norwegian are important as bringing out very clearly a peculiar feature of English pronunciation, which has not hitherto been noticed. This is our tendency to lengthen the final stops. It is seen most clearly in the vocal stops. Compare E. *egg* (ɛgg) with Norw. *ægg* (ɛg). That the voiceless final stops are also long in E. is apparent from a comparison of Danish *kat*, *hat*, with E. *cat*, *hat* (kætt, hætt). In short we may say that short accented monosyllables do not exist in English. Either the vowel or the consonant must be long (tɛll, teil). In the ordinary London pronunciation, the quantity of originally short vowels seems to be perfectly indifferent, the only limitation being that a short vowel and a short consonant must not come together. No Englishman ever says (tɛl). He must either lengthen the consonant (tɛll), or else the vowel, in which case the consonant becomes short (tɛɛl). I have often heard the latter from people of every rank, but chiefly among the vulgar."

14. (whip)—*continued.*

I wish to direct close attention to this original and acute observation. But the subject is, I think, far from exhausted. Mr. Sweet has not spoken of the *glide* between the vowel and the consonant. The very short (tɛl) of which he speaks would, to an Englishman, sound like an 'unfinished' (tɛll), and be most safely written (tɛl:), and so pronounced would, if (ɛɛ) occurred in our language, give the effect of a long vowel, as in (tɛɛl), which we should have to write (tɛɛl:). If we are speaking of the relative lengths of the parts of syllables, we can only properly indicate them by superimposed numbers, as already suggested (1131, *d*). In

1 2 1 5 1 2 1 1 1 5 1 2
(t<ɛ>l, t<ɛ>l, t<ɛ>l) we have

perhaps the relations roughly indicated by (tɛll) or (tɛ'l), (tɛl:) and (tɛɛl). Mr. Bell marks Scotch *ell*=(ɛ'l), did

3 1 1 5 3 1 2 2
he mean (ɛ'h>l) or (ɛ'h>l)? For practical purposes I should prefer writing (tɛ'l, tɛl, tɛɛl), and (tɛll, tɛl:, tɛɛl:) for theoretical investigation, when the exactness of numbers is not necessary.

15. LAMP, Bell's (læmhp), my (læmp).

(l). One of the divided consonants. The tip of the tongue in the (d)-position, but the sides free; whereas in (r) the sides are fixed in the (d)-position, but the tip is free to trill. Hence (d) is, so to speak, an attempt to pronounce (l) and (r) together, resulting in a complete stop, as (l) stops the central and (r) the side passages. If (lh), or flatus through the (l)-position, occurred either consciously or unconsciously in *hl* in ags. (1141, *d*), it is quite lost now. Even if Mr. Bell is right in supposing (lh) to be generated now (1141, *a*), it must be touched very lightly indeed. The Welsh *ll* (lhh) differs from (lh), see (756, *bc*). In (756, *d*) it is wrongly said that (lhh) occurs in Manx, whereas it is only the buzz of (lhh) or (/hh) which there occurs. Frenchmen do not admit that (lh) occurs in *table*, as stated in (756, *c*), but (lh) occurs both directly as *hl*, and indirectly before (t) in Icelandic (544, *a*, 545, *d*).

To the curious relation (d)-position

15. (l)—*continued.*

=(l)-position + (r)-position, is to be attributed the frequent confusions among (d, l, r). My own name, *Ellis*, has been frequently confused both with *Harris* and *Herries*. The Chinese, Japanese, as well as the Ancient Egyptians, and probably many other nations, confuse (l) and (r) systematically. In fact they seem not to know either (l) or (r), but to produce some intermediate sound, written (^{l}r) and explained on (1133, *a*). The effect was that of a very short (l) or 'blurred' (r), followed by a distinct (r). When the (l) is distinct and (r) blurred, (l^{r}) will be the proper form. Generally the combination (lr) or (ˌlr) is sufficient. The sounds could not be simultaneous, and the order appears to be (lr) not (rl). Both however are possible, and the symbols (lr, ^{l}r, l^{r}, r^{l}, ^{r}l, r^{l}) must be selected accordingly. The combination (lr) necessarily recalls the transcription *lri*, *lrî*, for Sanscrit ऌ ॡ, which in form are the letter *l* ल, with the combining form of the vowels ऋ ॠ, usually written *ri*, *rî*. Now these last may have been (',r,',r,r) a short and long trilled voice, which is quite vocal. That Pâṇini should place them among the dentals, and the commentator on the Ath. V. Pr. (Whitney's edition, p. 22) among the gutturals or *jihvâmûlîya*, "formed at the base of the tongue," Prof. Whitney attributes to a diversity of pronunciation, as a dental (ˌr) and uvular (*r*), while he considers the classification of *lri*, *lrî*, in the same category as due to its occurring solely in the root *klrip*, which begins with a guttural. The Rik Pr. makes the same classification; the Vâj. Pr. omits *lri*, *lrî*, from the list. Now I think that the sign shews merely that ऌ *lri* bears the same relation to ल *l* as ऋ *ri* does to र *r*. All will in that case depend on the *ri* vowel. This the Ath. V. Pr. commentator (Whitney, p. 32) describes as "an *r* combined with a half-measure or *mâtrâ* in the middle of the vowel-measure in the *ri*-vowel, just as a nail is with the finger; like a pearl on a string, some say; like a worm in grass, say others." Now reflecting on the Polish *szcz*, in which a continued (sh) is interrupted for a moment by throwing the tip of the tongue on to the hard palate and instantly withdrawing it, I

15. (l)—*continued.*

interpret this as a continued (ə) or (ɜ), interrupted for a moment by two or three beats of a trill, produced by trilling the point of the tongue, which is tolerably free for (ə), so that we have nearly (ərə), but by no means quite so, for first we have no proper glides (ə > r < ə), the true *r*-position not having been assumed, and secondly there is a feeling of a continued vowel-sound made *tremolo* in the middle, as has become the fashion in singing, and, consequently, thirdly the trill would differ from, at least, the theoretical (ˌr), as the sound produced by a free-reed, or *anche libre*, as in an harmonium, from the sound produced by a striking-reed, as in the clarinet. It is remarkable that it acts to change (ˌn) into (ɴ), "within the limits of the same word" (Whitney, *ibid.* p. 174), which would confirm this view, making (ərə) in fact retracted in comparison with (ˌr). There seems to have been a difficulty with the Indians as well as the English in pronouncing (ˌr) trilled before any other consonant. I have heard German *kirche* given as *kiriche*. This is the case of (ˌr) before a spirant, where the Indians seem to have required a more sensible insertion of a *svarabhakti*, 'fraction or fragment of a vowel' (Whitney, *ibid.* p. 67), in short of Mr. Bell's voice glide ('h), than before other consonants. The Irish (wɜ·rək) is well known. Probably the process of speech changed Sanscrit (əˌr) into (ərə) and then into (ˌrə) only. The 'guttural' classification of the (ərə) may merely indicate the retraction of the root of the tongue consequent on its vowel instead of its dental character. The *lri* may have been merely (ələ), a continued (ə) interrupted in the middle by a non-dental (l) or approximation to it, and probably with no sound of (r) in it at all. These sounds are perhaps best written ($r_ə$, $l_ə$), as the consonant part became predominant.

Mr. M. O. Mookerjey (see 1102, *b*,) called *ri*, *rî* (*u*ri, *u*rii), with a very distinct (*u*), but he said that *lri*, *lrii* were simple (li, lii). Both of these are apparently modernisms. But the (*u*ri) at least shews that the sound consisted of some vowel, interrupted in what was perceptibly the middle of its duration by the beats of a trill. Mr. Gupta differed in this respect, (1136, *d'*. 1138, *b'*).

15. (æ).

(æ). This vowel, as I pronounce it, is very thin, and foreigners have told me that I make no distinction between *man* and *men* (mæn, men), or (mæn, mɛn) according to Mr. Bell. The position of the tongue appears to be identical for (æ) and (ɛ), so that all Germans, French, and Italians hear (æ) as their open *ä*, *é*, *e*. But the back parts of the mouth and pharynx appear to be widened, and the quality thus approaches to (a), which it has replaced. Many persons, however, seem to me to use (ah), even now, for (a). The true thin English sound occurs in Hungarian, written *e* in accented syllables, but I observed that on removing the stress, it seemed to fall into (ɛ). Land (*op. cit.* p. 16) says that the openest Dutch *e* sometimes approaches (a) in sound, and in the mouths of some speakers becomes quite the English (æ) in *man*, *bad*. He also says that Donders' a^e (*op. cit.* p. 11), heard in Dutch *vet*, *gebed* = law, prayer, which is quite different from his e^a heard in *bed*, is this (æ). In the Dutch of the Cape of Good Hope, (æ) appears to be the general pronunciation of open *e*. For the Somersetshire use, see (67, *a*), and for Welsh (67, *c*. 61, *d*). Mr. Nicol tells me that some English friends in Monmouthshire call *fach* (vekh, vɛkh) rather than (vækh), but call the first letter of the Welsh alphabet (aa), not (*éei*). With regard to the presumed use of (ææ) in Copenhagen, Mr. Sweet (Philol. Trans. 1873-4, p. 105) makes it (ˌa) or "mid back wide *forward*," or "*outer*," as I have called it on (1107, *e*), for he says: "This vowel has a very thin sound, almost as in E. *hat*, the tongue being considerably advanced in the mouth, but without the front being raised, so that it is distinct from the mid-mixed (ah): *mane* (mˌaanə); *mand* (mˌaˑˈn); *kat* (kɪhˌat)," where I have duly marked the (ˌa, 'n) and changed his (kʜ) into (kɪh). Really to distinguish (ˌa, ah, æ) becomes very difficult, and few ears are to be trusted. Signor Pagliardini makes the French *a* rather (ˌa) or (ah) than (a), the order of his vowels being, *pea*, *paid*, *pair*, *pat*, *patte* Fr., *part*, *(purr ?)*, *paw*, *polygon*, *pole*, *pool*, *punir* Fr. These slight differentiations of sound, however, are important in the history of the transition from (a) to (æ), in England for the short vowel, and in Ireland for the long. I heard (pææ·pər) only the

15. (æ)—*continued.*

other day from an Irish labourer. In England, however, the long vowel has gone much further, even to (*ee*'j) or (*éi*). In a certain class of words there is even now great diversity of use (68*d*). Fulton and Knight (Dictionary, London, 1843) say: "A sounds (aa) before *rm*, *lm*, *lf*, and *lve*, as in bar car, barb garb, bard pard, lark park, harl (?) snarl, arm farm, barn darn, carp harp, art dart, barge large, carve starve, farce parse, march parch; ba*l*m ca*l*m pa*l*m psa*l*m, ca*l*f ha*l*f, ca*l*ve ha*l*ve. This sound is contracted into (a) before *ff*, *ft*, *ss*, *sk*, *sp*, *st*, (th) and *nce*, as in: chaff staff, graft shaft, lass pass, ask bask, asp clasp, cast fast, bath lath path wrath, chance dance." Now in London I constantly hear (aa) in all these words from educated speakers, the *r* in *ar* being entirely dropped. On the other hand, I have heard (æ) in every one of the words also, and then, in the case of *ar*, either (æ') or (ær$_{\circ}$) was said, the vowel being short. I have also heard (a) short in every one, (a', ar$_{\circ}$) being used. Again, in those words which have no *r*, I frequently hear (ææ), and more frequently (ah), both short and long, especially from ladies, and those who do not like broad sounds. Apparently this dread arises from the fear that if they said (aask, laaf), they would be accused of the vulgarity of inserting an *r*, and when *arsk*, *larf*, are written, they "look so very vulgar." Yet these speakers frequently drop the (k) and say (ahst) for (aaskt'). The tendency seems to be towards (baa, paak, baahm, saahm, ʜaahf, tshæf, stæf, bahth lahth, raath, tshæns dæns), but the words vary so much from mouth to mouth, that *any* pronunciation would do, and *short* (a) would probably hit a mean to which no one would object. In a performance of *King John*, I heard Mrs. Charles Kean speak of "(kææf) skin," with great emphasis, and Mr. Alfred Wigan immediately repeated it as "(kaaf) skin," with equal distinctness. Both were (I am sorry to use the past tense, though both are living off the stage) distinguished actors. Mr. Bell hears (*aɹ*) in *part*, but I do not know (*a*) as a southern English sound.

(m). The lips are closed as for (b), but the uvula is detached from the

15. (m)—*continued.*

pharynx and there is *perfect* nasal resonance (1096, *d'*. 1123, *d*). As there is a perfectly open passage for the voice, there is no condensed air in the mouth. The hum of ('m) is well known, and it is instructive to *sing* upon (m, n, q), with the mouth first closed throughout, and then open for (n, q). It will be found that the opening of the mouth makes no difference, and that the three sounds scarcely differ when the glides from and to vowels are omitted. When I had a phonetic printing office, the letters (m, n, q) had to be frequently asked for, and such difficulty was found in distinguishing them when the same vowel was used for each, as (em, en, eq), that it became necessary to alter the vowels and call the letters (æm, en, *i*q), after which no trouble was experienced. Compare the modern Indian confusion of (n, ,n), mentioned in (1096, *e'*).

As to the use of (m) or (mh) or (m-mh) before (p) see (1141, *a*). The case is different when the following mute belongs to another organ. *-mk* does not occur, but *-mt* is frequent, as in *attempt*, and the tendency is to cut off the voice and close the nasal passage, before the lips are opened, so that (mp) or (mph) is generated. As to the length of the (m) in this case, see (1145, *be'*) It is I think usually short. When *mb* is written, as in *lamb*, the (b) is not heard, but (m) is long, as (læmm, læ'm). Possibly at one time the nasality may have ceased before the voice, and thus real (lamb) may have been said, but I have not noticed such as a present usage. Compare (lɔqg) on (1124, *b'*). There is no tendency to develope an epenthetic (b) medially, compare *limner*, *limber*, *longer* = (li·mɹ, li·mbɹ, lɔ·qgɹ). But between (m) and (r) both French and Spanish introduce (b), compare Latin *numerus*, French and Spanish *nombre*. But in English dialects there is much tendency to omit any such (b), as Scotch *nummer*, and dialectal *timmer*, *chammer*, for *timber*, *chamber*.

Initial (m) is always short, except rhetorically, expressing doubt, but final (m), after even a buzz, becomes syllabic, as *schism*, *rhythm* = (si·z'm, ri·th'm). After *l* it is not syllabic, as *l* is either very short as in *elm* = (elm·), often vulgarly (e·l'm, e·lum), or *l* quite disappears, as in *alms* = (aamzs). After *r*,

15. (m)—*continued.*

when untrilled, and therefore purely voiced, *m* is not syllabic, and may be quite short, as in *warm* = (WAAm) or (WA'hm, WAR.m). But when *r* is trilled, we frequently hear the syllabic *m*, as (wa·r'm). This, however, is not a received sound.

(p). See No. 14, (p).

(læmp). The voice is set on with (l), which should be (.l), not (ɹl) or (ɹhl). The murmur of (l) is very brief. The glide (l < æ) is almost quite the same as (d < æ), and the glide (æ > m) almost the same as (æ > b), but must be slightly changed by the dropping forward of the uvula at its termination. The lips should close at the same instant as the uvula falls, so that no (æ,) or (æA) should be heard. Then, as I think, the murmur (m) is continued for a short time, till both voice and nasality are cut off and (p) results, which, before a pause, is as usual made audible by flatus, thus (.l < æ > m-p'). Mr. Bell, however, cuts off the voice with the closing of the lips and dropping of the uvula, allowing occasionally a trace of voice after closing the lips, and hence has generally (.l < æ > mh-p') and occasionally (.l < æ > m:-mh-p'). See (1140,*d*'). In all cases (p), having the position of (m), would be inaudible after (m), without some following flatus or voice.

16. ONIONS, Bell's (ƎnJUnz), my (ə·nJUnzs).

(Ɜ, ə). See No. 1, (Ɜ, ə).

(n). See No. 1, (n).

(J). This bears the same relation to (i) as (w) does to (u). The position for (i) is so much contracted that clear resonance becomes no longer possible, and the buzz is produced. German writers pair (kjh, J), that is, they confuse (gjh, J) together. But the buzz of (gjh) is, to an Englishman's ears, much harsher than for his (J). Lepsius (Standard Alphabet, 2nd ed. 1863, p. 73) says: "It is to be observed that (gjh)," which he defines as the voiced form of *ch* in milch = (milkjh), "and the semivowel (J) are so near each other that (kjh) will hardly appear in any language as a

16. (J)—*continued.*

distinct sound by the side of (J)." But both of them really seem to me to exist in German. At least in Saxony, *general, könige, berge*, sounded to my ear as (gjhEneraa·l, kɔɔ·nigjhu, bE·rgjhu); and I often heard (JEneraa·l, kɔɔ·niJu, bE·TJu), especially the last, ridiculed by Dresdeners. The sounds were therefore distinguished. Brücke (Grundzüge, p. 44) distinguishes palatal k = (kj) and velar k = (k), and Arabic *kaf* ق = (K), with their sonants (gj, g, G). Then, proceeding to the corresponding hisses, he has (kjh), "as in *Recht* and *Licht*" (*ibid.* p. 48), (kh), "as *Wache, Woche, Wacht*," where I may notice that the (kh) frequently becomes (kwh) after (u) in German, and (Kh), which he believes is the χ of the modern Greeks, before α, ο, ου, ω. From what he says (*ibid.* p. 49), I am inclined to think that he confuses (Kh) with (krh). Then he adds: "Allowing the voice to sound, we come to *Jot*, the *I consona* of the Germans," so that he makes German J = (gjh). Similarly he finds the voiced (kh), or (gh), in Platt-Deutsch *lüge* = (læh·ghu); it is quite common in Saxon, as in *lage* = (laa·ghu). Finally, he makes (gh), the modern Greek γ, before α, ο, ω. Then (*ibid.* p. 70) he says, referring to the English sounds: "Produce (i) and narrow still further the space between the tongue and palate where it is already narrowest, you will obtain a *Jot*, because you will have reached the position of (gjh). The vowel (i) does not become lost by so doing; we really hear both the vowel (i) and the consonant *Jot* at the same time." This seems to me an impossibility. "The most suitable example is the English *y*, when consonantal. When an (i) follows, as in *year*, it is exactly the same as the German *I consona*; but when another vowel follows, a light sound of (i) is heard before it, in educated pronunciation, which arises from raising the larynx, and consequently introducing the condition for (i)." Now I know that Englishmen in Saxony had the greatest difficulty in learning to say (kjh, gjh), which could hardly have been the case if they were their own (Jh, J). The antecedent (i) in *you, yeast, yacht*, which he would of course call (ɹigjhuu, ɹigjhEst, ɹiJA.t'), remind me of Prof. March's (ɹuw), see (1092,

16. (ɹ)—*continued.*

c'). Brücke's identification of English *y*- with (ˌigjh-) is on a par with his identification of English *w*- with (ˌubh-), where, however, he says: "the vowel (u) and the consonant (bh) are really sounded at the same time," which is incorrect. But an *attempt* to pronounce (u•bh) will *generate* (w), and so an *attempt* to pronounce (i•gjh) *might* generate (ɹ), but I think this attempt would not be quite so successful. I attribute this error to Brücke's Low Saxon habits of speech, to which real (gjh) is unknown, so that he imagines (ɹ) to be the buzz of (kjh), with which he is acquainted practically. Merkel, however, a Middle Saxon, had no business to be astonished (Phys. d. mensch. Spr. p. 178) that Lepsius could find no hiss to (ɹ), and had distinguished (ɹ, gjh). In Saxony I have not unfrequently heard *ja* called (ɹhaa), where the speaker would have been posed had he been told to begin the word with *ch* in *ich*, because he would not have known how to arrange his organs, and would probably at least have said (kjhˌiɑ), thinking of *chia*. Again (ɹaa) is the received and more usual pronunciation of *ja*, though great varieties are heard in a word which often sinks into an interjection. But to be told to begin with a "soft g" would sorely try a Saxon's phonetic intelligence. I found in Saxony very distinct differences (kh gh, kjh gjh, ɹh ɹ). Merkel calls (kjh) *g molle*, and (gjh) = (ɹ) voiced *g molle* (*ibid.* p. 183). Merkel allows of a modification of *g molle* when it comes from (y) instead of (i). In fact, we may have (ɹw) = (wj), the consonant formed from (y), similar to (ɹ) from (i) and (w) from (u). And we have similarly (kwh, kwjh, gwh, gwjh). The hiss of the English (ɹ) is heard only in a few words, as *Hugh*, *hew*, *human* (see 1144, *c*).

All these German confusions of (kjh, gjh) with (ɹh, ɹ) depend upon the prior confusion of (kj, gj) with (kɟ, gɟ), and receive their proper explanation so soon as these consonants are admitted; for which we are indebted in English books to the acuteness of the American Mr. Goodwin and the Englishman Mr. Melville Bell, although they have been long known in India (1120, *e*). The series (kɟ ɹh "i-; gɟ ɹ i-), where the hyphens point out the diphthongising character of the vowels, shew the exact

16. (ɹ)—*continued.*

relation of (ɹh, ɹ) to vowel and consonant. The labial series are much more complex, on account of the back of the tongue being raised for (u), giving it a labio-guttural character. They are, therefore, (kw kwh wh "u-; gw gwh w u-). Helmholtz (*Tonempfindungen*, 3rd ed. p. 166) recognizes an (u), for which the tongue is quite depressed; this would be (ʌu), a much duller sound than (u). For this then we have the labial series (p ph "ʌu-; b bh ʌu-). The (f, v) hisses do not enter into either of the latter series, as they have no corresponding vowels. The usual (b v u) and (b w u) series are quite erroneous.

The whole history of (ɹh, ɹ) is analogous to that of (wh, w), and we have the same varieties. On (186, *e*) I have elected to write (ɹa, ai), whatever the orthoepists wrote. But it must be observed that real differences exist, that (iá ˌiɹa ɹa ɹˌia) are all possible, and different, and that (ái aˌiɹ aɹ) are possible and different. Mr. Sweet says of Danish (Philol. Trans. 1873–4, p. 107): "The voice-stop (g) becomes (gh), and often undergoes further weakening, passing through (gwh) into (w), which is frequently the case after back vowels, especially when labial, or (after palatal vowels) into (ɹ). Thus are formed quasi-diphthongs, the only ones which the language possesses." This is extremely interesting in reference to the generation of (ai, au) in English from ags. *ag*, *aw*. The only diphthongs the English possessed independently of the Normans came in the same way, and the rhyming of these (ai) diphthongs with Norman *ai* proves that the English pronounced the Norman in the English way, whatever was the Norman sound. The Danish examples which Mr. Sweet gives are instructive. Thus, *en sag*, also written *saug* and *sav* (saw), 'saw,' *en vogn* (vɔw;ˈn); *favr* (faw;ˈʀ) = Icelandic *fagr*, *en skov* (skɔw) = Icelandic *skógr*; *et navn* (naw;ˈn) = Icelandic *nafn*, *en ovn* (ɔw;ˈn); *jeg* (ɹaɹ), *en lögn* (lɔɹ;ˈn), *et öje* (ɔɹə), *en höjde* (ʜhɔɹɹdə). One sees here an exact modern presentment of the way in which Orrmin perceived the formation of English diphthongs 700 years ago (489, *b*). The very change of the common -hɟ into (ləi) is paralleled by the colloquial Danish *mig*, *dig*, *sig*, *steg*, *megen*, *rog*, *böger* = (maɹ, daɹ,

16. (ɹ)—*continued.*

saɹ, staɹ, maɹən, ɹəɹ, boɹəɹt). Mr. Sweet adds: "In identifying the second elements of the Danish diphthongs with (ɹ) and (w) I have been partly influenced by the views of Danish phoneticians themselves; as far as my own impressions are concerned I must still consider the matter as somewhat doubtful: these combinations may after all be true diphthongs with the second element rather closer than in other languages." If the glide is short, and the second element always short, instead of being long at pleasure, as in English, it becomes extremely difficult to determine whether it is (i, u) or (ɹ, w). The closeness of diphthongs consists, I think, 1) in the shortness of the *first* element, 2) in the shortness of the glide and its continuously decreasing or increasing force, 3) in the shortness of the *second* element, but this last has least share in producing the effect. The 'looseness' or 'openness' of diphthongs consists, 1) in the lengthening of the first element, especially when in connection with the lengthening of the second element, 2) in the first decreasing and secondly increasing force of the glide, which may amount to a slur (1131, *b*), and is, I think, then characteristic of the Italian diphthongs, whose existence is even denied by some writers. The actual forms of diphthongs, and the 'vanishes' of vowels, or sounds into which they merge on prolongation in various languages, have to be studied almost *ab initio*. The two usual statements, that they consist of prefixed and affixed (i, u) or (ɹ, w), are the roughest possible approximations. The 'glides' of Mr. Melville Bell were mere evasions of the difficulty, and have been given up by his son, Mr. Graham Bell, and by the two persons in England who have most used his Visible Speech, Messrs. Sweet and Nicol. The investigation has considerable philological interest, from the Sanscrit treatment and resolution of diphthongs, down to the introduction of diphthongs into English. But we are only just beginning to appreciate the determinants of the phenomena heard.

(ʊ). See No. 12, (ʊɪ, ɹ). The peculiarities of unaccented syllables will be considered afterwards.

16. (n).

(n). See No. 1, (n).

(zs). See No. 12, (zs).

(ən·ɹɛnzs). The only difficulties in the glides occur in the passage from (n) to (ɹ). The first, and, I think, the usual English method, is to pass by a slur (1131, *b*), so that, although the voice never really ceases, it is so much reduced in force that the nature of the gliding sound necessarily produced while rapidly shifting from the (n) to the (ɹ) position, is inappreciable. The (n) may be lengthened as much as we please; but if very long, the force of sound decreases rapidly. It is of course un-English to make it very short. The second plan is to pass from the (n) to the (ɹ) position *gradually*, so that, *before* the (n) position is released, the middle, or, as Mr. Bell calls it, the front of the tongue rises into the (ɹ) position, the nasalised voice continuing all the time, and then the tip of the tongue is removed from the (n) position, the nasality ceases, and a pure (ɹ) glides on to the (ʊ). We have thus (ə > n-nj-ɹ < ʊ > n-s), and this action is most conveniently introduced for teaching Englishmen the real value of French and Italian (nj), which they are apt, like Brücke (Grundzüge, p. 71) and Goodwin (*op. cit.* p. 11), to confuse with (nɹ). The French *oignon* (onjoʌ), in which neither (n) nor (ɹ) are heard, but only (nj), should be carefully compared. An (lj) may be similarly generated from *million* viâ (m < *i* > l-lj-ɹ < ʊ > n), the intermediate (lj) not occurring in English. Of course these (nj, lj) have been generated by the action of (i), and we find in modern French a tendency to omit (l) in such words as *chevalier*, which is quite similar to the reduction of (lj) to (i-) in that language. In Italian *gl* the (lj) remains pure. The (nj) is also pure in French. Englishmen should carefully study a Frenchman's pronunciation of this final (nj) in *signe peigne Espagne Cologne Boulogne*. The last two words in especial are usually execrably pronounced in England, where they are very commonly attempted. (Bulə·q Buloo·n Bulə·n Bulə'*i*·n) may all be heard in place of (Bulonj). See also (1124, *d*).

17. BOAT, Bell's (bóut), my (boot).

17. (b).

(b). See No. 9, (b).

(*oo*). The controversy respecting (*ou*, *oo*) is precisely similar to that about (*ei*, *ee*), see (1108, *c'*), and the same peculiarities are observable in Dutch (1109, *d'*). Thus Donders gives "*ou* in *hó* with short *u*" (*op. cit.* p. 15), and Land says, that Dutch *oo* in *boon*, *dook*, *loop*, is (*oo*), noticing that it becomes (oo) before *r*, but adds that "in English and low (*platte*) Hollandish it is replaced by o^{2u} or even $o^{2}u$ (óou), and is even used before *r*" (*op. cit.* p. 18). The usage of (óou) before *r* is not now known in England.

As regards my own pronunciation, I feel that in *know*, *sow* v., etc., regularly, and in *no*, *so*, etc., often, I make this labial change, indicated by (*oo'w*). Wherein does this consist? In really raising the back of the tongue to the (*u*) position, and producing (*oou*) or (*óou*)? or in merely further closing or 'rounding' the mouth to the (u) degree, thus (*óo-o*u)? or in disregarding the position of the tongue, and merely letting labialised voice, of some kind, come out through a lip aperture belonging to (u), that is strictly (*óo-'w*)? There is no intentional diphthong, but a diphthong results so markedly, especially when the sound is forcibly uttered, that I have often been puzzled, and could not tell whether *know*, *sow* serere; *no*, *so*; or *now*, *sow* sus, were intended; I heard (n*óu*, s*óu*). But these are exaggerations, and I believe by no means common among educated speakers. Whether they will prevail or not in a hundred years, those persons who then hunt out these pages as an antiquarian curiosity will be best able to determine. But that (i, u) should have developed into, say, (ai, au), by initial modification, and that (e, o), which are constantly generated from these diphthongs, should shew a tendency, which is sporadically and vulgarly consummated, to return to the same class of diphthongs by final amplification, is in itself a remarkable phonological fact which all philologists who would trace the history of words must bear in mind. As to the English tendency, I think that (*oo*) developes into (*oo'w*) most readily before the pause, the (k) and (p) series; the first and last owing to closing the mouth, the second owing to

17. (*oo*)—*continued.*

raising the back of the tongue. I find the tendency least before the (t) series. This, however, is crossed by the vocal action of (l, n, r), which develope a precedent ('h), easily rounded into ('h*w*), and hence generating (*oo'w*). So strong was this tendency of old that (óul, óun) were constant in the XVI th century, and (óul) remains in Ireland, and many of the English counties also, even where no *u* appears in writing. Before (t, d) I do not perceive the tendency. In fact, the motion of the tongue is against it. The sound (bóut) is not only strange to me, but disagreeable to my ear and troublesome to my tongue. Even (b*oo'wt*) sounds strange. Mr. M. Bell's consistent use of (*é*i, óu) as the only received pronunciation thoroughly disagrees with my own observations, but if orthoepists of repute inculcate such sounds, for which a tendency already exists, their future prevalence is tolerably secured. As to the 'correctness' or 'impropriety' of such sounds I do not see on what grounds I can offer an opinion. I can only say what I observe, and what best pleases my own ear, probably from long practice. Neither history nor pedantry can set the norm.

(t). See No. 2, (t).

(b*oo*t). The synthesis occasions no difficulty. The glide from (*oo*) to (t) is short. The voice ends as the closure is complete (1112, *c'*).

18. CART, Bell's (k*a*rt), my (kaart).

(k). See No. 6, (k).

(aa). See (1148, *b*) as to (aa, aar). The sound of (*a*) is, so far as I know, quite strange to educated organs, though common in Scotland (69 *c*, *d*). "In reality," says Mr. Murray (Dialect of S. Scotland, p. 110), "the Scotch *a*, when most broadly pronounced, is only equal to the common Cockney *pass*, *ask*, *demand* (p*aa*hs, *aa*hsk, dem*aa*hnd), and I have heard a London broker pronounce *demand drafts* with an *a* which, for broadness, I have never heard bettered in the North." It is the repulsion of such sounds which drives the educated, and especially ladies, into the thinness of (ah, æ).

18. (ɹ).

(ɹ). I use (ɹ) in Mr. Bell's (kaɹt) for his 'point-glide' or 'semi-vowelized sound of (r).' (Vis. Speech, p. 70) and (1099, *d*). I believe I almost always say and hear (kaat); but as I occasionally say (kaa(r)t), I write (kaɹt). I am not sure that I ever hear or say (kaa't). I have heard (pa'k). No doubt many other varieties abound unobserved. But (park, kart), with a genuine short (a) and trilled (r), sound to me thoroughly un-English, and (park, kart) are either foreignisms or Northumbrianisms.

(t). See No. 2, (t).

(kaɹt). The voice begins at the moment that the (k)-position is relaxed, and not before, the glottis being placed ready for voice from the first. The glide on to (t) is short, (aɹ) being treated as a long vowel. Read (k<aa>t').

19. TENT, Bell's (tɛnht), my (tent).

(t). See No. 2, (t).

(ɛ, e). See No. 7, (ɛ, e).

(nh, n). See (1140, *d'*) and (1148, *bd'*).

(tent). Glides (t<e>n-t'). The nasalised voice is heard up to (t), when both voice and nasality are cut off. But (t) would be quite inaudible unless some flatus or voice followed. In (tents) the (s) gives sufficient flatus to make (t) quite distinct. In *scentless* there is apt to be a glide on to the (l), which is etymologically wrong, but easy, (tl-) being often preferred in English speech to (kl-). But in *scent-bottle* (se·nt·hbo:t'l), a complete ('h) is heard. Observe that in this word (t'hb) and not (t'b) is written, because to write (t'b) would be ambiguous, as it might = (t+'b), instead of = (t'+b). A Frenchman would use (t'hb).

20. HOUSES, Bell's (uhâuzyz), my (ʜə'u·zezs).

(ʜ, ʜh). See (1130, *b*. 1132, *d*. 1133, *d*. to 1135, *c*), and (598, *b'*).

20. (âu, ə'u).

(âu, ə'u). As to the first element, it is subject to at least all the varieties of those of long *i* (1100, *a'*). But owing to the labial final, the tendency to labialise the first element is more marked (597, *d'*). Our (æu, ahu, əu) must be considered as delabialisations of (ou, ou). The second element is rather (u) than (u), and may be even (o_u). Mr. Sweet analyses his own diphthong as (ɑɔ·o) or (ɑɔ''hw). The great variety of forms which this diphthong consequently assumes, renders it difficult to fix upon any one form as the most usual. But as a general rule, the 'rounded' or labialised first element is thought provincial, and the broader (âu, du) seem eschewed, the narrower (âhu, ə'u) or (ɑ'u) finding most favour. The first element is, I think, generally very short, the diphthong very close (1151, *b*), and the second element lengthened at pleasure. Mr. Sweet, however, lengthens the first element.

(z, zs). See No. 12, (zs).

(y, e). The unaccented vowels will be considered hereafter.

(ʜə'u·zezs). The initial (ʜ) has been already considered (1030, *b'*). I pronounce it generally by commencing the following vowel with a jerk, not *intentionally* accompanied by flatus. There is therefore no glide from (ʜ) to (ə'u). The glide from (ə) to (u) is very short and rapidly diminished in force. The glide thence on to (z) is short and weak. The (z) is not prolonged, but treated almost as an initial in *zeal*, and hence has a very short buzz. The first syllable practically ends at the end of the glide from (u) and does not encroach on the *buzz* of (z) at all. It is possible, and perhaps usual, to distinguish in pronunciation the verb and substantive in: 'he *houses* them in *houses*.' In the first the glide on (z) is distinct, and *all* the buzz of (z) seems to belong to the first syllable, the glide on to the following vowel being reserved for the second. The difference may be indicated thus, the slur dividing the syllables, which have no pause between them: (ʜíʜə'u·z⌣ezdhym ïnʜə'u·⌣zes).

21. DOG, (dɔg).

(d, g). For the distinction between these sounds and (t, k) see No. 9, (b). For the position of the tongue in (t, k) see (1095, *d'*. 1105, *d'*).

(ɔ). See No. 10, (ɔ, ʌ). To lengthen (ɔ) in this particular word is American, Cockney, or drawling (dɔɔg, dʌʌg).

(dɔg). It is instructive to compare *dock*, *dog* (dɔk', dɔg'), pronounced with very short and very long glides, and consonants, as (d<ɔ>k ʃk<'h, d<ɔ>gg<'h) and (d<ɔ>k:', do<ɔ>g:'), where (:) is used to indicate extreme brevity. The 'foreign' effect of the latter will become evident. See (1145, *c'*).

22. MONKEY, Bell's (mʌqhkɨ), my (mə·qkɨ).

(m). See No. 15, (m).

(ʌ, ə). See No. 1, (ʌ, ə).

(q, qh). See No. 13,(q), and also generally (1140, *d'*).

(ɨ). See No. 6, (ɨ). As to the influence of the removal of accent, see hereafter.

(mə·qkɨ). The voice begins nasal, and continues very briefly through (m), but the nasality is not dropped as long as the (m)-position is held, else we should get (mbəq) which is a South African initial, and almost inconceivable to an Englishman. The vowel (ə) must not be nasalised at all, though lying between two nasals (m) and (q). The nasalisation and the voice are dropped at the same moment in passing from (q) to (k), without altering the position of the tongue, but the retraction of the uvula causes a glide which will be heard distinctly on saying (məqq, məqk:) sharply. The latter ends almost metallically. The syllable divides at the end of this glide, which, in ordinary speech, is followed by the glide of (k) on to (ɨ) without sensible interval. We have then (m<ə>q-k<ɨ).

23. CAGE, Bell's (kéidzh), my (keed ˌzh ˌsh).

(k). See No. 6, (k), There is no tendency to (kj-) before the sound of (*e*).

(*ee*, éi). See No. 8, (*ee*).

(d). See No. 21, (d).

(zh, ˌzh). See No. 10, (sh, ˌsh).

(ˌzh ˌsh). Used only before a pause, see (1104, *e*).

(d ˌzh). See (1118, *d*) to (1119, *e'*). The change from (k) to (t ˌsh), through a palatal vowel, is distinctly developed in English (203, *d*) to (209, *b*), but the change of (g) to (d ˌzh) is not so common, and hardly occurs initially. The French *ch*, *j*, became (t ˌsh, d ˌzh) in English words, but reason has been assigned for supposing the French sounds to have been originally (t ˌsh, d ˌzh) on (314, *c*), meaning of course (ˌt ˌsh, ˌd ˌzh). The subsequent recognition of an Italian (ˌsh, ˌzh), independent of (ˌt, ˌd), on (1118, *a*. 800, *b'*), and Mr. Goodwin's re-discovery (1119, *e*) of the Indian (kj, gj), see (1120, *c*), renders it of course doubtful whether the passage of (k, g) Latin, into (sh, zh) French, as in *chant*, *gens* (shʌʌ, zhʌʌ), was really through (ˌt ˌsh, ˌd ˌzh) at all. The transition may have been simply (k kj kʃ ʃh sh; g gj gʃ ʃ zh), just as (ɹ) or diphthongising (i-) certainly became (zh) in French. It is, then, satisfactory to be able to shew a transition from (k, g), before palatal vowels, into (t ˌsh, d ˌzh) at so recent a period and in so short a space of time that there is hardly room for the interposition of transitional forms. Martinique, in the West Indies, was colonized by the French in 1635, hence any French upon it cannot be older than the XVIth or XVIIth century. To a large emigration from Martinique to Trinidad, which was only for a short time in possession of the French after 1696, Mr. J. J. Thomas (a negro of pure blood, who speaks English with a very pure pronunciation, and is the author of *The Theory and Practice of Creole Grammar*, Port of Spain, 1869, on sale at Trübner's, London, a most

23. (d‿zh)—*continued.*

remarkable book, indispensable to all students of romance languages) attributes the introduction of French into the (formerly Spanish, and since 1797 British) Island of Trinidad. Mr. Thomas was kind enough to give me an oral explanation of the principal peculiarities of the sounds in this Creole French (25 September, 1873), which is by no means merely mispronounced French, but rather a romance language in the second generation. The *ch*, *j* of the French remain as (sh, zh), but *k*, *g*, before palatal vowels, become (t‿sh, d‿zh). I ascertained, not merely by listening, but by inquiry, that Mr. Thomas really commenced the sound by striking his palate with the tip of the tongue behind the gums. The following are examples: French *cuite*, *culotte*, *re-culer*, *quinze*, *marquer*, *em-barquer*; Creole, in Mr. Thomas's orthography, CHuite, CHilotte, CHouler, CHinze, mâCHer, bâCHer = (t‿shiit, t‿shilot, t‿shule, t‿she„z, maat‿she, baat‿she), where (e„) indicates Mr. Thomas's Creole nasality, which sounded to me less than the French (eA), and more than the South German (e,). French *figure*, *guêpe*, *gueule*; Creole *fiGoie*, Gêpe, Gôle = (fid‿zhii, d‿zhEEp, d‿zhool). Observe the short (i). For sound of vowels Creole *tini* (tini) would rhyme with *finny* (fi·ni), but the accent is of the French nature. Now French *c*, *qu*, *gu* in this position were considered by Volney (L' Alfabet Européen appliqué aux langues Asiatiques, Paris, 1819) to be quite palatal, apparently (kj, gj), and are distinguished as his 23rd and 24th consonants from (k, g) his 26th and 27th. Whether in his time, and in the older XVII th century, the (kj, gj) were distinctly pronounced, there is no proof; but this Creole change leads to this hypothesis.

As I have had occasion to refer to this pronunciation, I may remark that the old pronunciations of *oi* occur, (uê) in *boète doègt toèle* and (ué) in *cloèson poèson poèsson*; also that *eu* (ø, œ) falls into (e), and *u* (y) into (i) or (u), as so frequently in Germany, and that *e muet*, when not final, is often replaced by *é*, *i* as *lever*, *ritoû*, Fr. *lever*, *retour*, indicating its probable audibility in the XVII th century, because these changes were entirely illiterate; and moreover that when the *h* is pronounced, it is, with Mr. Thomas, a distinct (ɦh), as *hâder* = (ɦhaale). The letter *r* seems to have suffered most. When not preceding a vowel, it is entirely mute. Elsewhere Mr. Thomas seemed to make it the glottal (ɹ), as in Danish; and just as this is sometimes replaced by uvular (r) in cases of difficulty, so *r* seemed to become (r) in Creole, especially after *a* and *g*, when an attempt was made to bring it out clearly. Also just as (ɹ, ɡ) suggest (o, u) sounds, the *r* after *p*, *b*, *f*, *v*, seems to Mr. Thomas to be the tense labial *r* (ɯ) of those Englishmen who are accused of pronouncing their *r* as *w*, as distinct from the lax labial *r* (brh). He therefore writes *bouave*, *bouide*, *pouatique*, *pouix*, *voué*, for Fr. *brave*, *bride*, *pratique*, *prix*, *vrai*. But it seemed to me, when listening to his pronunciation, that even here the sound was (ɹ), thus (bɹæv, bɹid, pɹætik, pɹi, vɹe). At any rate this glottality would account for all the phenomena. Observe (æ), which, as well as (i), seemed to be used by Mr. Thomas. It is a pity that Mr. Thomas, in reducing the Trinidad Creole French *patois* to writing, did not venture to disregard etymology, at least to the extent of omitting all letters which were not pronounced. His final mute *e* has no syllabic force even in his verse. The final *e* then had disappeared from pronunciation before the internal. Of course Creole French differs in different West Indian Islands. See *Contributions to Creole Grammar*, by Addison van Name, Librarian of Yale College, Newhaven, U.S., in the Trans. of the Amer. Philol. Assn. for 1869–70, where an account is given of the varieties in Hayti, Martinique, St. Thomas, and Louisiana. It appears that in Louisiana (t‿sh) is also developed as in English from a palatal *t*, as *tchiré*, *tchué* = Fr. *tirer*, *tuer*, and that (d‿zh) is found in all the varieties in *djôle* = Fr. *gueule*. There are also Dutch, Spanish, and English Creole dialects.

(k*eed*‿zh‿sh). The voice is put on as the (k)-position is released, the glottis being from the first disposed for voice. The (*ee*) is, I think, seldom run on to (*ee*'j) in this word. The glide on to (d) is short, the buzz of (d) is very brief, so that (d‿zh) acts as an initial, and the voice, as a general rule, runs off into (‿sh) almost imme-

23. (keed ˌzh ˌsh)—*continued.*

diately. Observe the effect of prolonging the voice in *caged* (keed ˌzhd), which some seem to call (keed ˌzh ˌsht').

24. AND, Bell's (ahnd), my (ˌænd).

(ah, æ). See No. 15, (æ). Mr. Bell is treating *and* as an 'unaccented' word, accented he would have written (ænd). The unaccented form will be considered presently.

(n, d). See No. 1, (n).

(ˌænd). The voice begins with a clear glottid (1129, *d'*), and is continued through (æ) with a glide to (n), care being taken that nasality does not begin too soon, as (ˌæ-æˌ > n-d), or too late, as (ˌæ > d-n-d). The passage from (n) to (d) simply consists in dropping nasality. When the word is emphatic, the (n) is specially lengthened, and the glide from (æ) to (n) becomes clearer.

25. BIRD, Bell's (bɐɹd), my (bɹd).

(b). See No. 9, (b).

(ɐɹ, ɹ). For (ɹ) preceded by other vowels, see No. 4, (ooɹ). What is the vowel-sound heard when (ɹ) is not preceded by other vowels? See (8, *b*, *c*. 197, *a*). Mr. Bell seems to me very theoretical in his distinctions (197, *c* to 198, *a*). No doubt that in Scotland, the west of England, and probably many outlying districts, the sounds in w*or*d, j*our*ney, f*ur*nish, are distinguished from those in pref*er*, *ear*nest, f*ir*m. Smart says (Principles, art. 35) that these distinctions are "delicacies of pronunciation which prevail only in the more refined classes of society," but adds that "in all very common words it would be somewhat affected to insist on the delicacy referred to." This is quite Gill's *docti interdum*, and indicates orthoepical fancy. It is easy enough to train the organs to make a distinction, but it is very difficult to determine the resulting vowels. In Mr. Bell's table of the relative heights of the tongue for the different vowels (Visible Speech, p. 74) they appear as follows, the left hand having the lowest

25. (ɐɹ, ɹ)—*continued.*

and the right hand the highest position of the tongue, and that position remaining the same for the vowels in each column, as the differences of effect are produced by other means:

Primary .	Œ	ɜ	*œ*	ɔh	ə	ʏ	ɛ	*e*	i
Wide. . . .	*a*	a	ɐ	ɔ̃	ah	*y*	æ	e	*í*
Round. . . .	ʌ	*o*	u	*ah*	*oh*	ʊ	ɔh	*ə*	ɪ
Wide round	ɔ	o	*u*	ɔh	oh	*uh*	æh	œ	y

Hence in assigning (ɔ̃) to the *ir*, *er* set, and (ɜ) to the *ur* set, he does raise his tongue higher for the first. As I say (ə) for his (ɜ) always, it is natural that I should say (ə) for his (ɔ̃) as well, that is, in both the *er* and the *ur* set of sounds. To say (ɜ), or even (œ), as I seemed to hear in the west of England, is disagreeably deep to my ears. I recollect as a child being offended with (gɜɜl) or (gɜɜrₚl), but I have never been able satisfactorily to determine how this extremely common word *girl* is actually pronounced. Smart writes "*gu*'erl," where "*gu*" merely means (g) and ' indicates that speakers "suffer a slight sound of (i) to intervene, to render the junction smooth" (Principles, art. 77). As far as I can discover, I say (gjəəl). I do not feel any motion or sound corresponding to (rₚ). The vulgar (gæl), and affected country actor's (gjí'hl), seem to confirm this absence of (r) But I should write (gjɹl), the (ɹ) shewing an (ə) sound interrupted, if descried, with a gentle trill. I trill a final *r* so easily and readily myself with the tip of the tongue, that perhaps in avoiding this distinct trill I may run into the contrary extreme in my own speech. Yet whenever I hear any approach to a trill in others, it sounds strange.

(d). See No. 21, (d).

(bɹd). The voice begins as soon as the lips are closed, continues through their closure, and glides on to the (ə)-position, and this vowel ends with a short glide on to a short (d). Were the glide distinct or the (ɹ) lengthened, we should have (bəəd). Whether, as I speak, the words *bird*, *bud* are distinguished otherwise than by the length of the glide, or of the (d), I am not sure; but as the short glide and (d) indicate a long vowel (1146, *b*), the effect is that of (bəəd, bəd). The distinction is very marked, and no

25. (bɹd)—*continued.*

doubt that it is partly the absence of means to indicate long (əə), partly the distinction felt between the little marked glide on to (d) in *bird*, and the strongly marked glide in *bud*, and partly the permissibility of trilling, that has made the use of *er*, *ur* so common for (əə), or whatever the sound may be in different mouths. Any one of the sounds (bʊʊd, bɐɹd, bææd, bəəhd, bəəd) would be recognized as an English, though often a broad and unpleasant, sound of *bird*. The recognition would not be destroyed by inserting a faint trill (ɹr). But (berd), with short (e) and clear trill (r), would be provincial or foreign, and (bɐɹd) provincial. Such sounds as (bee'd, be'd, bɛ'd, bi'd) would hardly be understood.

26. CANARY, Bell's (kah-nee'·r$_{\circ}$i), my (kʊnee'·ri).

(k). See No. 6, (k).

(ah). See No. 24, (ah, æ).

(n). See No. 1, (n).

(ee). This is the long sound of (e), see (1106, *e*). It is remarkable that though Mr. Bell does not admit (e) as the short vowel in accented syllables, but always employs (ɛ), yet he admits only (ee) as long, and not (ɛɛ), although we have the vulgar American confusion with (ææ). The long (ee) never occurs in received English except before (ɹ) or ('r), but it then always replaces (*ee*).

('r). On referring to p. 197, it will be seen that where Mr. Bell wrote ('r), or, as it would be more accurate to transcribe him ('r$_{\circ}$), I had written (ɹr), as in (kʊneeɹ·ri). But as this (ɹ) only indicates the vowel sound, an (') followed optionally by (r), see (1099, *c*), it is clear that (') is quite enough when (r) must follow, so that (kʊnee'·ri) has the same meaning as (kʊneeɹ·ri). Observe that whenever in course of inflection or apposition a vowel follows (ɹ), this last sound becomes ('r), that is, the trill becomes necessary instead of optional. Now Mr.

26. ('r)—*continued.*

Bell always writes his 'point-glide' (*5d* on p. 15) when in ordinary spelling *r* does not precede a vowel, but ('r$_{\circ}$) when a vowel follows. I conclude therefore that his 'point-glide' is always meant for (') or ('h), forming a diphthong with the preceding vowel. If so, and there was no option of trilling, I was not quite right in transcribing it by (ɹ). Mr. Sweet at first analyzed this vocal *r* into (əh), forming a diphthong with the preceding element, but at present he feels inclined to substitute the simple voice glide unrounded, this is ('h), as I have done, and also Mr. Graham Bell himself (1099, *d*). Cases of this change of (ɹ) into ('r), are: *fear fearing* (fiiɹ fii'·riq), *hair hairy* (HeeɹHee'·ri), *pour pouring* (pooɹ poo'·riq), *poor poorer* (pʊʊɹ pʊʊ'·rɹ). In case of (aa), the (') is not inserted; *star* is (staa), not generally (staa'), but sometimes (staar), and *starry* is (staa·ri), not (staa'·ri), which would have a drawly effect. Those who cannot say (ooɹ, oo'r-), generally give (AA, AAr-), and rarely (AA', AA'r-); thus, (pAA, pAA·riq). They do not usually distinguish *draws drawers*, but call both (drAAzs). For *glory* we often hear (dlAA·ri), even from educated speakers, which is certainly much less peculiar than (gloo·ɹi), which, when I heard it from the pulpit, completely distracted my attention from the matter to the manner. The words *four*, *fore*, *for*, would be constantly confused by London speakers, were not the last usually without force. We often hear *before me*, *for me*, *for instance*, pronounced (bifAA·mi, fAmii', fʊri·nstʊns).

(*i*). See No. 6, (*i*). Here it occurs in an open syllable, see (1098, *c'*), and 'unaccented.'

(kʊnee'ri). The syllables are all distinctly separated in speech, but by slurs only, thus (k < ʊ⌣n < ee·'h⌣ri), that is, although the voice is not *cut off* after (ʊ, 'h), the force diminishes so much that there is no appreciable glide from (ʊ) to (n) or ('h) to (r). Here then we have the rather unusual case of syllabication, assumed to be general by Bell (Vis. Sp. p. 118), where the consonant begins and the vowel ends the syllable.

UNACCENTED SYLLABLES.

By *accent* I mean a prominence invariably given to one or more *syllables in a word*, on all occasions when it is used, unless special reasons require attention to be drawn to one of the other syllables. By *emphasis* I mean a prominence given to one or more *words in a clause*, varying with the mood and intention of the speaker. Accent is therefore "fixed," and emphasis is "free." The mode in which prominence is given may be the same in each, but as accented syllables may occur in emphatic words, the effects of emphasis must be considered independently of the effects of accent. Modern versification is guided by prominence, whether due to accent or emphasis. Prominence in English accent is due principally to force, occasioning greater *loudness* of the most vocal parts of a syllable, and greater *clearness*. The non-prominent syllables, commonly called unaccented, are usually deficient in force, and in English decidedly obscure. Obscurity is, however, no necessary accompaniment of want of force, and not associated with it in all languages. The same is true for unemphatic syllables. There are many monosyllables which in English speech are habitually united with one another, and with the adjacent words, so as to form temporary new words, so far as pronunciation is concerned. It is only our habits of writing which lead us to consider them as distinct. In this combination they suffer alterations in various ways, but these are habitually disregarded in orthography; and the question of how far they should be recognized in any reformation of spelling is at present quite unsettled. Most English phonologists have written a *pada* or analysed, and not the real *sanhitâ* or combined, words of speech. Mr. Melville Bell forms an exception, but only to a moderate extent. *Emphasis* in English does not consist merely of loudness, or of additional loudness. Length, quality, distinctness, rapidity, slowness, alterations of pitch, all those varieties of utterance which habitually indicate feeling in any language, come into play. With these I shall not interfere. The various physical constituents of accent and emphasis have been considered by me elsewhere.[1] Here we have only to consider, to some extent, the difference of pronunciation actually due to differences of prominence, so far as I have been able to note them.

Mr Melville Bell (Vis. Sp. p. 116) lays down as one of the characteristics of English "the comparatively indefinite sounds of *unaccented* vowels," and explains this (*ib.* p. 117) as follows: "The difference between unaccented and accented vowels in colloquial pronunciation is one not merely of stress [force, loudness], but, in general, of quality also." This should mean that there are different series of vowel-sounds in accented and unaccented syllables. "The following are the tendencies of unaccented vowels," meaning, I believe, the tendencies of the speaker to alter the quality of a vowel as he removes force from it. The speaker thinks that he leaves the vowel unaltered, and the remission of force induces him involun-

[1] Transactions of the Philological Society for 1873-4, pp. 113-164.

tarily to replace it by another vowel. In our usual orthography, the *letter* generally remains, and hence we are led to say confusedly that the *vowel* itself alters. We are in the habit of considering two different sounds to be the same vowel when they are commonly represented by the same sign. Possibly at one time there was a clear pronunciation given to these vowels, similar to that given to vowels having the same written form in accented syllables. We have no proof of this, for writers may from the first have contented themselves with approximative signs in the unaccented syllables. This is in fact most probable in English, to which language alone the present remarks refer, every language having its own peculiar mode of treating such syllables. Mr. Bell proceeds to describe these 'tendencies' as follows:—for the technical language, see (13, *b*).

"I. From Long to Short.—II. From Primary to Wide.—III. From Low and Mid to Mid and High.—IV. From Back and Front to Mixed.—V. From 'Round' (Labio-Lingual) to Simple Lingual. —VI. From Diphthongs to single intermediate sounds. The 2nd, 3rd, and 4th tendencies combined, affect all vowels in unaccented syllables, and give a general sameness to thin sounds. The 'High-Mixed Wide' vowel (*y*) is the one to which these tendencies point as the prevailing unaccentual sound.[1]

"The next in frequency are:—the 'high-back-wide' (ʊ), which takes the place of the 'mid-back' vowels (ɜ, a);—the 'high-front-wide' (*i*), which takes the place of the 'front' (i, *éi*);—the 'mid-front-wide' (e), which takes the place of (ɛ);—and the 'mid-mixed-wide' (ah), which takes the place of (æ). Greater precision is rarely heard, even from careful speakers; but among the vulgar the sound (*y*) almost represents the vowel-gamut in unaccented syllables.

"The 5th tendency is illustrated in the vulgar pronunciation of unaccented *ō* (in borough, pronounce, geology, philosophy, etc.) as (ɜ) instead of (*o*); and the (ɜ) constantly tends forwards and upwards to (ə, ah, ʊ) and (*y*).

"The 6th tendency is illustrated in the vulgar pronunciation of the pronouns *I* and *our* (ə, əɪ); in the change of *my* (mái) into (m*y*) or (m*i*), when unemphatic; in the regular pronunciation of the terminations *-our*, *-ous* (ɜɪ, ɜs); in the change of the diphthong *day* (d*éi*) into (de, d*i*, d*y*) in *Monday*, etc.

"The possibility of alphabetically expressing such fluctuations of sound is a new fact in the history of writing. In ordinary 'Visible Speech' printing a standard of pronunciation must, of course, be adopted. Custom is the lawgiver, but the habits of the vulgar are not to be reflected in such a standard. The principle may be safely laid down that the less difference a speaker makes between accented and unaccented syllables—save in quantity—the better is his pronunciation."

From this last principle I dissent altogether. Any attempt to pronounce in accordance with it would be against English usage, and would be considered pedantic, affected, or 'strange,' in even

[1] See Buchanan's use of (*i*) in many unaccented syllables, suprà pp. 1053–4.

the best educated society. Mr. Bell ends by referring to a table, which, he says, "exhibits the extent to which distinctive sounds for unaccented vowels may be written in accordance with educated usage." This table (Vis. Sp. p. 110) says that the following sounds "occur only in unaccented syllables, and in colloquial speech."

(ʊ)	in	*-tion, -tious, -er*	(ɔh)	in	*-or, -ward*
(*y*)	in	*the, -es*	('hw)	in	*now, out*
(*u*h)	in	*-ure, -ful*	(*ɹw*)	in	*our*
(oh)	in	*-ory*			

Mr. Bell accordingly consistently carries out these 'tendencies' in his Visible Speech examples. I regret to say that I consider them principally theoretical, and that they differ both from my own use and my own observations. Historically of course his 6th tendency, as illustrated, is founded on a mistake, quite parallel to that which declares *a* to become *an* before a vowel, instead of *an* to have become *a* before a consonant. It is not the diphthong which has in these cases degenerated into a vowel, but the vowel which in accented syllables has developed into a diphthong. But so unfixed are the habits of our pronunciation, that almost any utterance of unaccented syllables would be intelligible; and so dreadfully afraid are many speakers of being classed among the 'vulgar' (whom Mr. Bell and most orthoepists condemn, but who, as the Latin *vulgus* implies, form the staple of speakers), that they become so 'careful' as almost to create a *spoken* as well as a *written* 'literary language,' which is altogether artificial.

To analyse our unaccented sounds is extremely difficult. They are so fleeting and obscure, and so apt, when we attempt to hold them, to alter in character, by involuntary muscular action of the speaker, that even when the observer is the speaker himself, no implicit reliance can be placed on his results. A word dislocated from its context is like a fish out of water, or a flower in an herbarium. In the introduction to the third part of this book (subsequently enlarged and distributed), I proposed certain lists of words containing unaccented syllables, in some faint hope of getting a few answers respecting them. I have received none. I shall therefore endeavour to answer them myself, so far, and so far only, as I believe I do actually pronounce in unaccented speech. Before doing so, I beg to call attention to my radical difference from Mr. Bell in using (e, ə) for his (ɛ, ɜ); to my omission of the permissive trill in (ɹ) and consequent substitution of (ə, ʊ, 'h,'), together with my use of a trilled (r) before vowels in place of his untrilled (r_o), see (1098, *be*); to my use of the simple jerk (ʜ) in place of (ʜh, ʜɺh, ɺh); and to my utter disregard for all conventionalities in this attempted photograph. As to the symbol (ʊ) I do not feel quite sure whether it exactly represents my sound, which however I think is not quite (ə). As a general rule, when (ə) is written, it is supposed to glide on distinctly to the following consonant. When (ʊ) is used, this is not the case. Hence, in closed syllables, (ʊ) has the effect of a long unaccented vowel (əə), and (ə) of a short unaccented vowel. Consequently (ʊ)

answers to the sound which English and American humorists write either *a* or *er* unaccented, in an open syllable; and (ə) to what they write *u* in a closed syllable. The exact analysis of the sounds is extremely difficult. The English sound meant is not French *e* mute, nor is it Icelandic *u* final, both of which appear to me as (ø). But I seem to hear it in the German *e* final as usually pronounced, when it is not pedantically or locally replaced by (*e*). And it is probably the same sound as was represented by final *e* in Old English, (119, *c'*. 318, *a*. 678, *b*). To those who, like Mr. Murray, use (ɜ) in accented syllables, the unaccented sound becomes (ə). When, however, as in my own case, the accented sound is already (ə), the unaccented decidedly differs from it, and this difference I represent, with considerable hesitation, by (ʊ). This hesitation arises from my not being satisfactorily conscious of the rising of the back of the tongue in passing from (ə) to (ʊ), as in (bə·tʊ) *better*, and hence the uneasy sense that after all the difference may be merely one of mode of synthesis, dependent on the nature and length of glides. See (1145, *c'*).

I. *Terminations involving R, L, M, N.*

-and, husband brigand headland midland (hə·zbʊnd bri·gʊnd hɛ·dlʊnd mi·dlʊnd). I doubt as to (ʊn), or ('n), but feel that there is some gliding and very obscure vocality before (n). Some 'careful speakers' might venture on (ænd) in the last three words, none would do so in the first, ags. hûsbonda; and yet I think the second vowel differs from the first, and that we do not say (hə·zbənd). The final (d) of this word is constantly omitted before a following consonant, as (məi hə·zbʊn noo'wzs).

-end, dividend legend (di·vidʊnd le·dzhend). Both foreign words. The first from speakers not much used to it, like the second, ends in (-end), those much used to it say (-ind), some may say (-ʊnd), but I think the intermediate (-ʊnd) more usual. The second, being a 'book word,' has quite an artificial pronunciation.

-ond, diamond almond (də'i·mʊnd aa·mʊnd). Possibly some say (də'i·ʊ-mʊnd), many say (də'i·mʊnd), or even (də'i·m'n).

-und, rubicund jocund (ruu·bikənd dzhə·kənd). Here (ən) is distinct, simply because the words are unusual.

-ard, haggard niggard sluggard renard leopard (hæ·gʊd ni·gʊd slə·gʊd re·nʊd le·pʊd). Possibly (-ənd, æənd) may be the real sound. Of course (-ʊr,d) might be used, but would probably not be recognized, and also (-'rd). But (hæ·gæ'd, hæ·gærd) would be ridiculous. The glide on to the (d) is short, and hence the preceding vowel has a long effect. Thus (ni·gʊd) is more like (ni·gəəd) than (ni·gədd). This supplies the lost *r*.

-erd, halberd shepherd (hæ·lbʊd, -bʊt, she·pʊd). The aspiration entirely falls away in the second word.

-ance, guidance dependance abundance clearance temperance ignorance resistance (gə'i·dʊns di·pe·ndʊns ʊbə·ndʊns kli·rʊns te·mpʊrʊns i·gnʊrʊns ri·zi·stʊns). The termination is sometimes affectedly called (-æns), but this sound is more often used for clearness in public speaking, and it appeals to the hearer's knowledge of spelling. The first word has very frequently (gj), even from young speakers. The (di-, ri-, ʊ-) belong to III. Some 'careful speakers' will say (i·gnərens)! Observe that (æns), considered as the historical English representative of Latin *-antia*, would be erroneous in the second and last words, and have no meaning in the first and fourth. 'Etymological' pronunciation is all pedantry in English, quite a figment of orthoepists.

-ence, licence confidence dependence patience (lə'i·sʊns kə·nfidʊns di·pe·ndʊns pee·shʊns). This termination is absolutely undistinguishable from the last, except in the brains of orthoepists. Some 'careful speakers,' however, will give (-ens), some 'vulgar' speakers go in for (-ins), and some nondescripts hover into (-ʊns).

-some, meddlesome irksome quarrel-

some (me·d'lsum ee·ksum kwo·relsum). The hiss of the (s) takes up so much of the syllable that the (-um) is more than usually indistinct and difficult to determine, but I do not hear quite (sum). Some will say (kwo·relsum), when they think of it.

-sure, pleasure measure leisure closure fissure (ple·zhu me·zhu le·zhu kloo·zhu fi·shu). Some say (lii·zhu). Before a following vowel (r) is retained, as (dhi ple·zhurev me·zhuriq fi·shuzs). The spelling (-ure) has produced (-u', -uhɹ, -iu'). They are all pseud-orthoepical.

-ture, creature furniture vulture venture. My own (-tiú', krii·tiú' fee·nitiú' vo·ltiú' ve·ntiú') with (r) retained when a vowel follows, is, I fear, pedantically abnormal, although I habitually say so, and (krii·tˌshu, fee·niˌtˌshu vo·ltˌshu ve·ntˌshu) are the usual sounds. *Verdure verger* are usually both called (voo·dˌzhu).

-al, cymbal radical logical cynical metrical poetical local medial lineal victuals (si·mbul ræ·dikul lo·dzhikul si·nikul me·trikul poetikul loo·kul mii·dijel li·nijul vi·tulz). The words *cymbal symbol* are identical in sound. Are the pairs of terminations *-cal -cle*, and *-pal -ple*, distinguished, compare *radical radicle*, and *principal principle?* If not, is *-al* really (-ul) or merely ('l)? I think that the distinction is sometimes made. I think that I make it. But this may be pedantic habit. No one can *think* much of *how* he speaks without becoming more or less pedantic, I fear. I think that generally *-cal, -pal*, are simply (-k'l, -p'l).

-el, camel pannel apparel (kæ·mul pæ·nul upæ·rul). Some may say (æpæ·rel).

-ol, carol wittol (kæ·rul wi·tul). Some say (kæ·rol). The last word being obsolete is also often read (wi·tol).

-am, madam quondam Clapham (mæ·dum kwo·ndum Klæ·pum). Of late, however, shopwomen say (mæ·dæm) very distinctly. I do not recall having ever heard (Klæ·pnæm) either with (ʜ, nh) or (æ).

-om, freedom seldom fathom venom (frii·dum se·ldum fæ·dhum ve·num). Perhaps emphatically (frii·dom) may be heard, but I think that the (m) is more usually prolonged.

-an, suburban logician historian Christian metropolitan, and the compounds of *man*, as woman watchman countryman (subəə·bun lojdzhi·shun ʜistoo'·rijun Kri·sjtˌshun me:tropo·litun, wu·mun wo·tˌshmun ko·ntrimun). No one says (wu·mæn), but (wo·tˌshmæn ko·ntrimæn) may be heard, as the composition is still felt.

-en, garden children linen woollen (gaa·dn tshi·ldryn li·n·in wu·lin). Here great arbitrariness prevails. See Smart's Principles, art. 114, who begins by quoting Walker's dictum: "nothing is so vulgar and childish as to hear *swivel* and *heaven* with the *e* distinct, and *novel* and *chicken* with the *e* suppressed," and then observes, "either the remark is a little extravagant, or our prejudices are grown a little more reasonable since it was written," and then adding, "still it is true that we cannot oppose the polite and well-bred in these small matters without some detraction from their favourable opinion; and the inquiry when we are to suppress the vowel in these situations, and when we are not, will deserve the best answer it is capable of," and he proceeds to examine them all. In the mouth of speakers who are not readers, the vowel is suppressed in all words they are in the constant habit of using. In the words learned out of books the vowel is preserved because written. In "polite" and "well-bred" families, the fear of being thought vulgar leads some, (especially the ladies who have been at school,) to speak differently from non-readers, and shew by their pronunciation that shibboleth of education, a knowledge of the current orthography of their language—the rest is all "leather and prunello," for who knows it but word-grubbers? and who are they? are they "polite" and "well-bred"? are they "in society"? Poor *Mopsae!* they are misled to be as bad as the *Doeti interdum!* Affectation and pedantry are on a par in language.

-on, deacon pardon fashion legion minion occasion passion vocation mention question felon (dii·kn paa·dn fæ·shun lii·jdˌzhun mi·nɹun okee·zhun pæ·shun vojkee·shun me·nshun kwe·stɹon fe·lon). Mr. Bell draws attention to the difference between *men shun him* and *mention him*, in the quality of the vowels (mun shun, mæ·nshun), in Eng. Vis. Sp. p. 15. Some, not many, say (kwee·shun), and fewer still say perhaps (kwes·shon). In *felon* I hear clear (on).

-ern, eastern cavern (ii·stun kæ vun).

But if so, what becomes of the distinction between *eastern Easton?* It seems quite lost, unless a speaker exaggerates the words into (ii·stəən Ii·stənn). Having lived for some years in a set of houses called 'Western Villas,' I remember the great difficulty I always had in preventing people from writing 'Weston Villas,' shewing that *western Weston* were to them the same sounds.

-ar, vicar cedar vinegar scholar secular (vi·kə sii·də vi·nigə skɔ·lə se·kiú)lə). To say (-aa) in these words would be as disagreeable as in *together*, which I heard Toole the actor in a burlesque

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exaggerate into (tə)gæ·dhaa), the upper figures indicating length, see (1131, *d*).

-er, robber chamber member render (rɔ·bə t)shee·mbə me·mbə re·ndə), unless a vowel follows, when (r) is added.

-or, splendor superior tenor error actor victor (sple·ndə siú)pii·ri)ə te·nə e·rə æ·ktə vi·ktə). To use (-ɔ, -A) with or without (r) is to me quite strange.

-our, labour neighbour colour favour (lee·bə nee·bə kə·lə fee·və). Considering that the distinction of spelling in *-or*, *-our* is quite arbitrary, any corresponding distinction of sound is out of the question.

-ant, pendant sergeant infant quadrant assistant truant (pe·ndənt saa·)d,zhənt i·nfənt kwɔ·drənt əsi·stənt truu·ənt). *Truant* is dialectally monosyllabic, as (trAAnt).

-ent, innocent quiescent president (i·nəsənt kwɔ·i)e·sənt pre·zidənt). I can find no difference between this and the last.

-ancy, infancy tenancy constancy (i·nfənsi te·nənsi kɔ·nstənsi).

-ency, decency tendency currency (dii·sənsi te·ndənsi kə·rənsi). The slightly rarer occurrence of *tendency* would lead to occasional (te·ndensi).

-ary, beggary summary granary notary literary (be·gəri sə·məri græ·nəri noo·təri li·tərəri). The last word varies, as (li·tərəri, li·təree:ri), with a double accent.

-ery, robbery bribery gunnery (rɔ·bəri brə·ibəri gə·nəri), absolutely the same as the last.

-ory, priory cursory victory history oratory (prə·i·əri kəə·səri vi·ktəri hi·stəri ɔ·rətəri). Some endeavour to say (vi·ktori hi·stori), and probably succeed while they are thinking of it. In the last word there is often a slight secondary accent, so that (ɔ·rətə:ri) or perhaps Mr. Bell might say (ɔ·rəhtəh:ri) may be heard; and similarly (pri)pæ·rətə:ri), etc.

-ury, usury luxury (ziú·zhəri lə·kshəri). Such forms as (zuu·ziəri, lə·ksiəri), or even (zuu·zhəri lə·kshəri), are pseud-orthoepic.

II. *Other Terminations.*

-a, sofa idea sirrah (soo·fə ə·i)dii·)ə si·rə). There is often a difficulty in separating *idea* from *I*, *dear!* (ə·i dii·), but in *dear* (dii·) there should be a complete monosyllabic diphthong, in *idea* at most a slur (ə·i)dii·⌣ə). The last word is often called (sə·rə). In all these terminations the (-ə) recalling a written *-er*, and hence the supposed vulgarity of adding on an (r),—which in the *-er* case really occurs euphonically before a following vowel, — 'careful speakers,' and others when they want particularly to call attention to the absence of *r*, will often use (-ah) or (-aa), as (soo·fah ə·i)dii·)ah). This is oratorically permissible (by which I mean, that it is not offensive, unintelligible, or pedantic), and very convenient for giving distinctness. In ordinary speech, however, (-ə) is universal.

-o, *-ow*, *-ough:* hero stucco potato tobacco widow yellow fellow sorrow sparrow borough (hii·ro stə·ko potee·j·to tobæ·ko wi·do jə·lo fe·lo sɔ·ro spæ·ro bə·ro). Here great varieties occur, but the usual 'educated' pronunciation is (-o); in the last word, however, (-ə) is very common, as (bə·rə). I think (o) in (hii·ro) is universal; the (ə) in (stə·kə), the next word, seems to belong to journeyman plasterers. In the three next the well-known (tee·tə bæ·kə wi·də), in Ireland (tæe·ti wi·di), make (-o) obligatory among the "polite" and "well-bred." But (jə·lə fel·ə) are very common in educated speech, and even (jæ·lə) is heard from older speakers. I don't recollect hearing (sɔ·rə), but certainly (spæ·rə) may be heard in London.

-ue, *-ow:* value nephew (væ·liú ne·viú). No educated person says (væ·li ne·vi).

-iff, *-ock:* sheriff bannock haddock paddock (she·rif bæ·nək hæ·dək pæ·dək), with distinct ending in England, but all end in simple (-ə) in Scotland.

-ible, *-ibility:* possible possibility. I am used to say (pɔ·sibl pɔ·sibi·liti), but the common custom, I think, is (pɔ·səbl, pɔ·sə)bi·lətɪ).

-ach, stomach lilach (stə·mək lə'*i*·lək), with distinct (ə), but *maniac* (mee·niæk) preserves (æ).

-acy, *-icy*: prelacy policy (pre·lusi po·lísi) are my pronunciation, but (po·lusi) is, I think, more common. In *obstinacy* (ɔ·bstinesi) a slight tendency to secondary accentual force and a reminiscence of *obstinate* (ɔ·bstinet) often preserves (-esi).

-ate, [in nouns] laureate frigate figurate (lAA·ri)et fri·get fi·giú)ret). Usage varies. In *frigate* the commonness of the word produces (fri·git); in *figurate*, its rarity gives (fi·giú)reet), but (fi·gureet) would be its natural sound. In verbs, as *demonstrate*, I usually say (-eet, de·munstreet). Many persons, perhaps most, accentuate (dimə·nstret). I am accustomed to talk of the (*I*·lə*stree*:ted Niúuzs), the newsboys generally shout out (*I* lə·strutid Nuuzs), with a tendency to drop into (lə·str't'd).

-age, village image manage cabbage marriage (vi·led,zh i·med,zh mæ·ned,zh kæ·bed,zh mæ·rid,zh). Of course (d,zh,sh) is said before the pause. The vowel is commonly (*i*) in all, but I feel a difference in *marriage carriage*. The (*i*) is very common in *village cabbage*.

-ege, privilege college (pri·vilid,zh, kɔ·lid,zh). Some say (-ed,zh); (-iid,zh) is never heard. Some say (pri·vulid,zh), apparently to prevent the concurrence of (*i*).

-ain, *-in*: certain Latin (səə·tyn Læ·tin) are, I think, my sounds, but (səə·tn Læ·tn) are not uncommon, (səə·tin səə·teen) may occasionally be heard. *Captain* is generally (kæ·ptin), 'carefully' (kæ·pten), 'vulgarly' (kæ·pn).

-ing, a singing, a being (ə si·qiq, ə bii·)iq). In educated English pronunciation the *-ing*, either of noun or participle, is distinct (-iq). Any use of (-in) or distinction of (-in, -iq) is provincial or uneducated.

-ful, mouthful sorrowful (mə'*u*·thful sɔ·roful). Educated speakers rarely seem to fall into (sɔ·rəful). In *mouthful* the composition is too evident to allow of this, and indeed the word is often made (mə'*u*·thfu:l).

-fy, *-ize*: terrify signify civilize baptize (te·rifo'i si·gnifo'i si·vilo'iz bæpto'i·z). The final diphthong is quite distinct.

-it, *-id*, *-ive*, *-ish*: pulpit rabbit rabid restive parish (pu lpit ræ·bit ræ·bid re·stív pæ·rísh). The (*i*) is quite unobscured.

-il, evil devil (ii·vl de·vl). 'Careful speakers,' especially clergymen, insist on (ii·vil de·vil), pseud-orthoepically.

-y, *-ly*, *-ty*, etc.: mercy truly pity (məə·si truu·li pi·ti), with unobscured (*i*). To pronounce (truu·lə'i) is not now customary, even in biblical reading; and (truu·lə'i· shuu·lə'i·) are mere 'vulgarities.'

-mony, harmony matrimony testimony (HAA·muni mæ·trimeni te·stimuni). The first word has, perhaps invariably, (-muni). In the other two a secondary accent sometimes supervenes, and (-m·o:ni, -mɔ:ni, -moh:ni, -moh:ni) may be heard, which occasionally even amounts to (-moo:ni).

-most, hindmost utmost bettermost foremost (Hə'i·ndmost ə·tmost be tumost foo'·most). This is, I think, the regular unconscious utterance, but (-moost) is occasionally said. The (-most) is in fact a regular degradation of (-most).

-ness, sweetness, etc., (swii·tnes). The (s) generally saves a vowel from degradation, at least with me. Which of the three (-nes, -nis, -nys) is most common, I do not know.

-eous, righteous piteous plenteous (rə'i·tjəs pi·tjəs ple·ntjəs) are, I think, my own 'careful,' *i.e.* rather pedantic, pronunciations. I believe that (rə'i·jt,shəs, pi·t,shəs pi·t,shi)es pi·ti)əs, ple·nti)əs ple·nj t,shi)əs) are more common. These are all orthographical changelings of uncommon words. The first is merely religious now-a-days, with a bastard, or rather a mistaken, French termination.

-ious, precious prodigious (pre·shəs prodi·d,zhəs). Never divided into (-*i*)əs).

-ial, *-ialty*, *-iality*: official, partial partiality, special specialty speciality (ofi·shul, paa·shul paa:shi)æ·lti, spe·shul spe·shulti spe:shi)æ·lti). All the (-*i*)æl-) are orthographical products.

-ward, forward backward awkward upward downward froward toward towards (fAA·wud bæ·kwud AA·kwud ə·pwud do'*u*·nwud froo)·ud too)·ud too'dzs). An older pronunciation of (fo·rud bæ·kud AA·kud) may be occasionally heard from educated speakers; it is common among the 'vulgar.' I have not noticed the omission of (w) in *upward downward*, or its insertion in the rather unusual words *froward toward*. The word *towards* is variously called (too'dzs, tuwAA·dzs), and even (tə'*u*)·udzs), of which the first is most usual, the second not uncommon, and

the last very rare from educated speakers.

-wise, likewise sidewise (lə'*i*·kwə'*iz*s sə'*i*·dwə'*iz*s), with distinct diphthong.

-wife, midwife housewife goodwife. Here orthographical readers say (mi·dwə'*if* ʜɔ'*u*·swə'*if* gu:dwə'*i*·f). But (mi·dif) is more common, and no actor would speak otherwise in describing Queen Mab, RJ I, 4, 23 (717, 54). The thread-and-needle-case is always called a (ʜɔz·*if*), and the word (ʜə·z*i*), now spelled *hussy*, shews the old disuse of (w), and similarly (gu·d*i*), now written *goody*.

-wich, Greenwich Woolwich Norwich Ipswich (Gri·nid,zh Wu·lid,zh Nɔ·rid,zh *I*·psid,zh). The last is the local pronunciation, (*I*·pswit,sh) is merely orthographical, and similarly I have heard the Astronomer Royal say (Grii·nwit,sh). Living in the place, no doubt (Gri·nid,zh) is an abomination in his ears. Railway porters also are apt to 'corrupt' names of places orthographically, as when they call *Uttoxeter* (Juutɔ·ksitə), in place of (ʜ·ksetə).

-eth, speaketh (spii·keth). The termination having gone out of use, the pronunciation is purely orthographical.

-ed, pitted pitied, added (pi·ted pi·tid, æ·ded). The *-ed* is lost in (d, t), except after (t, d). What the vowel is, seems to have been a matter of doubt from very early times, *-id*, *-ed* constantly interchanging in MSS. At present (-ed, -id, -yd) are heard. Few make the distinction, here given, between *pitted* and *pitied*.

-es, *-'s*, *-s*: princes prince's, churches church's, paths path's, cloth's cloths clothes, wolves (pri·nsezs, tshəə·tshezs, paadhzs paaths, kloths kloths kloodhzs, wulvzs). The vowel in *-es* is subject to the same doubt as that in *-ed*. In the genitive *path's*, I am accustomed to give (-ths), in the plural *paths*, to give (-dhzs). The plural *cloths* is unfamiliar to me, and my pronunciation is orthographical. In *clothes* the *th* is usually omitted, as (kloo'*w*zs, tloo'*w*zs). The cry (ol tloo)! for *old clothes!* used to be very well known in London fifty years ago, and is not yet quite extinct; although the familiar long-bearded Jew, with a black bag over his shoulder and a Dutch clock (really a Schwarzwälder Uhr) under his arm, the pendulum separate and held in his hand, while one finger moved the hammer which struck the hour, beating a ringing time to his (ol tloo! tloo! tloo!), has given place to a "card" left in an envelope addressed "to the mistress of the house," and offering to buy "wardrobes" to any extent, "for shipment to the colonies"!

III. *Various Initial Syllables.*

a-, with various following consonants: among astride alas abuse avert advance adapt admire accept affix *v.* announce append alert alcove abyss. The utmost variety prevails. When two pronounced consonants follow, as in *accept advance admire alcove* (ækse·pt ædvaa·ns ædmə'*i*· ælkoo·v), there is generally an unobscured (ə). Otherwise the ordinary custom is to pronounce (ə, u), or even ('h) with excessive brevity and indistinctness, on account of the following accent. On the other hand, some speakers insist on (ah), or even (æ), although for (ə) they feel obliged to glide on to the following consonant. This is usually done when the following consonant is doubled in writing, and the pronunciation is then orthographical, as in (æno'*u*·ns, æpe·nd), and in unusual words as (æbi·s). But (əmə·q, ˌ'hmə·q, ah)mə·q, æmə·q) may all be heard. If any one say (*e*), as (*e*mə·q), it is a pure mistake.

e-, with various preceding consonants: elope event emit, beset begin, depend debate, despite destroy, precede repose. None of these words are of Saxon origin, hence varieties of fanciful and orthographical pronunciations, as (e, ii), and the more usual, but unacknowledged (*i*). In some cases, as *decent descent dissent*, fear of ambiguity will lead to (dii·sent diise·nt disse·nt), but the *two* last words are usually (dise·nt). In *emerge immerge*, we have occasionally (ii·məə:dzh *i*·mməə:dzh), but usually (*i*məə·dzh) for both. After (r) the (*i*) is predominant. Simple (e) is often (ii) or (i), as (iiloo·p, iive·nt), but (*i*) seems easier for English organs at present. Many insist on (bese·t, begi·n, depe·nd), etc., but this seems to me theoretical, though I hear occasionally (bə-, də-), etc. In *despite destroy*, the (s) preserves the (e) in my mouth, and I say (despə'*i*·t destrɔ'*i*·). In *eclipse* I think I usually keep (e) and say (ekli·ps), but cannot be sure of not often saying (*i*)kli·ps).

bi-, binocular biennial bilingual. Here usage varies. Some insist on distinct (bə'*i*), but others use (b*i*) when the word has become familiar. Thus

(bə'ínə·kiúlʊ) used always to be said, but since the binocular microscopes and opera glasses have become common, (bínə·kíulʊ) is often heard. In *bisect* we hear both (bə'ísə·kt bísə·kt) often from the same mathematical speaker, at short intervals. When the accent falls on the *bi-*, we usually have (bi·), as *bicycle biparous* (bi·sikl bi·pʊrəs), but occasionally (bə'i) remains, as *binary* (bə'i·nʊri); compare *combine combination* (kəmbə'i·n kɔ:mbinee·shʊn).

di-, direct divide (díre·kt dívə'i·d). The last word has always (di), the first has constantly (də'i). The same *diversity* exists in this word with *divest diversion*, etc. All these (də'i) are clearly orthographical.

o-, *pro-*, etc.: oblige occasion oppose promote produce *v.* propose (oblə'i·d,zh ɔkee·zhʊn ɔpoo·z prəmoo·t prodiúu·s propoo·z) seem to be my pronunciations, but (ɔ) is sometimes heard in all, and (ʊ) occasionally, as *I should be much obliged to you if you would occasionally promote this proposal*, (ə'i· shʊdbi mə·tshʊblə'i:d,zh,shtʊɹʊ i:fɹʊdʊkee·zhʊnʊli prʊmoo·t dhi:sprʊpoo·zʊl).

to-, to-morrow together (tʊmə·ro tʊge·dhʊ). I have been accustomed to consider these my pronunciations, but suspect that I often fall into (tʊ-, tʊ-).

for-, *fore-*: forbid forgive forego foretell (fʌbi·d fʌgi·v foo'goo'w· foo'te·ll). But the two last have frequently simple (fʌ-).

IV. *Unemphatic Words.*

These words may become emphatic or receive more or less degrees of force, causing their sound to vary. They have therefore clear forms and obscure forms, and these forms are assumed pretty much at the pleasure of the speaker. The obscurity often amounts to absolute suppression of vocality. They are here given, in the order of frequency of occurrence, according to Mr. D. Nasmyth (Practical Linguist, English, 1871), who determined this order by actual numeration in books of exceedingly different character. The clear sound is given first, separated by a (—) from the rest.

and (ænd—ʊnd, ʊn, n, nh), the (d) is most frequently omitted before a consonant, as *bread and milk* (bre:dʊnmɪ·lk). The sound is often so extremely brief that it is recognized by instinct rather than by hearing.

the (dhii—dhi dhy dhɪ dh dhe dhʊ dhə). Some speakers always say (dhi) or (dhy), for it is difficult to determine the precise sound. Others use (dhi), and even try to keep (dhi, dhii), before vowels only. In poetry this (dhi) becomes (dhɪ) or even (dh). Before consonants some endeavour to use (dhe), but this generally results in (dhʊ) or (dhə), and singers are usually taught to sing (dhəə), precisely as if the word were written *ther*.

I (ə'i). In received speech this word does not change in losing force. Whichever of its various sounds a speaker chooses (1100, *a'*) for his normal pronunciation is preserved throughout.

you (jʊu—jʊ, jɪ, jʊ). The (jʊ) is not recognized. After (t, d) the (j) often passes into (,sh, ,zh), but this is also not recognized. Both are frequently heard nevertheless.

he (hii—hi hi i i). The (h), which includes (hh, ɦ), according to the speaker's habits, is constantly lost when *he* is enclitic.

she (shii—shi shi sh''i). The last is frequent in rapid conversation.

it (it). This does not seem to vary, except of course as (-t) when convenient, but even this is rather 'poetical.'

we (wii—wi wi). The (w) is never lost.

they (dhee'j—dhe dhe), but not degenerating to (dhʊ).

have (hæv—hʊv ʊv v). The (h, hh, ɦ) is constantly omitted when the word is enclitic, and simple (v) occurs after a vowel.

will (wil—wʊl wl l). The (l) is frequent after a vowel.

shall (shæl—shl shlh). The last form is frequent.

one (wən—wʊn). The degradation into (ʊn) is not received.

to (tʊu—tu tɪ tʊ). Often extremely short. The pronunciation (*too*) may be heard from old people and Americans occasionally. The difference between *to too two* is well shewn in such a sentence as: *I gave two things to two men, and he gave two, too, to two, too* (ə'i· geev tʊu·thi·qz tʊtʊu· men, ʊnhii·geev tʊu·tʊu: tʊtʊu·tʊu:).

be (bii—bi bi bʊ). The last form is careless.

there (dhee'—dhʊ), before vowels (dhee'r dher dhʊr).

a (ee'j — e ah ʊ). 'Careful speakers' use (e) or (ah), but these sounds are quite theoretical; and (ʊ) or (ə) is the only usual sound. Before a vowel (æn

ʊn). Before (H), beginning an unaccented syllable, it is now the fashion to write *a*, and I suppose to say (*ee*) or (*ee*'j), but I always use *an*, and say (æ:n) with a secondary *accent*, not omitting the following (H), but rather gaining a fulcrum for its introduction, as *an historical account*, *an harangue* (æ:n-Histo·rikʊl ʊkə'*u*·nt, æ:nHʊræ·q).

my (mə'*i*—mi), in *myself*, *my lord*, always (mi), but otherwise (mə'*i*) is constantly preserved pure, (mi) is Irish.

his (Hizs, Hiz—*iz*), the (H) commonly lost when enclitic.

our (ə'*u*', ə'*u*'r), preserved pure.

your (Juu', Juu'r—Jʊ, Jʊr). Although (Jʊ) is not unfrequent, it is not recognized.

her (Həə Həər—ʊ ʊr). The (H) is dropped constantly in *he his him her*.

their, treated as *there*.

of (ɔv—əv ʊv ʊ), the (ʊ) is very common before consonants. Several old speakers still say (əf).

would (wʊd—w'd d), the last after vowels.

should (shʊd—sh'd sh'd), the last not very unfrequent.

or (AA AAr ɔr—A Ar ʊ ʊr), the (r) only before a vowel; the (A) most common, but (ʊ) not unfrequent before a consonant. Similarly for *nor*.

for (fAA fAAr fɔr—fA fAr fʊ fʊr) treated like *or*, but (fʊ fʊr) are very common.

that (dhæt—dhʊt dh't). The demonstrative pronoun is always distinct, the subordinating conjunction and relative are almost always obscure, as *I know that that that that man says is not that that that one told me* (əinoo·dh't dhæt dh'tdhæ·t mæn sez iz-nət-dhæ·t dh't-dhæ·twən too'*w*·ldmi).

on (ɔn), preserved clear.

do (duu—du d*u* dʊ), the last not so rare.

which (whitsh witsh—wh'tsh witsh). Some speakers always preserve (whitsh), others always preserve (witsh).

who (Huu—Hu H*u* *u*), but (*u*) is rare.

by (bə'*i*), preserved pure, (b*i*) is hardly in use.

them (dhem—dh*y*m dhʊm), the last not thought 'elegant.' The (em ʊm) forms are due to the old *hem*, and are common enough even from educated speakers, but usually disowned.

me (mii—mi m*i* mʊ), the last is, perhaps, Irish, common in (tuu·mʊ frɔm·mʊ widh·mʊ) *to me*, *from me*, *with me*, etc.

were (wee', wee'r, wəə, wəər—wʊ wʊr).

with (widh with—wi), generally preserved pure, (with) is heard from older speakers.

into (i·ntu intuu·—intu intʊ), unemphatically neither syllable receives force.

can (kæn—k'n kn), the last forms common.

cannot (kæ·nɔt, kaant), kept pure.

from (frɔm—frʊm), often kept pure.

as (æzs æz—ʊz z), (ʊz) common, (z) rare.

us (əs—ʊs), both common.

sir (səə, səər—sʊ), and after *yes* simply (ʊ), as *yes sir* (Jə·sʊ).

madam (mæ·dʊm—mæm mem mim məm mʊm m'm m). After *yes* and *no* the syllable used by servant girls is (or was, for the use is declining) hard to seize. *No ma'am* is not at all (noo'*w*m), but nearer (nom⌣m), the first (m) being short, and the second introduced by a kind of internal decrease of force, which is scarcely well represented by a slur, but I have no sign for it, and so to indicate the dissyllabic character I write helplessly (nom'm, Je·sm'm). I have not succeeded in uttering the sound except enclitically.

Numerous other peculiarities of modern pronunciation would require careful consideration in a full treatise, which must be passed over at present. The following comparison of Mr. Melville Bell's 'careful' system of unaccented vowels and my own 'colloquial' pronunciation will serve to show perhaps the extreme limits of 'educated' pronunciation. Mr. Bell has divided his words in the usual way, forming an isolated or *pada* text. I have grouped mine as much as possible into those divisions which the native speaker naturally adopts, and which invariably so much puzzle the foreigner who has learned only from books. This grouping gives therefore a combined or *sanhitá* text. Mr. Bell's specimen is taken from

pp. 13 and 14 of his 'English Visible Speech' (no date, but subsequent to his larger work, which was published in 1867), as containing his latest views. In transliterating his symbols I retain (ɹ) for his 'point-glide,' or glide from the vowel to his untrilled (r̥), see (1098, *bc*). In diphthongs Mr. Bell's 'glides' are represented by (i, u) connected with a vowel bearing an acute accent, as (ái, iú). Mr. Bell's aspirate is represented by (ɥh), see (1133, *b′*). It should be remembered that (Ꝑ, Ꝑ) are the capitals of (ʊ, ə), and (:A, :E) of (ʌ, ɛ); that (·) is the primary and (:) the secondary accent, both written immediately after the vowel in the accented syllable; and that in connected writing, marks of accent are not distinguished from marks of emphasis. In unconnected writing, like Mr. Bell's, (·) prefixed marks emphasis. Mr. Bell does not write the accent when it falls on the first syllable of a word, and he writes it in other cases before the initial consonant of the accented syllable, according to his own syllabic theory; but in this transliteration the usual palaeotype customs are of course followed. Mr. Bell has not always been very careful, as it appears to me, in marking quantities, but his quantities are here carefully reproduced. I have not thought it necessary to give the usual spelling, as most of the sentences are very familiar.

MELVILLE BELL.	ALEX. J. ELLIS.
M*i*selé*i*·n*i*ʊs SE·nhtenhs*y*z, Prə·vʌɹbz, etsɛ·tʊrah.	M*i*:sʊl*ee*·nɹəs Se·ntensez, Prə·vʌɹbz, etse·tʊrʊ.
Ah lʌɹdzh de'·r̥*i*-fʌɹm.	Ꝑlaa·d͡zh dee'·*ri*faa:m.
Ah fái'·r̥*i*-tɛmhpʊɹd fɛ·l*ə*.	Ꝑfə'*i*'·*ri*te:mpʊd fe·l*ə*.
Whot ah fi*u*'·r̥*i*ʊs tɛ·mhpest.	Whə·tʊ f*iú*u'·*ri*ʊs te·mpest'.
Ah wái'·r̥*i*-ɥhe'ɹd tɛ·r̥*i*ʊɹ.	Ꝑwə'*i*'·*ri*ɥee':d te·*ri*ʊ.
Ah r̥i'·r̥*i*q stɛ·bəhɪn də·qhk*i*.	Ꝑr*ii*'·*ri*q stə·bʊn də·qk*i*.
Ah glo'·r̥*i*ʊs ɥhʌɹ·vest-táim.	Ꝑgloo'·*ri*əs ɥaa·vysttə'*i*:m.
Nɛ·mbʊɹz ahnd ɔ·bdzhekts.	Nə·mbʊz ʊn ɔ·bd͡zheks.
Ah nɛ·mbʊɹ əhv p*i*·ktsh*u*hɹz.	Ꝑnə·mbʊrʊv p*i*·kt͡shʊzs (p*i*·kt*iú*'z, p*i*·ktjh*u*'zs).
Kə'inz w*é*its ahnd mɛ·zh*u*hɹz.	Kə'*i*nz w*ee*'jts ʊnme·zhʊzs.
Dh*i*s *i*z ahn ii·z*i* b*u*k t*u* r̥iid.	Dh*i*·s*i*z ʊnii·z*i* b*u*k tʊrii·d.
Pliiz dóunht biit dh*y* dəg.	Pliii·zdə'*w*nt bii·t dh*i*də·g.
Ah pr̥*y*·t*i*·l*i*·tll góu·ld-f*i*nhtsh.	Ꝑ pr*i*·til*i*:t'l g*oo*'*w*·ldf*i*:nt͡sh.
Dh*y* nɹuu ɥháu·z*y*z əhv pʌɹ·l*y*-menht.	Dh*i*n*i*úu:ɥə'*u*·zez ʊvpaa·l*i*m*y*nt.
Ah pæk əhv pl*ee*·*i*q kʌɹdz.	Ꝑpæ·kʊv pl*ee*·*i*qkaa:dzs.
Ah kæ·p*i*tahl káind əhv wʌ·tshdəg.	Ꝑkæ·p*i*tʊl kə'*i*·ndʊv wə·t͡shdə:g.
Ah vɛ·r̥*i* p*i*ktiúhr̥ɛ·sk óuld ɥháus.	Ꝑve:r*i*p*i*k:t͡shʊre·sk *oo*'*w*ld ɥə'*u*s.
Whʌt ah mahgn*i*·f*i*senht piis əhv wɛɹk.	Whə·tʊ mægn*i*·f*i*sʊnt pii·sʊv wəək.
*O*uld pr̥ə·vʌɹbz ahnd wáiz mæ·ks*i*mz.	*Oo*'*w*ld prə·vʌbzs, ʊnwə'*i*·z mæ·ks*i*mzs.
:Aʌ·lw*ee*z th*i*qhk bifor· *ɹu* spiik.	:Aʌ·lw*ee*z th*i*qk', bifoo'·ɹu spiik'.
Liist sɛd suu·nest mɛ·nded.	Lii·st' sed, suu·nyst' me·nd*y*d.

MELVILLE BELL.	ALEX. J. ELLIS.
Fɪɪ Gɔd, ɔ·nʊɪ dhy Kiq, ahnd duu dhæt dhaht iz r̥áit.	Fii' Gɔd, ɔ:nʊdhʊki·q, ʊnduu· dhæ·tdhʊtiz ·rə'it.
Mæn pr̥opóu·zyz, bʊt Gɔd dispóu·zyz.	·Mæn prʊpoo·zyzs, b'tGɔ·d di·spoo:zyz.
Faast báind, faast ·fáind.	Faast ·bə'ind', faast ·fə'ind'.
Wéist nɔht, wʌnht nɔht.	Wee·stnɔt, wɔ·ntnɔt.
Liv ahnd ·lɛt liv.	Li·v, ʊnle·t' liv.
Ah bæd wʌɪ·kmahn kwɔ·r̥elz widh nhiz tuulz.	ʊbæ·dwəə:kmʊn kwɔ·rʊlz widhiztuu·lzs.
Fr̥ɛndz in niid aɪ fr̥ɛndz indii·d.	Fre:nzinnii·d a'fre:nzindii·d.
A'i·dll ɹuuth méiks nii·di éidzh.	ɟi:d'lɹuu·th meksnii:di,ee·d zh sh.
Ah bláidh nhaɪt méiks ah bluu·miq féis.	ʊblə'i·dhnaa:t meksʊbluu·miqfee:s.
Bɛ·tʊɪ ah smʌʌl fish dhahn ahn ɛ·mhti dish.	Be·tʊrʊ smʌʌ·lfi:sh dhʊnʊne·mtidi:sh.
Bɔɪdz ɔhv ah fɛ·dhʊɪ flɔk tugɛ·dhʊɪ.	Bəə·dzʊvʊfe:dhʊ flɔ·ktʊge:dhʊ.
Bɛ·tʊɪ bi ahlóu·n dhahn in bæd kʌ·mhpahni.	Be·tʊrʊloo:n dhʊninbæ·d kə·mpʊni.
What kaanht bi kiʌɪd mʌst bi endiʌɪ·d.	Whɔt kaa·ntbi kiʌu'd mɔsbii·ʊndiʌu'·d.
Bi slóu tu pr̥ɔ·mis, bʊt kwik tu pʊɪfɔɪ·m.	Bisloo'w tʊprɔ·mis, b'tkwi·k tʊpʊfʌʌ·m.
Kɔ·mʊn sɛnhs gr̥óuz in ʌʌl kʌ·nhtr̥iz.	Kɔ:mʊnse·ns groo'wzin ʌʌ·lkə·ntrizs.
Tshiɪ·fuhlnes ahnd gudnéi·tiúhɪ aɪ dhy ɔɪ·nahmenhts ɔhv vʌɪ·tiú.	T shii'·fulnes ʊngu·dnee:t shʊ ʊdhiʌʌ·nʊmynts ʊv vəə·t shu (vəə·tiú).
Kɔnsii·liq fʌʌlhts iz bʊt æ·diq tu dhem.	Kɔnsii·liq fʌʌlts i·zb't æ·diqtʊdhym.
Kɔhmaa·nd ɹuɪsɛ·lf if ɹu wud kɔhmaa·nd ʌ·dhʊɪz.	Kʊmaa·nd ɹu'se·lf, ifɹuwu·d (i·fɹud) kʊmaa·nd ə·dhʊzs.
Pɔɪsivi'·r̥ahnhs kɔh·qhkʊɪz ʌʌl di·fikʌlhtiz.	Pəə:sivii'·rʊns kɔqkʊz ·ʌʌl di·fikʊltizs.
Dái·yt kiʌɪz mɔɪ dhahn dɔ·ktɔhriq.	·Də'i·ʊt kiʌu'z moo'·dhʊn dɔ·ktʊriq.
Dizɔɪ·v sʊksɛ·s if ɹu wud kɔhmaa·nd it.	Dizəə·v sɔksɛ·s ifɹuwudkʊmaa·ndit.
Dɛt iz dhy wʌɪst káind ɔhv pɔ·vʊɪti.	De·tizdhi wəə·st' kə'i·ndʊv pɔ·vʊti.
Duu what ɹu ʌʌt, kʌm what méi.	Duu·whɔtɹu ·ʌʌt, (duu·wɔt shu ·ʌʌt) kʌm whɔtmee'j·.
Wʌɪdz aɪ liivz, diidz aɪ r̥uut.	·Wəə·dzsʊ liivzs, ·dii·dzsʊ fruut.
Duu dzhʌ·stis, lʌv mʌɪ·si, pr̥æ·ktis nhiʌmi·liti.	Duu d zhə·stis, lɔv məə·si, præ·ktis ɹhumi·liti (ɹumi·liti).
Dɔgz dhaht bʌɪk móust báit liist.	Dɔgz dhʊtbaa·k ·moost, bə'it liist.
Ii·vil kɔhmiúnikéi·shʊnz kɔhr̥ʌ·pt gud mæ·nʊɪz.	Ii·vl kʊmiúu:nikee·sh'nz kʊrə·pt gud mæ·nʊz.
:E·mhti vɛ·selz méik dhy gréitest sáund.	E·mti ve·sʊlz mee·kdhʊ greetyst sə'ʊnd.

MELVILLE BELL.	ALEX. J. ELLIS.
Egzaa·mhpll tii·tshyz móɪ dhahn prₒii·sept.	Egzaa·mp'l tii·t‚shez moo'·dhʊn prii·sept.
Endɛ·vʊɪ fɔhɪ dhy bɛst, ahnd prₒováí·d ahga·nhst dhy wɜɪst.	Ende·vʊ fʊdhʊbe·st, ʊn prʊvə'i·d ʊge·nst' dhʊwəə·st'.
:E·v'rₒíbɔhdiz bi·znes iz nóu·-bɔhdiz bi·znes.	E·vríbɔdiz bi·znys iz noo bɔdiz bi·znys.
Dhy brₒáí·test láit kaasts dhy dɑɪ·kest shæ·dɔ.	Dhʊbrə'i·tyst lə'it kaa·stsdhʊ daa·kyst' shæ·dɔ.
Dhy fiɪ ɔhv Gɔd iz dhy bigi·n-iq ɔhv wi·zdʊm.	Dhífii':rʊvGɔ·d i:zdhibigi·níqʊv wi·zdʊm.
:Aɑl ɔɔɪ·thli trₒɛ·zhuhɪz aɪ véin ahnd flii·tiq.	:Aɑl əə·thli tre·zhʊzs ʊvee·n ʊn-flii·tiq.
Gud wɜɪdz kɔst nɜ·thiq bat aɪ wɜɪth matsh.	Gud wəədz kaast nə·thiq bətʊ-wəə·th mət‚sh.
Hhii dhaht gi·veth tu dhy puɪ lɛ·ndeth tu dhy Lɔɪd.	Hii·dhʊt gi·vith tʊdhʊpuu'·le·ndith tʊdhaLaa·d.
Hhii dɜ·bllz ʊhiz gift ʊhu givz in táim.	·Hii də·b'lzs ʊizgi·ft ʊugi·vz intə'im.
Hhii ʊhu sóuz brₒæ·mbllz mast nɔt góu ·bɛɪ·fut.	Hii·ʊu sooz bræ·mblzs mə·sʊnt goo'w bee'·fut'.
Hhóup lɔq difɔɪ·d méi·keth dhy ʊhart sik.	Hoo·p-lɔ:qdifəə·d mee·kithdhʊ ʊaat sik'.
Hhii ʊhu wanhts kɔhntɛ·nht kæ·nɔht fáind ahn ii·zi tshɛɪ.	Hii·ʊu wɔnts kʊnte·nt, kænʊt-fə'i·nd ʊnii·zi t‚shee'.
Hhii dhaht nóuz ʊhimse·lf ·bɛst, istii·mz ʊhimse lf ·liist.	Hii·dhʊt noo'wz ʊimse·lf ·best', estii·mzs ʊimse·lf ·liist'.
:Hhóup iz grₒiifs bɛst miúu·zik.	Hoo·piz griifs best' miúu·zik'.
If wi du nɔht sʊbdiúu· áuɪ pæ·shʊnz dhéi wil sʊbdiúu· ·ɜs.	Ifwiduu·not sɔbdiúu· ə'u'pæ-shʊnzs ·dhee'j· wilsɔbdiúu ·əs.
In ɹuuth ahnd strₒɛqhth thiqhk ɔhv éidzh ahnd wii·knes.	Inɹuu·th ʊnstre·qth thi·qkʊv ee'jd‚zh ʊnwii·knys.
It iz nɛ·vʊɪ tuu léit tu mɛnd.	Itizne·vʊ ·tuu lee'jt tʊme·nd.
If ɹu wish ah thiq dɜn, ·góu; if nɔt, sɛnd.	Ifɹuwi·sh ʊthi·q dən, ·goo'w; ifnɔ·t, ·send.
Dzhɔ·kiúlɛɪ slæ·ndʊrz ɔ·fnn prₒuuv si'·rₒiʊs i·ndzhuhrₒiz.	D‚zhɔ·kiúlʊ slaa·ndʊzs ɔɔ·f'n pruuv sii'·riəs i·nd‚zhʊriz.
Kiip nɔht nɔɪ kɜ·vyt whɛt iz nɔht ɹurₒ óun.	Kii·pnɔt nakə·vet whɔtiznɔ·t ɹuroo'w·n.
Láí·iq iz dhy váis ɔhv ah sléiv.	Lə'ii·‿iq izdhʊvə'i·s ʊvʊslee·vf.
Lɔɔm tu liv æz ɹu wʊd wish tu dáí.	Lɔən tʊli·v ʊzɹuwʊdwi·sh tʊdə'ii.
Mɛ·dll nɔht widh dhæt whitsh kɔhnsɔɪ·nz ɹu nɔt.	Me·d'lnɔt widhdhæ·t whit‚sh kʊnsəə·nz ɹu ·nɔt.
Méik nɔht ah dzhɛst aht ahn·-ʊdhʊrz infɔɪ·mitiz.	Mee·knɔtʊ d‚zhest ʊtʊnə·dhʊz infəə·mitizs.
Matsh iz ekspɛ·kted whɛɪ matsh iz gi·vnn.	Mə·t‚shiz ekspe·ktyd whe'-mə·tshiz gi·v'n.
Mɛ·ni ah trₒuu wɜɪd iz spóu·kyn in dzhɛst.	Me·nis truu wəə·diz spoo·k'nin d‚zhe·st.

MELVILLE BELL.	ALEX. J. ELLIS.
Misfɔhɪ·tiúnz aɪ dh*y* *di·siplín* ɔhv ʜhi*ú*mæ·n*iti*.	*Misfaa·t*ˌshʊnzs (*misfaa·tiúunzs*) a':dh*idi·siplin* ˌɔvɜhumæ·n*iti* (ˌɔvɜumæ·n*iti*).
Na·th*iq* *óu*·vʊɪkəmz pæ·shʊn moɪ dhahn sái·lenhs.	Nə·th*iq* *oo*:vʊkə·mzs pæ·shʊn moo'·dhʊn sə*í*·l*y*ns.
Nis*e*·s*iti* *iz* dh*y* ma·dhʊr$_{\circ}$ ɔhv *in*vɛ·nhshʊn.	N*i*se·s*iti* *iz*dhʊmə·dhʊr ʊv*in*ve·n-shʊn.

COMPARISON OF MELVILLE BELL'S AND ALEX. J. ELLIS'S PRONUNCIATIONS.

The Parable of the Prodigal Son, which has been already given in Anglo-Saxon p. 534, Icelandic p. 550, Gothic p. 561, and Wycliffite English p. 740, is now annexed for comparison, as transcribed from Mr. M. Bell's English Visible Speech, p. 10, and as rendered by myself. Mr. Bell's is intended to represent a model pronunciation, and although the words are disjunct, they are meant to be read together, and the unemphatic monosyllables are treated by him accordingly, as (ah ʜhahd ahnd), which, under the emphasis, he would write (*éi* ʜhæd ænd). My pronunciation is such as I should employ naturally if I had to read the passage to a large audience. The words connected in speech are connected by hyphens, instead of being run together as before, and the force is pointed out in each group. Mr. Bell had used hyphens to separate the syllables, but these are omitted in order not to employ hyphens in different senses in the two versions. Accent and emphasis are written as before, see p. 1168. Mr. Bell's glides are indicated by (ái áu ɹ) as before, and his untrilled (r$_{\circ}$) is thus marked.

PARABLE OF THE PRODIGAL SON. LUKE XV. 11—32.

MELVILLE BELL.	ALEX. J. ELLIS.
11. Ah sɔr·t*y*n mæn ʜhahd tuu sɛnz :	11. ʔɔ-sɔɔ·t*y*n mæn ʜʊd-·tuu sɔnz :
12. ahnd dh*y* ɹɜq·gʊr$_{\circ}$ ɔhv dhem sɛd t*u* ʜh*iz* *faa*·dhʊɪ: *Faa*·dhʊɪ, g*iv* m*i* dh*y* poɹ·shʊn ɔhv g*u*dz dhaht fɑɑ·leth t*u* m*i*. Ænd ʜhi d*iv*ái·ded ɜn·t*u* dhem ʜh*iz* l*i*·v*iq*.	12. ʔn-dhʊ-ɹə·qgʊr-ʊv dh*y*m sed t*u*-*iz*-faa·dhʊ, Faa·dhʊ, g*iv*-m*i*-dhʊ poo'·shʊn-ʊv-·g*u*dz dhʊt-fɑɑ·leth t*u*-mii·. Ænd ʜi-d*iv*ə·*i*·ded ə·ntu-dhem ʜ*iz*-l*i*·v*iq*.
13. Ænd nɔt mɛ·n*i* d*éi*z aah·ftʊɪ, dh*y* ɹɜ·qgʊɪ sɜn gæ·dhʊɪd ɑɑl t*u*gɛ·dhʊɪ, ahnd t*u*k ʜh*iz* dzhɛɪ·n*i* *i*·nht*u* ah fɑɪ kɜ·nhtr$_{\circ}$*i*, ahnd dheɪ w*éi*s·ted ʜh*iz* sɜ·b-stahnhs w*i*dh r$_{\circ}$*ái*·ʊtʊs l*i*·v*iq*.	13. ʔnd-nɔ·t me·n*i* d*ee*z aa·ftʊ, dhʊ-ɹə·qgʊ sən gæ·dhʊd ɑɑl t*u*ge·dhʊ, ʊn-t*u*·k-*iz* dzhəə·n*i* *in*tu-ʊ-faa· kə·ntr*i*, ʊn-dhee' w*ee*·sted-*iz* sə·bstʊns w*i*dh-rə*í*·ʊtəs l*i*·v*iq*.
14. Ænd, when ʜhi ʜhahd spɛnht ·ɑɑl, dhʊr$_{\circ}$ ahr*ó*u·z ah m*ái*·t*i* fæ·m*in* *in* dhæt lænd; ahnd ʜhi bigæ·n t*u* bi *in* wanht.	14. ʔn-whe·n ʜi-ʊd-spe·nt ·ɑɑl, dhʊr-ʊroo·z ʊ-məi·t*i* fæ·m*in* *in*-dhæ·t lænd, ʊn-ʜi-bigæ·n t*u*-bi-*in*-wɔ·nt.

MELVILLE BELL.

15. Ahnd hhi wenht ahnd dzhó'ind hhímse·lf tu ah sí·tizen ohv dhæt kænh·tr̥i, ahnd hhi senht hhím í·nhtu hhíz fiildz tu fiid swáin.

16. Ahnd ·hhii wud féin hhahv fíld hhíz be·lí wídh dhy hhæsks dhaht dhy swáin did iit: ahnd nóu mæn géiv ænh·tu hhím.

17. Ænd, when hhi kéim tu hhímse·lf, hhi sed, Hháu me·ní hháiid sœr·vahnhts ohv mí faa·dhuz hhæv br̥ed inæf· ahnd tu spez, ahnd ái pe·rísh wídh hhæ·qguz.

18. A·i wíl ahr̥ái·z ahnd góu tu mí faa·dhuz, ænd wíl séi æ·nhtu hhím, Faa·dhur, ái hhahv sínd ahge·nhst hhe·vnn, ænd bifoz· dhii,

19. ahnd æm nóu moz wez·dhí tu bi kaald dhái sæn: méik mí ahz wæn ohv dhái hháiid sœr·vahnhts.

20. Ænd hhi ahr̥ó·u·z, ahnd kéim tu hhíz faa·dhuz. Bæt, when hhi waz jet ah gr̥éit wéi ·of, hhíz faa·dhur saa hhím, ahnd hhæd kohmpæ·shun, ahnd r̥æn, ahnd fel ohn hhíz nek, ahnd ·kist hhím.

21. Ahnd dhy sæn sed æ·nhtu hhím, Faa·dhuz, ái hhahv sínd, ahge·nhst hhe·vnn, ænd in ·dhái sáit, ahnd æm nóu moz ·wez·dhí tu bi kaald dhái sæn.

22. Bæt dhy faa·dhuz sed tu hhíz sœr·vahnhts, Bríq forth dhy best róub, ahnd put it on hhím; ænd put ah r̥iq ohn hhíz hhænd, ahnd shuuz ohn hhíz fiit.

23. Ahnd bríq hhí·dhuz dhy fæ·ted kaaf, ahnd kíl it, ahnd let æs iit ahnd bi me·rí.

24. Foz dhís mái sæn woz ded, ahnd iz ahlái·v ahge·n; hhi woz lost, ahnd iz fáund. Ahnd dhe bigæ·n tu bi me·rí.

ALEX. J. ELLIS.

15. ɲn-i-we·nt un-dzhó'i·nd himse·lf tu-u-sí·tizun uv-dhæ·t kə·ntri, un-i-se·nt-ím i·ntu-iz-fiildz tu-fii·d swə'in.

16. ɲn-i-wud-fee·n uv-fí·ld iz-be·lí wídh-dhu-hə·sks dhut-dhu-swəi·n did-ii·t:un-noo·-mæn gee·v-əntu-hím.

17. ɲn-when-i-kee·m tu-ímself, hí·sed, Həu me·ní hə'i'd səə·vunts uv-mí-faa·dhuz uv-bre·d-ínəf un-tu-spee'·, un-ə'i· pe·rísh wídh-hə·qgu.

18. ɣ'i·-wil uə'i·z un-goo· tu-mí-faa·dhur, un-wíl-see'j· ontu-hí·m, Faa·dhur, ə'i-uv-sí·nd uge·nst he·v'n un-bífoo'·-dhii·,

19. un-um-noo· moo' wəə·dhí tu bi kaald dhə'i-sə·n: mee·k-mí uz-wə·n-uv-dhə'i hə'i'd səə·vants.

20. ɲn-i-uroo·z un-kee·m tu-iz-faa·dhu. Bət-whe·n-i-wuz-je·t u-gree'j·t wee ·oof, hiz-faa·dhu saa-hím, un-hæ·d kumpæshu n, un-ræ·n, un-fe·l ən-iz-ne·k, un-kí·st hím.

21. ɲn-dhu-sə·n sed əntu-hí·m, Faa·dhur, ə'i-uv-sí·nd uge·nst he·v'n, un-ín-dhə'i· sə'it, un-um-noo· moo' wəə·dhí tu-bi-kaa·ld dhə'i-sən.

22. Bət-dhu-faa·dhu sed tu-iz-səə·vunts, Bríq foo'th dhu-be·st roob, un-put-it-ə·n-hím, un-put u-rí·q ən-iz-hæ·nd, un-shuu·z ən-iz-fii·t.

23. ɲn-brí·q hí·dhu dhu-fæ·t-ed kaaf, un-kí·l-it, un-le·t-us iit un-bi-me·rí.

24. Fa-dhí·s mə'i·-sən wuz-ded, un-iz-ulə'i·v uge·n, hii-wuz-ləə·st, un-iz-fə'und. ɲn-dhe-bigæ·n tu-bi-me·rí.

MELVILLE BELL.

25. Náu hhíz e·ldɐɪ sɜn wɔz ín dhy fiild, ahnd, æz hhi kéim ahnd drₒuu nái tu dhy hháus, hhi hhɔɔɪd miúu·zík ahnd dæ·nhsíq.

26. Ænd hhi kaald wɜn ɔhv dhy sɔɔɪ·vahnhts, ahnd aaskt whɔt dhiiz thíqz mɛnht.

27. Ahnd hhi sɛd ɜ·nhtu hhím, Dháí brₒɜ·dhɐr₀ iz kɜm; ahnd dháí faa·dhɐɪ hhahz kíld dhy fæ·ted kaaf, bikaa·z hhi hahth rₒisii·vd hhím séif ahnd sáund.

28. Ahnd hhi wɔz æ·qgrₒi, ahnd wud nɔht góu in: dhɔɔɪ·fɔhɪ kéim hhíz faa·dhɐr₀ áut, ahnd entrₒii·ted hhím.

29. Ahnd hhii, aa·nhsɐrₒíq, sɛd tu hhíz faa·dhɐɪ, Lóu, dhiiz mɜ·ní ɟiiɪz du ái sɔɔɪv dhi, nii·dhɐɪ trahnhsgrₒɛ·st ái aht ɛ·ní táim dháí kɔhmaa·ndmenht: ahnd ɟɛt dhóu nɛ·vɐɪ géi·vest mii ah ·kíd, dhaht ái máit méik mɛ·rₒí widh mí frₒɛndz:

30. bɜt ahz suun ahz dhís dháí sɜn wɔz kɜm, whítsh hhahth diváuɪ·d dháí lí·víq wídh haɪ·lɐts, dháu hhahst kíld fɔhɪ hhím dhy fæ·ted ·kaaf.

31. Ahnd hhi sɛd ɜ·nhtu hhím Sɜn, dháu aɪt ɛ·vɐɪ wídh mi, ahnd ·aal dhaht ái hhæv iz dháin.

32. It wɔz miit dhaht wi shud méik mɛ·rₒí, ahnd be glæd: fɔhɪ dhís dháí brₒɜ·dhɐɪ wɔz dɛd, ahnd iz ahláí·v ahgɛ·n, ænd wɔz lɔst ahnd iz fáund.

ALEX. J. ELLIS.

25. Nə'u-iz e·ldɐ sən wɐz-in dhɐ-fii·ld, ænd ɐz-i-kee·m ɐn druu nə'i tu-dhɐ-hə'u·s, hi-həə·d míúu·zík ɐn-daa·nsíq.

26. ʔn-i-kaa·ld wə·n-ɐv-dhɐ səə·vɐnts, ɐn-aa·skt whʌt dhiiz thíqz ment.

27. ʔn-i-se·d-ən-tu-hím, Dhə'i brə·dhɐr iz-kə·m, ɐn-dhə'i-faa·dhɐr ɐz-kíld dhɐ-fæ·ted kaaf, bíkaa·z-i hæth rísii·vd hím seef ɐn-sə'u·nd.

28. ʔn-i-wɐz æ·qgrí, ɐn-wu·d -nɔt goo ·in: dhee'·fʌ keem hízfaa·dhɐr ə'ut, ɐn-entrii·tíd-hím.

29. ʔn-·hii, aa·nsɐríq, sed tu-iz-faa·dhɐ, Loo'w, dhiiz-me·ní ɟii'z du-ə'i-səə·v-dhi, nə'i·dhɐ trænsgre·st əi ɐt-e·ní tə'im dhə'i-kɐmaa·ndmynt; ɐn-ɟe·t dhə'u ne·vɐ gee·vyst ·mii ɐ-·kíd, dhɐt ə'i-mə'it-meek-me·ri widh-mi-fre·ndz:

30. bət ɐz-suun-ɐz dhís dhə'i-sə·n wɐz-kə·m, whítsh-ɐthdivə'u'·d dhə'i-lí·víq wídh-·haa·lɐts, dhə'u-ɐst kíld fʌ ·hím dhɐ-fæ·ted ·kaaf.

31. ʔn-i-se·d-ən tu-hí·m, Sən, dhə'u-'t ·e·vɐ-wídh-mí, ɐn-·aal dhɐt-ə'i-hæ·v-iz-dhə'i n.

32. It-wɐz-miit dhɐt-wi-shɐdmeek-me·ri ɐn-bi-glæ·d, fʌ-dhí·s dhə'i brə·dhɐ wɐz-de·d, ɐn-iz ɐləi·v ɐge·n, ɐn-wɐz-lɔɔ·st ɐn-izfə'u·nd.

ENGLISH SPELLING, PAST AND POSSIBLE.

It is impossible to pass over these specimens of pronunciation without comparing them with orthography, in the spirit of the remarks in Chap. VI., pp. 606–632. Hence I annex the same passage in four different practical orthographies of the XVII th and XIX th centuries.

First, after "Barker's Bible," 1611, the date of the Authorized Version, shewing the orthography in which it was presented to the English public.

The full title of this edition is: יהוה | The | HOLY | BIBLE, | Conteyning the Old Tefta- | ment, and the New: | ¶ *Newly tranſlated out of* | the Originall Tongues: and with | the former Tranſlations diligently | compared and reuised, by his | Maieſties Speciall Com- | mandement. | ¶ *Appointed to be read in Churches.* | ¶ IMPRINTED | at London by *Robert* | *Barker*, Printer to the | Kings moſt Excellent | Maieſtie. | ANNO DOM. 1611. | *Cum Priuilegio.*

Large folio, for placing on reading desks in churches. Text in black letter; Chapter headings in Roman type. Supplied words (now usually put in Italics) not distinguished. Press-mark at British Museum (on 11th October, 1873, the date is mentioned, as alterations occasionally occur in these press-marks) $\frac{1276, l, 4}{1\text{-}2}$.

Secondly, in "Glossic," the improved form of Glossotype (given on pp. 15, 614), which I presented to the Philological Society on 20 May, 1870, or about a year after Chap. VI. was in type. This paper on "Glossic" is printed in the Philological Transactions for 1870, pp. 89–118, entirely in the Glossic orthography. It is further explained and extended on pp. xiii–xx of the Notice prefixed to the Third Part of the present work, published 13 February, 1871. The principal object which I had in view, was the writing the pronunciation of all English dialects approximatively by one system of spelling founded upon ordinary usages, and for that purpose it will possibly be extensively employed by the English Dialect Society, which the Rev. W. W. Skeat started in May, 1873. What is required for this purpose is more fully considered in § 2, No. 5, and is exemplified in § 2, No. 10. Glossic was further explained before the College of Preceptors (see *Educational Times* for May, 1870), and the Society of Arts (see their Journal for 22 April, 1870), as a system by which instruction might be advantageously given in teaching children to read, and as a means of avoiding the "spelling difficulty," because writing according to this system, whatever the pronunciation indicated, would be perfectly legible, without previous instruction, to all who could read in our ordinary orthography. This, together with completeness and typographical facility, was the aim of the alterations introduced subsequently to the printing of Chap. VI.

As at present presented, there are only three glossic groups of letters, *uo*, *dh*, *zh*, with which a reader is not familiar, and of these *dh*, *zh*, have long been used by writers on pronunciation. The first, *uo*, has been employed for short *oo* in w*oo*d, *ou* in w*ou*ld, *o* in w*o*man, and *u* in p*u*t, as suggesting all the four forms, *oo*, *ou*, *o*, *u*, by a combination, *uo*, which had no other associations in English. The glossic combinations are, then, the Italic letters in:

b*ee*t b*ai*t b*aa* c*au*l c*oa*l c*oo*l
kn*i*t n*e*t gn*a*t n*o*t n*u*t f*uo*t (for *foot*)
h*ei*ght f*oi*l f*ou*l f*eu*d — y*ea* w*ay* w*he*y — h*ay*
p*ea* b*ee*, t*oe* d*oe*, c*he*st j*e*st, k*ee*p g*a*pe,—
f*ie* v*ie*, *th*in *dh*en (for *then*), s*ea*l z*ea*l, ru*sh* rou*zh*e (for *rouge*),—
ri*ng* l*ay*, m*ay* n*ay* si*ng*—
p*eer* p*air* s*oar* p*oor*, p*eer*ing p*air*ing s*oar*ing m*oor*ing—
det*er* det*er*ring, st*ar* st*arr*y, abh*or* abh*orr*ing.

The spelling is not perfect, and, for convenience, combinations rather than separate letters have definite sounds. Thus *u* in nut has one sound, but the combinations *uo*, *ou*, *eu*, have no trace of this sound. Similarly for *h*, *th*, *dh*, *sh*, *zh*, *ch*, the last combination being indispensable in English. Also *r* has two senses, according as it comes before a vowel or not, and when it follows *ee*, *ai*, *oa*, *oo*, it forms the diphthongs in p*eer* p*air* s*oar* p*oor*, and hence must be doubled in p*eerr*ing p*airr*ing s*oarr*ing m*oorr*ing, the first *r* forming part of the combination, and the second the trill, = (pii·ríq pee·ríq soo'·ríq puu'·ríq). The (ɹ) sounds, as (əə, ɐ) with permissible (r) following, are uniformly written *er*, when not before a vowel, the *r* being then untrilled; but as *er* before a vowel would trill the *r*, it is necessary to write *err* in this case, thus *er*ing = (e·ríq), but de*ter*ring = (dítəə·ríq). In the case of *ar*, *or*, I used *aar*, *aur*, in the papers cited, but I believe it more consonant with usual habits to employ the same principle of combinational use, and to write st*ar* st*arr*i abh*or* abh*orr*ing = (staa staa·rí æbhàa· æbhaa·ríq). This, however, has again the very serious disadvantage of employing two signs *ar aa·*, or *or au·*, for the same sound (aa) or (aa). The whole use of *r*, in any practical system of spelling, must be a system of compromises. When the trilled *r* has to be especially noted in unusual places, as in Scotch or provincial pronunciation, *r'* must be employed, and this sign may be of course always used. The untrilled *r* should never be used where it may not be followed by a trilled *r*. If we write *soar*, it is implied that either (soo') or (soo'r) may be said. Hence it may not be used for the provincial sound of (soo') or (sóɐ) = *so*. The obscure unaccented or unemphatic syllables present another difficulty. As all the (ɐ, əə) sounds, where (ɐr, əər) may be sounded, are sunk into *er*, I think it best to sink all the (ɐl, ɐm, ɐn) sounds into *el*, *em*, *en*. But those (ɐ) sounds where (r) may *not* be sounded, I write *a* at present, though *u* would be perhaps better, if it did not unfortunately suggest (iu). Hence the provincial (soo', sóɐ) may be written *soa-a*, *soa-u*, or, without a hyphen, *soaa*, *soau*, on the principle that when several letters come together which might be read as different groups, the two first must be read together, and not the two last; thus *soaa* = *soa-a*, and not *so-aa*. Or, as is best, *soah'*, the *h'* indicating this sound when forming a diphthong with the preceding letter. This *h'* replacing (') forms a very important sign in dialectal glossic, and it ought really to replace untrilled *r* in ordinary glossic spelling. But at present habits are too fixed for such an innovation.

It becomes, therefore, necessary to mark accent and emphasis in every word. Hence I use (·) for accent, whenever the force does *not* fall on the first syllable, so that the absence of such mark indicates the stress on the first syllable. This mark is put after a vowel when long, after a diphthong (and hence after the untrilled *r* in *eer·*, etc.), and after the first consonant following a short vowel. It thus becomes a mark of length, and may be inserted in all accented syllables when it is important to mark the length,—as, in dialects, to distinguish the short sound of *aa* in *kaat· haad·* = (kat had) and not (kaat haad), which would be written *kaa·t haa·d*, and are really the sounds heard when *kart hard* are written with the untrilled *r*; of course not the sounds of *kar't*, *har'd*, which = (kært, hærd). In received English the marking of quantity is not of much consequence, accented *ee*, *ai*, *aa*, *au*, *oa*, *oo*, being received as long, and *i*, *e*, *a*, *o*, *u*, *uo*, as short; and hence the omission of the accent mark is possible. Similarly, when *el*, *em*, *en*, are *not* obscured, write *el·*, *em·*, *en·*.

Emphatic monosyllables have (·) preceding, as *·dhat dhat ·dhat man sed*, *·too too wun*, *ei ·ei eu*. The obscure unemphatic form has not been given, except in *a*, *dhi* for the articles. How far the use of such changing forms is practicable in writing cannot be determined at present. Phonetic spellers generally preserve the clear forms, just as children are taught to read *ai man and ai dog*, *dhee wuom-an sau dhee*, = (*ee* mæn ænd *ee* dɔg, dhii wuˈmæ·n saa dhii), instead of (ɐmæ·n ɐnɐdɔ·g, dhɐwɐm·ɐn saa·dhi). All these points are niceties which the rough usage of every-day life would neglect, but which the proposer of a system of spelling, founded in any degree on pronunciation, has to bear in mind. As pointed out before (630, *be*), even extremely different usages would not impair legibility.

Thirdly, Mr. Danby P. Fry has, at my request, furnished me with a transcription of the same passage into that improved system of English spelling which forms the subject of his paper in the Philological Transactions for 1870, pp. 17–88, to which I must refer for a detailed account of the principles upon which it is constructed. The following abstract has been furnished by Mr. Fry in his own orthography.

Explanatory Notes.

Words derived directly from Latin, Greek, or Hebrew, rightly follow dhe etymological spelling. In such words, dhe question iz not az to dhe orthography, but az to dhe pronunciation.

Words borrowed from livving tungs cum into English in dheir nativ dress, and continue to wear it until dhey ar naturalized.

In menny English words, in which dhe spelling differs from dhe pronunciation, dhe preliminary question arizes, which shuld be altered,—dhe spelling or dhe pronunciation? In dhe following specimen dhis question iz raized raadher dhan determined. Dhe *italics* suggest it in certain words. Ought not dhe correct, which iz stil dhe provincial pronunciation to be restored to such words az *one*, *two*, *answer*, *son*? Az to dhe laast, compare dhe English widh dhe German:

dhe son	der sohn
dhe sun	die sonne.

Widh respect to *aa*, menny persons say *ans'er*, *dancing*, *last*, insted ov *aans'er*, *daancing*, *laast*; while dhe provincial pronunciation ov *faadher* iz *faidher*.

Dhe digraph *dh* iz uzed for dhe flat sound ov *th*, az in *then*; for az *th* iz to *t*, so iz *dh* to *d*; e.g. *tin*, *thin*; *den*, *dhen*. A new letter iz needed for dhe sound ov *ng* in *long*; and dhe want ov it necessitates dhe clumzy-looking combination *ngg* for dhe sound herd in *longger*. Dhe smaul capital U denotes dhe short sound ov *oo*, az in *good* (gud); dhe long sound, az in *food*, being expressed by *oo*.

Dhe *general* rule in English spelling, dhat a monosyllabel shal not end widh a double (or dubbel) consonant, iz made *universal*. Hence, *fel*, *nek*, insted ov *fell*, *neck*. Dhe letter *v* iz delt widh like enny udher consonant; so dhat it iz dubbeled where enny udher consonant wuld be dubbeled, and iz allowed to end a word, widhout being followed by a servile or silent *e*; az *hav*, *havving*; *liv*, *livving*. Dhe rules which ar followed in vowel-spelling wil be obvious on inspection: dhus, for exampel, it wil be seen dhat a long vowel iz denoted by a digraph, and a short vowel by a singul letter, in a monosyllabel; and dhat in an accented syllabel, where dhe vowel iz short, dhe following consonant iz dubbeled, but not where it iz long. An aspirate digraph servs dhe same purpose az a dubbeled consonant in dhis respect. Where, howevver, in dhe present spelling, dhe servile *e* iz uzed to denote a long vowel, dhat practice iz not altered; az, *arize*, *aroze*.

Dhe flat consonants ar generally indicated, not only in *dh* for *th* (*gadher* for *gather*), but in *v* for *f* (*ov* for *of*), and in *z* for *s* (*az* for *as*; *iz* for *is*); but no variation iz made in inflexions, so dhat *s* remains unaltered in words like *has*, *his*, *years*.

Dhe digraph *gh* iz retained, when it iz not preceded by *u*, az in *might*; but when it iz preceded by *u* widh dhe sound ov *f*, *gh* iz omitted, and dhe present pronunciation iz expressed, az in *enuf*. Generally, etymological silent consonants ar retained when dheir silence can be determined by "rules ov position."

No attempt iz made to denote accent, except in dhe instance ov dubbling dhe consonant after an accented short vowel.

Fourthly, Mr. E. Jones, whose efforts to improve our orthography are mentioned above (p. 590, note 1, and p. 591, note 2), and also in my paper on Glossic (Philol. Trans. p. 105, note 3, and text, p. 106), has been good enough to transcribe the same passage in the orthography which he at present recommends. I gladly give insertion to the following condensed statement of "principles" furnished by himself.

Analogic Spelling by E. Jones.

Object.—To reduce the difficulties of spelling to a minimum, with the least possible deviation from the current orthography.

Uses.—1. Immediate. To assist children, ignorant adults, and foreigners, in learning to read books in the present spelling; and also for writing purposes by the same, concurrently with the present system.

2. Ultimate. To supersede, gradually, as the public may feel disposed, the present spelling.

Means.—Allow books in the Revised Spelling to be used in the National Schools, which would serve the double purpose of being the best means of teaching reading to children, and also of familiarising the rising generation with the appearance of the new spelling, in the same manner as the Metric System is now exhibited in the National Schools.

General Notes.

1. It is assumed that the object of spelling, or writing, is to express by letters, the sounds of words.

2. In order to disarm prejudice, and to facilitate the transition from the new spelling to the old in reading, it is desirable to make the difference between the one and the other as little as possible.

3. To do this the following general principle will serve as a safe guide.

Use every letter, and combination of letters, in their *most common power* in the present spelling.

The adoption of this rule settles clearly the point as between the retention of 'c' and 'k' for the hard guttural sound. 'C' in its hard sound occurs about twelve times as often as 'k' for the same sound, and six times as often as 'k,' 'q,' and 'x' together. In the following alphabet, therefore, 'k,' 'q,' and 'x' are rejected, and 'c' is called *cay*.

Again, in a still more decided proportion, the question as to the use of the digraph "th," for the hard or the flat sound in *this* and *thin*, is settled by the fact that "th" represents the flat sound about twenty times as often as the sharp sound. "Th" as in *thin* is indicated by Italics.

The long *ah* as in "alms" and *u* in "put" are the only vowels for which no provision is made in the common mode of representing the vowel-sounds at present. These sounds however occur very rarely and in very few words, they are marked respectively thus: alms = âmz, put = pût.

The Alphabet.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
a,	â,	ai,	au,	b,	c,	ch,
mat,	alms,	maid,	laud,	bed,	cat,	chip,

8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15
d,	e,	ee,	f,	g,	h,	i,	ie,
dog,	met,	meet,	fan,	go,	hay,	pin,	pies,

16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23
j,	l,	m,	n,	ng,	o,	oe,	oi,
jet,	lad,	mat,	nut,	sing,	not,	foes,	oil,

24	25	26	27	28	29	30
oo,	ou,	p,	r,	s,	sh,	t,
food,	out,	pen,	run,	sit,	ship,	ten,

31	32	33	34	35	36
th,	*th*,	u,	ue,	ú,	v,
then,	*th*in,	tun,	hues,	bull,	van,

37	38	39	40
w,	y,	z,	zh.
ward,	yard,	zeal,	vision.

Note.—At the end of words *y* unaccented = *i*, and accented *y* = *ie*. Also at the end of words *ow* = *ou* and *aw* = *au*. This simple rule obviates the changing of thousands of the most common words. The little words, 'be,' 'me'; 'go,' 'no,' etc., are used for the theoretical, 'bee,' 'mee'; 'goe,' 'noe.'

Pronunciation.

As the pronunciation varies considerably even among educated people, the rule is followed here of inclining to the pronunciation indicated by the present spelling, and no attempt is made at extreme refinements of pronunciation. The proportion of words changed in spelling, in the example given below, is about 1 in 3, or say 30 per cent. Children might be taught on this plan to read in a few lessons, and the transition to the present spelling would be very easy.

PARABLE OF THE PRODIGAL SON, LUKE XV. 11—32.

BARKER'S BIBLE, 1611.

11. A certaine man had two ſonnes:

12. And the yonger of them ſaid to his father, Father, giue me the portion of goods that falleth to me. And he diuided vnto them his liuing.

13. And not many dayes after, the yonger ſonne gathered all together, and took his iourney into a farre countrey, and there waſted his subſtance with riotous liuing.

14. And when he had ſpent all, there aroſe a mighty famine in that land, and he began to be in want.

15. And he went and ioyned himſelfe to a citizen of that countrey, and he ſent him into his fields to feed ſwine.

16. And he would faine haue filled his belly with the huſkes that the ſwine did eate: and no man gaue vnto him.

17. And when hee came to himſelfe, hee ſaid, How many hired ſeruants of my fathers haue bread ynough and to ſpare, and I periſh with hunger?

18. I will ariſe and goe to my father, and will ſay vnto him, Father, I haue ſinned againſt heauen and before thee.

19. And am no more worthy to bee called thy ſonne: make me as one of thy hired ſeruants.

20. And he aroſe and came to his father. But when hee was yet a great way off, his father ſaw him, and had compaſſion, and ranne, and fell on his necke, and kiſſed him.

21. And the ſonne ſaid vnto him, Father, I haue ſinned againſt heauen, and in thy ſight, and am no more worthy to be called thy ſonne.

GLOSSIC ORTHOGRAPHY.

11. A serten man had ·too sunz:

12. And dhi yungger ov dhem sed too hiz faadher, Faadher, giv mee dhi poarshen ov guodz dhat fauleth too mee. And hee divei·ded untoo dhem hiz living.

13. And not meni daiz aafter, dhi yungger sun gadherd aul toogedh·er, and tuok hiz jurni intoo a far kuntri, and dhair waisted hiz substans widh reiutus living.

14. And when hee had spent aul, dhair aroa·z a meiti famin in ·dhat land, and hee bigan· too bee in wont.

15. And hee went and joind himse·lf too a sitizen ov ·dhat kuntri, and hee sent him intoo hiz feeldz too feed swein.

16. And hee wuod fain hav fild hiz beli widh dhi husks dhat dhi swein did eet: and noa man gaiv untoo him.

17. And when hee kaim too himse·lf, hee sed, Hou meni heird servents ov mei faadherz hav bred enu·f and too spair, and ei perish widh hungger!

18. Ei wil arei·z, and goa too mei faadher, and wil sai untoo him, Faadher, ei hav sind agen·st hevn and bifoa·r dhee,

19. And am noa moar werdhi too bee kauld dhei sun: maik mee az wun ov dhei heird servents.

20. And hee aroa·z and kaim too hiz faadher. But when hee woz yet a grait wai of, hiz faadher sau him, and had kompa·shun, and ran, and fel on hiz nek, and kist him.

21. And dhi sun sed untoo him, Faadher, ei hav sind age·nst hevn, and in dhei seit, and am noa moar werdhi too bee kauld dhei sun.

PARABLE OF THE PRODIGAL SON, LUKE XV. 11—32.

DANBY P. FRY.

11. And he said, A certain man had *two* sons:

12. And dhe yungger ov dhem said to his faadher, Faadher, giv me dhe portion ov gŭds dhat fauleth to me. And he divided unto dhem his livving.

13. And not menny days after dhe yungger son gadhered aul togedher, and tŭk his jurny into a far cuntry, and dhere waisted his substance widh riotous livving.

14. And when he had spent aul, dhere aroze a mighty fammin in dhat land; and he began to be in want.

15. And he went and joined himself to a cittizen ov dhat cuntry; and he sent him into his feelds to feed swine.

16. And he wŭld fain hav filled his belly widh dhe husks dhat dhe swine did eat: and no man gave unto him.

17. And when he came to himself, he said, How menny hired servants ov my faadher's hav bred enuf and to spare, and I perrish widh hungger!

18. I wil arize and go to my faadher, and wil say unto him, Faadher, I hav sinned against hevven, and before dhee,

19. And am no more wordhy to be cauled dhy son: make me az *one* ov dhy hired servants.

20. And he aroze, and came to his faadher. But when he waz yet a grait way off, his faadher saw him, and had compassion, and ran, and fel on his nek, and kissed him.

21. And dhe son said unto him, Faadher, I hav sinned against hevven and in dhy sight, and am no more wordhy to be cauled dhy son.

E. JONES.

11. And he said, A sertain man had too sunz:

12. And the younger ov them said to hiz father, Father, giv me the porshon ov goodz that faule*th* to me. And he divieded unto them hiz living.

13. And not meny daiz after the yunger sun gatherd aul together, and tooc hiz jurny into a far cuntry, and thair waisted hiz substans with rieotus living.

14. And when he had spent aul, thair aroez a miety famin in that land; and he began to be in wont.

15. And he went and joind himself to a sitizen ov that cuntry; and he sent him into hiz feeldz to feed swien.

16. And he wŭd fain hav fild hiz bely with the huscs that the swien did eet: and no man gaiv unto him.

17. And when he caim to himself, he said, How meny hierd servants ov my father'z hav bred enuf and to spair, and I perish with hunger!

18. I wil ariez and go to my father, and wil say unto him, Father, I hav sind against heven and befoer thee,

19. And am no moer wurthy to be cauld thy sun: maic me az won ov thy hierd servants.

20. And he aroez, and caim to hiz father. But when he woz yet a grait way of, hiz father saw him, and had compashon, and ran, and fel on hiz nec, and cist him.

21. And the sun said unto him, Father, I hav sind against heven, and in thy siet, and am no moer wurthy to be cauld thy sun.

BARKER'S BIBLE, 1611.

22. But the father ſaid to his ſeruants, Bring foorth the beſt robe, and put it on him, and put a ring on his hand, and ſhooes on his feet.

23. And bring hither the fatted calfe, and kill it, and let vs eate and be merry.

24. For this my ſonne was dead, and is aliue againe; he was loſt, & is found. And they began to be merry.

25. Now his elder ſonne was in the field, and as he came and drew nigh to the houſe, he heard muſicke & dauncing,

26. And he called one of the ſeruants, and aſked what theſe things meant.

27. And he ſaid vnto him Thy brother is come, and thy father hath killed the fatted calfe, becauſe he hath receiued him ſafe and ſound.

28. And he was angry, and would not goe in: therefore came his father out, and intreated him.

29. And he anſwering ſaid to his father, Loe, theſe many yeeres doe I ſerue thee, neither tranſgreſſed I at any time thy commandement, and yet thou neuer gaueſt me a kidde, that I might make merry with my friends:

30. But as ſoone as this thy ſonne was come, which hath deuoured thy liuing with harlots, thou haſt killed for him the fatted calfe.

31. And he ſaid vnto him, Sonne, thou art euer with mee, and all that I haue is thine.

32. It was meete that wee ſhould make merry, and bee glad; for this thy brother was dead, and is aliue againe; and was loſt, and is found.

GLOSSIC ORTHOGRAPHY.

22. But dhi faadher sed too hiz servents, Bring foarth dhi best roab, and puot it on him, and puot a ring on hiz hand, and shooz on hiz feet.

23. And bring hidher dhi fated kaaf, and kil it, and let us eet and bee meri.

24. For dhis mei sun woz ded, and iz alei·v agen·, hee woz lost, and iz found. And dhai bigan· too bee meri.

25. Now hiz elder sun woz in dhi feeld, and az hee kaim and droo nei too dhi hous, hee herd meuzik and daansing.

26. And hee kauld wun ov dhi servents and aaskt whot dheez thingz ment.

27. And hee sed untoo him, Dhei brudher iz kum, and dhei faadher hath kild dhi fated kaaf, bikau·z hee hath risee·vd him saif and sound.

28. And hee woz anggri, and wuod not goa in: dhair·foar kaim hiz faadher out, and entree·ted him.

29. And hee aanswering sed too hiz faadher, Loa dheez meni yeerz doo ei serv dhee, neidher transgre·st ei at eni teim dhei komaa·ndment; and yet dhou never gaivest mee a kid, dhat ei meit maik meri widh mei frendz:

30. But az soon az dhis dhei sun woz kum, which hath divour·d dhei living widh haarluts, dhou hast kild for him dhi fated kaaf.

31. And hee sed untoo him, Sun, dhou art ever widh mee, and aul dhat ei hav iz dhein.

32. It woz meet dhat wee shuod maik meri and bee glad, for dhis dhei brudher woz ded, and iz alei·v agen·, and woz lost, and iz found.

DANBY P. FRY.

22. But dhe faadher said to his servants, Bring forth dhe best robe, and put it on him; and put a ring on his hand, and shoos on his feet:

23. And bring hidher dhe fatted caalf, and kil it: and let us eat and be merry:

24. For dhis my son waz ded, and iz alive again; he waz lost, and iz found. And dhey began to be merry.

25. Now his elder son waz in dhe feeld: and az he came and drew nigh to dhe hous, he herd music and daansing.

26. And he cauled *one* ov dhe servants, and aasked what dheze things ment.

27. And he said unto him, Dhy brudher iz cum; and dhy faadher hath killed dhe fatted caalf, because he hath receeved him safe and sound.

28. And he waz anggry, and wuld not go in: dherefore came his faadher out, and entreated him.

29. And he aans*w*ering said to his faadher, Lo, dheze menny years doo I serv dhee, neidher transgressed I at enny time dhy commandment: and yet dhow nevver gavest me a kid, dhat I might make merry widh my frends:

30. But az soon az dhis dhy son waz cum, which hath devoured dhy livving widh harlots, dhow hast killed for him dhe fatted caalf.

31. And he said unto him, Son, dhow art evver widh me, and aul dhat I hav iz dhine.

32. It waz meet dhat we shuld make merry, and be glad: for dhis dhy brudher waz ded, and iz alive again; and waz lost, and iz found.

E. JONES.

22. But the father said to hiz servants, Bring fo*rth* the best roeb, and pût it on him; and pût a ring on hiz hand, and shooz on hiz feet:

23. And bring hither the fated câf, and cil it; and let us eet and be mery:

24. For this my sun woz ded, and iz aliev again; he woz lost, and iz found. And thay began to be mery.

25. Now hiz elder sun woz in the feeld; and az he caim and drue ny to the hous he herd muezic and dansing.

26. And he cauld won ov the servants, and askt whot theez *th*ingz ment.

27. And he said unto him, Thy bruther iz cum; and thy father ha*th* cild the fated câf, becauz he ha*th* reseevd him saif and sound.

28. And he woz angry, and wûd not go in; thairfor caim hiz father out and intreeted him.

29. And he ansering said to hiz father, Lo theez meny yeerz doo I serv thee, neether transgrest I at eny tiem thy comandment; and yet thou never gaivest me a cid, that I miet maic mery with my frendz:

30. But az soon az this thy sun woz cum, which ha*th* devourd thy living with harlots, thou hast cild for him the fated câf.

31. And he said unto him, Sun, thou art ever with me, and aul that I hav iz thien.

32. It waz meet that we shûd maic mery, and be glad: for this thy bruther woz ded, and iz aliev again: and woz lost, and iz found.

The reader will, I trust, excuse me for preserving in this book a record of those early phonetic attempts to which the book itself is due. Mr. Isaac Pitman of Bath, the inventor of Phonography, or a peculiar kind of English shorthand founded upon phonetic spelling, in his *Phonotypic Journal*, for January, 1843, started the notion of Phonotypy or Phonetic Printing for general English use. In the course of that year my attention was drawn to his attempt, and I entered into a correspondence with him, which resulted in the concoction of various schemes of phonetic printing, for which types were cast, so that they could be actually used, and specimens were printed in the *Phonotypic Journal*, beginning with January, 1844, till by December, 1846, we considered that a practical alphabet had been reached.[1] It was in this Journal that I commenced my phonetic studies,[2] and for one year, 1848, I conducted it myself,

[1] See suprà p. 607.

[2] The following list of the principal phonetic essays which I published in this Journal will shew the slow and painful process by which I acquired the knowledge of speech-sounds necessary for the compilation of the present work. They form but a small part of the whole work, or even of my whole writings on this subject, and the titles are merely preserved as indications of *incūnābula*.

1844.

On the letter R, pp. 5–12.

On Syllabication and the Indistinct Vowel, pp. 33–43.

Ambiguities of Language, pp. 71–73.

Unstable Combinations, pp. 74–76.

What an Alphabet should be (a translated account of Volney's *L'Alfabet Européen appliqué aux Langues Asiatiques*, with explanations), pp. 106–114.

Phonetic Literature (an account of the principal grammars, dictionaries, and miscellaneous treatises containing more or less extensive essays on phonetics and English alphabets; it is very incomplete), pp. 133–144, 322–329.

Phonotypic Suggestions, pp. 201–204.

A Key to Phonotypy or printing by sound, pp. 265–279.

The Alphabet of Nature, part I. Analysis of Spoken Sounds, pp. 1–128, forming a supplement from June to December, 1844.

1845.

The Alphabet of Nature, part II. Synthesis of Spoken Sounds, pp. 129–157; part III. Phonetical Alphabets, pp. 158–194, forming a supplement from March to June, 1845.

On the Vowel Notation, pp. 10–19.

On the Natural Vowel, a paper by Mr. Danby P. Fry, (whose present views on orthography have just been illustrated,) printed phonetically, pp. 59–62, with remarks by A. J. Ellis, pp. 62–66.

1846 (all printed phonotypically).

Remarks on the New English Phonotypic Alphabet, pp. 4–12.

On Phonetic Spelling, pp. 124–128.

Practical Form of Phonotypy, pp. 171–174.

The Contrast, Phonotypy *v.* Heterotypy, pp. 197–206.

Far, For, Fur, pp. 305–308.

1847.

In May, this year, a vote of those interested in phonotypy was taken on the Alphabet, and results are given in an appendix, between pp. 148 and 149.

The Principles of English Phonetic Spelling considered, pp. 181–207, 277–280, including errata.

1848 (Phonetic Journal).

Origin and Use of the Phonetic Alphabet, pp. 4–31.

Tam o' Shanter, printed in phonotypy, from the writing of Mr. Laing, of Kilmarnock, with glossary, pp. 145–152, with remarks on Scotch Pronunciation by Prof. Gregory, Carstairs Douglas, Laing and myself, p. 198, 227–229, 276–282, being the first attempt at a stricter phonetic representation of dialectal pronunciation.

On Rhyme, pp. 340–345.

On 1st September, 1848, I published my "Essentials of Phonetics. In lieu of a Second Edition of the *Alphabet of Nature*." It was printed entirely in the 1846 Alphabet.

under the changed name of the *Phonetic Journal*. In 1849 I abandoned it for the weekly phonetic newspaper called the *Phonetic News*, and at the close of that year my health gave way altogether, so that for some years I was unable to prosecute any studies, and phonetic investigations were peculiarly trying to me. Mr. Pitman, however, revived the *Journal*, and, in various forms, has continued its publication to the present day. He became dissatisfied with the forms of type to which we had agreed in 1846, and, notwithstanding a large amount of literature printed in them, he continued to make alterations, with the view of amending. Even in 1873 theoretical considerations lead me to suppose that his alphabet may be further changed, although Mr. Pitman himself expresses much faith in the stability of his present results.

The following is a comparative view of palaeotype, glossic, the 1846 and 1873 alphabets, in the order used for 1846, with the Parable of the Prodigal Son, shewing in parallel columns the 1846 and 1873 forms of phonotypy. Mr. Isaac Pitman has kindly lent me the types for this purpose. One letter only, that for (dh), which appears in the alphabetic key in its 1846 form, has been printed in the 1873 form in the specimen, on account of want of the old form in stock; as will be seen by the key, however, the difference is very minute. The spelling in the 1846 alphabet precisely follows the phonetic orthography of the second edition of the New Testament which I printed and published in 1849, and exhibits the phonetic compromises which I made at that date. The column dated 1873 follows Mr. I. Pitman's present system of spelling, and has been furnished by himself.

KEY TO PITMAN'S AND ELLIS'S PHONOTYPY, 1846 AND 1873.

Key Words	Palaeotype	Glossic	Pitman and Ellis, 1846	Pitman, 1873	Key Words	Palaeotype	Glossic	Pitman and Ellis, 1846	Pitman, 1873
b*ee*t	ii	ee	Ɛ ɛ	Ɩ i	*p*ea	p	p	P p	P p
b*ai*t	*ee*	ai	A a	Ɛ ɛ	*b*ee	b	b	B b	B b
b*aa*	aa	aa	Ā ɑ	Ā ā	*t*oe	t	t	T t	T t
c*au*l	AA	au	Θ θ	Ω ω	*d*oe	d	d	D d	D d
c*oa*l	*oo*	oa	Ω ω	Ꝏ ꝏ	*ch*est	tsh	ch	Ꞓ ꞓ	Ꞓ ꞓ
c*oo*l	uu	oo	Ш ш	Ш ш	*j*est	dzh	j	J j	J j
kn*i*t	*i*	i	I i	I i	*k*eep	k	k	C c	K k
n*e*t	e	e	E e	E e	*g*ape	g	g	G g	G g
gn*a*t	æ	a	A ɑ	A a	*f*ie	f	f	F f	F f
n*o*t	ɔ	o	O o	O o	*v*ie	v	v	V v	V v
n*u*t	ə	u	U u	Ꝟ ꝟ	*th*in	th	th	Ꞇ ꞇ	R ꞇ
f*oo*t	*u*	uo	Ʊ ʊ	U u	*th*en	dh	dh	Ꞇ ꞇ	Ꞇ ꞇ
h*ei*ght	*ɔi*	ei	Ɨ ɨ	Ɨ ɨ	*s*eal	s	s	S s	S s
f*oi*l	*ɔi*	oi	Ꝏ ꝏ	Oi oi	*z*eal	z	z	Z z	Z z
f*ou*l	*ɔu*	ou	Ꝟ ꝟ	Ou ou	ru*sh*	sh	sh	Σ ʃ	Σ ʃ
f*eu*d	iu	eu	Ʊ ʊ	Ʊ ʊ	rou*ge*	zh	zh	Ꞅ ʒ	Ꞅ ʒ
					*ea*r	ɹ	r	R r	R r
					*r*ing	r	r'		
					*ea*rring	ɹr	rr'		
*y*ea	j	y	Y y	Y y	*l*ay	l	l	L l	L l
*w*ay	w	w	W w	W w	*m*ay	m	m	M m	M m
*wh*ey	wh	wh	Hw hw	Wh wh	*n*ay	n	n	N n	N n
*h*ay	H	h	H h	H h	si*ng*	q	ng	Ŋ ŋ	Ŋ ŋ

PARABLE OF THE PRODIGAL SON, LUKE XV. 11–32.

ALEX. J. ELLIS, 1849.

11 And hɛ sed, A serten man had túı sunz:

12 And ðɛ yuŋger ov ðem sed tuı hiz fɑðer, Fɑðer, giv mɛ ðɛ pɛrſun ov gudz ðat folet tuı mɛ. And hɛ divȷded untuı ðem hiz liviŋ.

13 And not meni daz ɑfter, ðɛ yuŋger sun gaðerd ɔl tuıgéðer, and tuıc hiz jurni intuı a fɑr cuntri, and ðar wasted hiz substans wiðȷutus liviŋ.

14 And hwen hɛ had spent ɔl, ðar aróz a mȷti famin in ðát land; and hɛ begán tuı bɛ in wont.

15 And hɛ went and jɔnd himsélf tuı a sitiz'n ov ðát cuntri; and hɛ sent him intuı hiz feldz tuı fɛd swȷn.

16 And hɛ wúd fan hav fild hiz beli wiðȷ ðɛ husɛs ðat ðɛ swȷn did ɛt: and nɔ man gav untuı him.

17 And hwen hɛ cam tuı himsélf, hɛ sed: Hɜ meni hȷrd servants ov mȷ fɑðerz hav bred ɛnúf and tuı spar, and ȷ periſ wiðȷ huŋger!

18 Ɨ wil arȷz and gɔ tuı mȷ fɑðer, and wil sa untuı him, Fɑðer, ȷ hav sind agénst hev'n and befór ðé,

19 And am nɔ mɔr wurði tuı bɛ cold ðȷ sun: mac mɛ az wun ov ðȷ hȷrd servants.

20 And hɛ aróz, and cam tuı hiz fɑðer. But hwen hɛ woz yet a grat wa ɔf, hiz fɑðer sɔ him, and had compaſun, and ran, and fel on hiz nec, and cist him.

21 And ðɛ sun sed untuı him, Fɑðer, ȷ hav sind agénst hev'n, and in ðȷ sȷt, and am nɔ mɔr wurði tuı bɛ cold ðȷ sun.

22 But ðɛ fɑðer sed tuı hiz servants, Briŋ fɔrt ðɛ best rɔb, and put it on him; and put a riŋ on hiz hand, and ſuız on hiz fet:

23 And briŋ hiðer ðɛ fated cɑf, and cil it; and let us ɛt, and bɛ meri:

24 For ðis mȷ sun woz ded, and iz alȷv agén; hɛ woz lost, and iz fɜnd. And ðɛ begán tuı bɛ meri.

25 Nɜ hiz elder sun woz in ðɛ feld: and az hɛ cam and druı nȷ

ISAAC PITMAN, 1873.

11 And hi sed, A serten man had túı sɜnz:

12 And ðe yɜŋger ov ðem sed tu hiz fɛðer, Fɛðer, giv mi ðe pɔrſon ov gudz ðat folet tu mi. And hi divȷded ɜntu ðem hiz liviŋ.

13 And not meni dez after, ðe yɜŋger sɜn gaðerd ɔl tugeðer, and tuk hiz jɜrni intu a far kɜntri, and ðer wɛsted hiz sɜbstans wiðȷ rȷotɜs liviŋ.

14 And when hi had spent ɔl, ðer arɔz a mȷti famin in ðát land; and hi began tu bi in wont.

15 And hi went and joind himself tu a sitizen ov ðát kɜntri; and hi sent him intu hiz fildz tu fid swȷn.

16 And hi wud fen hav fild hiz beli wiðȷ ðe husks ðat ðe swȷn did it: and nɔ man gev ɜntu him.

17 And when hi kem tu himself, hi sed, Hou meni hȷrd servants ov mȷ fɛðer'z hav bred enɜf and tu sper, and ȷ periſ wiðȷ hɜŋger!

18 Ɨ wil arȷz and gɔ tu mȷ fɛðer, and wil se ɜntu him, Fɛðer, ȷ hav sind agenst heven and befɔr ði,

19 And am nɔ mɔr wɜrði tu bi kold ðȷ sɜn: mek mi az wɜn ov ðȷ hȷrd servants.

20 And hi arɔz, and kem tu hiz fɛðer. Bɜt when hi woz yet a gret we of, hiz fɛðer sɔ him, and had kompaſon, and ran, and fel on hiz nek, and kist him.

21 And ðe sɜn sed ɜntu him, Fɛðer, ȷ hav sind agenst heven, and in ðȷ sȷt, and am nɔ mɔr wɜrði tu bi kold ðȷ sɜn.

22 Bɜt ðe fɛðer sed tu hiz servants, Briŋ fɔrt ðe best rɔb, and put it on him; and put a riŋ on hiz hand, and ſuz on hiz fit:

23 And briŋ hiðer ðe fated kɛf, and kil it; and let ɜs it, and bi meri:

24 For ðis mȷ sɜn woz ded, and iz alȷv agen; hi woz lost, and iz found. And ðe began tu bi meri.

25 Nou hiz elder sɜn woz in ðe fild: and az hi kem and druı nȷ

ALEX. J. ELLIS, 1849.

tu ðɛ hɜs, hɛ herd mɥzic ɑnd dɥnsiŋ.

26 And hɛ cɔld wun ɔv ðɛ servɑnts, ɑnd ɥsct hwɔt ðez ṭiŋz ment.

27 And hɛ sed untu him, ðj̨ bruðer iz cum; ɑnd ðj̨ fɥðer hɑṭ cild ðɛ fɑted cɥf, bɛcɔz hɛ hɑṭ resévd him sɑf ɑnd sɜnd.

28 And hɛ wɔz ɑŋgri, ɑnd wúd not gɔ in: ðarfɔr cɑm hiz fɥðer ɜt, ɑnd intrɛted him.

29 And hɛ ɥnseriŋ sed tu hiz fɥðer, Lɔ, ðez meni yɛrz du j̨ serv ðé, nɛðer trɑnsgrést j̨ ɑt eni tj̨m ðj̨ comɥndment: ɑnd yet ðɜ never gɑvest mɛ ɑ cid, ðɑt j̨ mj̨t mɑc meri wid mj̨ frendz:

30 But ɑz sun ɑz ðis ðj̨ sun wɔz cum, hwiɥ hɑṭ dɛvɜ́rd ðj̨ liviŋ wid hɥrluts, ðɜ hɑst cild fɔr him ðɛ fɑted cɥf.

31 And hɛ sed untu him, Sun, ðɜ ɥrt ever wid mɛ, ɑnd ɔl ðɑt j̨ hɑv iz ðj̨n.

32 It wɔz mɛt ðɑt wɛ ʃud mɑc meri, ɑnd bɛ glɑd: fɔr ðis ðj̨ bruðer wɔz ded, ɑnd iz ɑlj̨v ɑgén; ɑnd wɔz lɔst, ɑnd iz fɜnd.

ISAAC PITMAN, 1873.

tu ðe hous, hi herd mɥzik and dansiŋ.

26 And hi kold wɜn ov ðe servants, and askt whot ðiz ðiŋz ment.

27 And hi sed ɜntu him, ðj̨ brɜðer iz kɜm, and ðj̨ fɛðer haṭ kild ðe fated kɛf, bekɔz hi haṭ resivd him sef and sound.

28 And hi wɔz aŋgri, and wud not gɔ̃ in: ðerfɔr kɛm hiz fɛðer out, and intrited him.

29 And hi anseriŋ sed tu hiz fɛðer, Lɔ, ðiz meni yirz du j̨ serv ði, nj̨ðer transgrest j̨ at eni tj̨m ðj̨ komandment: and yet ðou never gɛvest mi a kid, ðat j̨ mj̨t mɛk meri wid mj̨ frendz:

30 But az sun az ðis ðj̨ sɜn wɔz kɜm, whiɥ haṭ devourd ðj̨ liviŋ wid harlots, ðou hast kild for him ðe fated kɛf.

31 And hi sed ɜntu him, Sɜn, ðou art ever wid mi, and ɔl ðat j̨ hav iz ðj̨n.

32 It wɔz mit ðat wi ʃud mɛk meri, and bi glad: for ðis ðj̨ brɜðer wɔz ded, and iz aljv agen; and wɔz lost, and iz found.

Other fancy orthographies, which have not been advocated before the Philological Society, or seriously advanced for use, or phonetic spellings requiring new letters, are not given. A revision of our orthography is probably imminent, but no principles for altering it are yet settled. I have already expressed my convictions (p. 631); but, as shewn by the above specimen of Glossic, I know that the phonetic feeling is at present far too small for us to look forward to anything like a perfect phonetic representation. We are indeed a long way off from being able to give one, as already seen by the contrast of the pronunciations given by Mr. Bell and myself, and as will appear still more clearly presently. But more than this, we are still a long way from having any clear notion of how much should or could be practically attempted, if we had a sufficient phonetic knowledge to start with. And my personal experience goes to shew that very few people of education in this country have as yet the remotest conception of what is meant by a style of spelling which shall consistently indicate pronunciation. I have found many such writers commit the most absurd blunders when they attempt an orthography of their own, and shew a wonderful incapacity in handling such a simple tool as Glossic.

Dr. Donders, writing in a language which has recently reformed its orthography, chiefly in a phonetic direction, whose reformed orthography, as we have seen (1114, *c*), requires curious rules of

combination thoroughly to understand, justly says: "The knowledge of the mechanism and nature of speech-sounds preserves them for posterity, and is the foundation of a phonetic system of writing, which is less adapted for ordinary use, but is of priceless value for writing down newly heard languages, and indispensable for comparative philology." (De kennis van 't mechanisme en den aard der spraakklanken bewaart ze voor het nageslacht, en is de grondslag eener phonetische schrijfwijs, die voor 't gewone gebruik minder doelmatig, maar bij het opschrijven van nieuw gehoorde talen van onschatbare waarde en voor vergelijkende taalstudie onontbeerlijk is. Concluding words of: De physiologie der Spraakklanken, p. 24).

CAREFUL TRANSCRIPTS OF ACTUAL PRONUNCIATION BY HALDEMAN, ELLIS, SWEET, AND SMART.

The above examples are, however, quite insufficient to shew actual differences of usage, as they are confined to two observers, the varieties of spelling used by Mr. Fry and Mr. Jones not being sufficient to mark varieties of pronunciation, and the phonotypy of 1849 and 1873 purposely avoiding the points in question. It seemed, therefore, necessary to obtain careful transcripts of some individualities of pronunciation. General usage is after all only an abstraction from concrete usage, and although in phonetic writing, such as we have dealt with in preceding chapters, only rude approximations were attempted, it is certainly advisable to ascertain to some extent the degrees of difference which such approximations imply. There are, however, very few persons who are at all capable of undertaking such an analysis of their own or other person's habits.

Prof. Haldeman.

Mr. S. S. Haldeman, of Columbia, Professor of Comparative Philology in the University of Pennsylvania, to whom I have been so much indebted for Pennsylvania German (suprà p. 656) and other notes, wrote an essay on phonetics, which obtained a prize offered by Sir Walter Trevelyan,[1] and is one of the most important works we possess upon the subject which it treats. On p. 127 Prof. Haldeman gives a transcript of a passage first published by myself in a phonetic form,[2] in an extension of the Pitman and Ellis

[1] Analytic Orthography; an Investigation of the Sounds of the Voice, and their Alphabetic Notation; including the Mechanism of Speech and its bearing upon Etymology, (4to. pp. 148. Philadelphia, Lippincott & Co.; London, Trübner & Co., 1860.)

[2] Essentials of Phonetics, p. 104. It is a translation of a portion of the preface to the first edition of Pott's *Etymologische Forschungen* (p. viii). The following is the original, with the addition of two sentences, which are not given in the examples:—

"Die schriftliche und druckliche Lautbezeichnung einer Sprache mit, nach Art und Zahl unzulänglichen Charakteren, die man daher combiniren oder modificiren muss, um nur mit einiger Genauigkeit und Bequemlichkeit das Phonetische derselben graphisch darzustellen, ist von jeher für Völker sowohl als Individuen, die Sprachforscher nicht ausgeschlossen, eine der nothwendigsten und schwierigsten Aufgaben gewesen, die desshalb auch in den wenigsten Fällen glücklich gelöst ist. Mögen wir daraus lernen,

alphabet just illustrated. But as he has not followed the pronunciation there given, it must be considered an independent and extremely minute account of his own pronunciation. He has himself kindly revised the proof of its present transcription into palaeotype. He says, in several passages of his chap. xvi., here for convenience thrown together: "Orthoepists blind themselves to the genius and tendencies of the language, and represent a jargon which no one uses but the child learning to read from divided syllables, who turns 'li-on' into *lie on;* or the German, who fancies that the first syllable of 'phantom' occurs in 'elephant,' because they resemble in German and French (p. 122)... Every English word of three or more syllables requires the vowel (ə, *y*, *i*),[1] or a syllable without a vowel, when the structure of the word does not interfere with it, as *graduate*, *self-sameness*, *portmanteau*, and the difficulty is to decide upon the proper vowel, as in cand*i*date, ag*i*tate, el*e*vate, exp*e*dite, av*e*nue, mal*a*diction, — for vernacular practice cannot be controlled by the consideration that the original was an adverb rather than an adjective, unless it can be shown that the adverbial form has been preserved in speech, and we think it is not. With the spelling we have nothing to do (p. 123). . . . We do not recommend our own pronunciation,—forms like tra-vlr, difrns, instnsz, genrl, temprns, dicshnry,[2] being too condensed—too Attic, for

dass die Erfindung der Schrift, die grösste und wichtigste, welche je der menschliche Geist gemacht hat, und die, seine Kräfte in der That fast übersteigend, nicht mit Unrecht von ihm häufig den Göttern beigelegt wird, eben so gut als der complicirt-einfache Organismus eines Staates, nicht das Werk Einzelner, sondern von Jahrhunderten, vielleicht Jahrtausenden sei. Von der Abbildung als einem Ganzen, welches der Gegenstand fast noch selber ist, von dem blossen Erinnerungszeichen, durch das Wort, die Sylbe bis zum—Buchstaben, was für eine immer mehr in's Feine gehende Analyse! Der Thauth der neueren Zeit, der Tschirokese *Sih-qua-ja* oder mit englischem Namen George Guess wird uns am besten sagen können, was ein Alphabet erfinden und einer Sprache anpassen heisst."

And, as some readers may be slightly puzzled with the following elaborate phonetic representations, it may be convenient to annex the English translation followed in the examples, together with the two additional sentences:

"The written and printed representation of the sounds of language, by means of characters, which are insufficient, both in kind and number, and which must, therefore, be combined, or modified, if we would give a graphical symbolisation of the phonetic elements with only some degree of exactness and convenience, has been, from all time, for nations as well as individuals, linguistical students not excepted, one of the most necessary, and one of the most difficult of problems, and has consequently scarcely ever been happily solved. Let this teach us that the invention of writing, the greatest and most important invention which the human mind has ever made, and which, as it indeed almost exceeds its strength, has been often and not unjustly attributed to the gods, like the organism of a state, at once simple and complex, is not the work of individuals, but of centuries, perhaps of thousands of years. From the pictorial representation, as an entirety, which is almost the object itself,—from the mere memorial sign, through the word and the syllable, up to the letter,—what a continually finer analysis! The Thoth of modern times, the Cherokee *See-kwah-yah*, or to give him his English name *George Guess*, can best tell us what it is to invent an alphabet and adapt it to a language."

[1] For many of his (ə, *y*) I find I rather say (ʊ).

[2] From a MS. insertion by the author.

ordinary use, besides being more influenced by the spelling than the genius of the language allows. In looking through the Phonetic periodicals, whilst preparing this essay, we find that we have been ignorant of the name of many public characters. To us there was a fictitious Clánricàrd within two weeks, and whilst we know that our two friends 'Mackay' are respectively (Məkee·) and (Mʉkəi·), we do not know the name of the poet Charles Mackay, though we have heard him named (Mæ·ki). We mispronounced the proper names Tyrwhit, Napier, Hereford, Bowring (a gentleman we have more recently met), Keightley (which we had classed with Weightman), Howick, Moore, Mavor, Latham, Youatt, Lowth, Houghton (Hoton, which we classed with Hough or Huf), 'Aurora Leigh,' leg? lay? lee? lie? Once when in Boston, Massachusetts, with a fellow-traveller, we wished to see a public building of which we had read, named Faneuil Hall, and after discussing what we should ask for, we wisely concluded that the natives would not understand us, or would laugh at our pronunciation—so we neither saw the building nor learnt its name[1] (p. 123, note). . . Some prefer the pronunciation of men of letters, but in the present state of phonetic and prosodic knowledge, as exhibited in the great majority of the grammars, men of letters constitute the ignorant class, with the perversions of French analogies added to their ignorance; and if the vulgar corrupt (develop?) words, they are at least true to the vernacular laws. But in comparing a lettered with an illiterate pronunciation, the two must be of the same locality and dialect, *church* cannot be judged from *kirk;* and the words must be vernacular, as one, two, three; body, head, arm, eye;—land, field, water, fire, house, rain, star, sun, moon (p. 124). . . The three different vowels of *ooze*, *up*, *eel*, were once given to us by three lettered Cherokees as occurring in the second syllable (of four) of their word for *eight*. We considered it likely that the *up* was correct, although a 'syllabic' writer might have considered it as certainly wrong; but when we asked an unlettered native, he used no vowel whatever in this place, and we deemed him correct, and the others perverted by their syllabic alphabet, which forces them to write fictitiously, and then to speak as they write, instead of doing the reverse. The word was ('gəlhh'gwoo'gi·) in three syllables, and having Welch *ll*. Similarly, if one orthoepist would model *seven* on the Gothic sib*un*, another on the Anglish[2] syf*on*, and a third on the old *E*nglish sev*en*, or Belgian (*see*·ven) with (e) of *end*, we would still prefer saying *sevn*=(sevn) with the *I*nglish" (p. 124).

[1] I am told it is called (fən·l HAAl). With regard to the preceding names, as Mackay is certainly pronounced (Mʉkæ'i·, Mʉkə'i·, Makdi·), as well as in the three ways mentioned, I cannot assign the poet's name, but I have also heard it called (Mæ·ki). Clanricard, I generally hear called (Klænnːrikəd), of course, an Anglicism. (Tirit, Neepːɔiiɪ) or (Nee pijur), not (Neepiiɪ·), as it is very commonly mispronounced, (Her·ifid, Bə'u'·riq, Hə'u·ik, Muu', Mee·vu, Leethːum), so called by Dr. Latham, but his family call themselves (Lee·dhem), (Yə'u·ut, Lə'udh, Hə'u·tn, ʔroo'·ru Lii), are, so far as I know, the sounds of these names. Lord Houghton's family name *Milnes* is called (Mɪlz).

[2] Ags. seofan, seofen, siofun, syfon.

The following are the elementary English sounds acknowledged by Prof. Haldeman as numbered and symbolised by him (see his tables, on his p. 125), with the palaeotypic equivalents here adopted. The length of the vowels is not here indicated, and will be described hereafter. The symbols being troublesome to reproduce they will be referred to by the numbers, with the addition of v, c, l, for the classes of Vowels, Consonants, and Laryngals respectively.

VOWELS.

1.	a	*a*rm	(a)	10.	ʌ	*a*isle	(*a*)
2.	ʊ	*u*p	(ə) ?	11.	ɑ	*a*we	(ʌ)
3.	ɤ	*a*dd	(æ)	11'.	(ǫ	pond, rod)	
4.	ɛ	th*ê*re	(ɛ)	12.	ɒ	*o*dd	(ɔ)
5.	ɛ	*e*bb	(e)	13.	o	*o*we	(*o*)
6.	e	th*e*y	(*e*)	13'.	o	whole	
7.	ə	buff*e*t	(*y*) ?	14.	u	p*oo*l	(u)
8.	ɩ	p*i*t*y*	(ɩ)	—	(..	cr*ew*)	?
9.	ɪ	f*ie*ld	(i)	15.	ʊ	p*u*ll	(*u*)

CONSONANTS.

1. v̈ now							25. j̈
2. v *w*ay	(w)	10. l	(l)	16. r (ɹr), 17. ɹ (ɹ), 18. ʃ (ɹ)	21. ʒ (ɹ₁)		26. j (j)
3. v̈ *wh*ey	(wh)				22. ʒ̈ (ɹ₁h)		27. j̈ (jh)
4. m	(m)	11. n	(n)				28. ɲ (q)
5. m̈ *hm*	(mh)						
6. b	(b)	12. d	(d)				29. g (g)
7. ʙ *v*ein	(v)	13. ɑ	(dh)	19. ʒ (z)	23. ʒ (zh)		
8. p	(p)	14. t	(t)				30. c (k)
9. f	(f)	15. ɪ	(th)	20. s (s)	24. ʃ (sh)		

LARYNGALS.—31. h *h*ay (ʜh) ?

It is always extremely difficult to identify phonetic symbols belonging to different systems, on account of individualities of pronunciation. Even when *vivâ voce* comparison is possible, the identification is not always complete. Some of the above are queried, and to some no symbols are added. I shall therefore subjoin Prof. Haldeman's descriptions of his symbols:

1v. in *arm*. "The most characteristic of the vowels is that in *arm*, *art*, *father*, commonly called Italian A" (art. 370). This must be (a), and not (ah) or (*a*).

2v. in *up*. "Many languages want this vowel, which is so common in English as to be regarded as the characteristic of the vowels. It has not been assigned to Greek, Italian, Spanish, nor German, but it occurs in dialectic German. . . . . It is close (ʊ) in *up*, *wŏrth*, and open (ʊ) in *wŏrm*, *wŏrd*, *urn*. The effect of *worth* is that of a short syllable, each element being short, (the *r* close;) whilst *worm* is long on account of the open and longer *r*. The vowel *up* is nasal in the French *un*; but M. Pantoléon (in Comstock's Phon. Mag.) makes this a nasal *eu* in *jeu*, and Lepsius refers it to German ö. In the writer's French pronunciation, *up* is placed in mĕ, quĕ, quĕrelle, etc., according to the view of most French grammarians." (Arts. 374–5.) It is impossible to say from this whether the 2v. is (ə, ɤ, ʊ, œ, ɔ̃, ɔh), and it may be one at one time and one at another. The open and close 2v. apparently point to (ɤ, ə), and the dialectic German is (ə) or (ʊ). Hence I have queried my palaeotypic transcription (ə), although Prof. Haldeman, in returning the proof of the table, doubted the necessity of the query.

3v. in *add*. "With very little affinity to A, this sound usurps its character in some alphabets. It is more nearly allied to *e*bb, but not enough to have a letter on the same basis, like that of

Lepsius. The people of Bath, England, are said to pronounce the name of the town long, and it is strictly long and short in Welsh, as in *bāch* a hook, *bāch* little. It seems to be lengthened in the following words, but as the author speaks this dialect—heard in Philadelphia, and used by Walker, who puts his a^4 of *fat* in grass, grasp, branch, grant, pass, fast, the proper sound being probably French â, as in pâss, etc.—the observation must be accepted with caution: pān pănic, bānd bănish, fān făncy, mān tăn, cān *n.* căn *v.*, brān răn, A˜nn ăn A"nna, Sām sămple, dām hăm, drām răm, lāmb lămp, bād păd, glād lăd, bāg tăg bĕg, cāg wăg kĕg, drāg drăgon, mādder *adj.* mădder *n.*, mā'ām mămmon, bāā bădger, gās gāz găsh ăs, lāss lăsh, brēad brĕd, dēad Dĕdham, bēd spĕd. It occurs in provincial German, as in bɑ'rɪc (with the vowels of bărrĭer) for *berg* bɛrɢ, a hill. A native of Gerstungen = Gérstŭrɔn, in Saxe Weimer, pronounced the first syllable of this name with ɑ in *arrow*. Compare thatch deck, catch ketch, have hev, scalp scelp; German and English fett *fat*, krebs *crab*, fest *fast* adj., Gr. τρέχω I run, *track*. It has a long and open German provincial (Suabian) form, being used for long open ä (ê), as in bɑ˜r for bär *a bear*. This bears the same relation to *a*dd that French ê in même bears to *e* in *memory*. This vowel is nasalised and short in the French *fin* end, *pain* bread. But some consider this a nasal of *e*bb, either because such a sound is used (the Polish ę?), or because the French (being without the pure *a*dd) refer their nasal *in* to the nearest pure *s*ound known to them." (Arts. 378–382.) This must be (æ). The American lengthenings are interesting. There is an American Hymn-book, put together by two compilers, each having the Christian name *Samuel*. It was familiarly known as "the book of *Sams*." The pun on *psalms* is not felt by an Englishman, the lengthening of *Sām* explains it completely.

4v. in *there*. "The vowel of *e*bb, with a more open aperture, is long and accented in the Italian mĕdĭcŏ tempĕstă cĭêlo, and short in the verb ĕ *is*, ăb-biĕt-to. It is the French ê in même, tête, fenêtre, maître, haie, Aix, air, vaisseau. The same sound seems to occur shorter in trompette, which is not the vowel of *petty*. . . . It is the German ä long in mähre *mare*, mährchen, fehlen, kehle, währe, but *wehre* has E long. The theoretic short sound falls into 5v., as in ställe *stalls*, commonly pronounced like stelle *station*." (Arts. 388-9.) There seems no doubt that this is (ɛ), but it is singular that Prof. Haldeman has (ɛ, e), and Mr. Bell (e, ɛ) in *there ebb*, and I pronounce (e) in both. It is evident therefore that the distinction is not recognized as part of the language.

5v. in *ebb*. "The secondary vowels *it ebb*, were not allowed to Latin, because there is no evidence that they were Latin sounds; and although *e*bb occurs in Spanish, as in el *the*, estē *this one*, it is not so frequent as an Englishman might suppose. Even this is not admitted in Cubì's 'Nuevo Sistema' (of English for Spaniards), published by I. Pitman, Bath, 1851, where the vowels *ill*, *ell*, *am*, *up*, *olive*, are not provided with Spanish keywords; but he assigns the whole of them to Catalonian." (Art. 385.) As I had an opportunity of conversing with Señor Cubì y Soler, who spoke English with a good accent, I know that he did not admit any *short* vowels in *Castillian*, and hence he excluded all these, and took the Spanish *e*, which is I believe always (e), to be (*ee*). The Castillians pronounce their vowels, I believe, of medial length, like the Scotch, and neither so short nor so long as the English. The Latin E I also believe to have been (e), and not (*e*). "The vowel 5v. occurs in Italian tĕmpo tĕrra Mĕrcŭrĭŏ." (Art. 386.) Valentini makes the *e aperto* = (ɛ) in tempo terra, and, of course, it is *chiuso* = (*e*) in the unaccented first syllable of Mercurio. "In the German rĕchnung *a reckoning*, pelz *pelt fur*, schmeltzen *to smelt*, rector *rector*. (*ibid.*) Frenchmen state that 5v. occurs in elle, quel, règle." (Art. 387.) In none of these can (ɛ, e) be safely separated. I believe Prof. Haldeman means 4v. to be (ɛɛ), and 5v. to be (e), the former always long, the latter always short. I always used to confuse the open French and Italian (ɛ) with my (e), and I may have consequently misled many others. But the only acknowledged distinctions in language seem to be close *e*, open *e*, the first (*e*, e^1), the second (e_1, ɛ), while (e) really hovers between the two, and hence where only one *e* is acknowledged, (e) is the safer

sound to use, as (*e*, e[1]) would then be heard as bad (i), and (e[1], E) as bad (e).

6v. in *they*. "The English *ay* in pay, paid, day, weigh, ale, rage, is short in weight, hate, acre, A˘mos, A˘bram, ape, plague, spade. The German wēh *wo*, rēh *roe*, jē, planēt, mēer, mēhr (*more*, but *mähr* tidings has 4v.), ēdel, ēhre, jědōch. The Italian 'e chiuso' has this quality, as in màlĕ ottóbrĕ (with 'o chiuso' [Valentini agrees in this]), but it is nearly always short. Most authors assign this sound to French é, called 'é fermé,' but Dr. Latham assigns this é a closer aperture, for he says, 'This is a sound allied to, but different from, the *a* in *fate*, and the *ee* in *feet*. It is intermediate to the two.' Dankovsky says the Hungarian 'é est medius sonus inter e et i,' but his 'e' is uncertain. Olivier (Les Sons de la Parole, 1844) makes é identic with I in the position of the mouth." (Art. 391.) This must be (*e*). The recognition of the short sound in English is curious, as also the absence of the recognition of (*ee*'j). The middle Germans use (*ee*) long, and (e) or (E) short, regularly. The Italian *e chiuso* sounds to me (*e*), but may be (e[1]); it is generally the descendant of Latin I. The distinction between fate and *é* in Dr. Latham is possibly due to his saying (*fee*'jt), not (*feet*), and to the *é* being short. Mr. Kovács pronounced Hungarian *é* as (*ee*), and *e* as (æ) in accented syllables. Olivier probably confused *é* with (*i*), the short English sound which has replaced (*e*).

7v. in *buffet*, and in *-ment*, *-ence*. "There is an obscure vowel in English, having more aperture than that of *ill* and less than that of *ail*. It is used to separate consonants by such an amount of vocality as may be secured without setting the organs for a particular vowel. It is most readily determined between surds, and it is often confounded and perhaps interchanged with the vowel of *up*. It occurs in the natural pronunciation of the last syllable of worded, blended, splendid, sordid, livid, ballad, salad, surfeit, buffet, opposes, doses, roses, losses, misses, poorer, horror, Christian, onion, and the suffixes -ment, -ant, -ance, -ent, -ense. Perhaps this vowel should be indicated by the least mark for the phase of least distinctness—a dot beneath the letter of some recognized vowel of about in the same aperture. It is so evanescent that it is constantly replaced by a consonant vocality without attracting attention, as in saying hors'z, horsz, horszs, or (using a faint smooth *r*) hors[r]z. . . With Rapp we assign this vowel to German, as in welches, verlieren, verlassen (or even frlasn)." (Arts. 392 to 392*c*.) This mark therefore represents sounds here distinguished as (*y*, u, 'h), and on the whole (*y*), as used by Mr. Bell, seems to answer most nearly to it, see especially (1159, *b*): I have, however, queried the sign, on which Prof. Haldeman observes, that the query "is hardly necessary. The doubts are due to the fact that while two varieties are admitted we might not always agree in locating them."

8v. in *pity*. "It is the German vowel of kĭnn *chin*, hĭtzĭg, bĭllĭg, wĭlĭ, bĭld; and the initial of the Belgian diphthong *ieuw* (and perhaps in some cases the Welsh *uw*). . . . . This vowel is commonly confounded with I, but it has a more open jaw aperture, while each may be lengthened or shortened." (Arts. 396, 398.) This is no doubt (*i*), which is heard in the north of Germany, but not throughout. Mr. Barnes, author of the Dorset Grammar, distinguishes the two vowels in *pity* thus (pi·ti), but others prefer (pi·ty), hence the identification refers only to the first vowel.

9v. in *field*. "The universal I is long in Italian ĭŏ (Lat. EGO, *I*), and short in fĕlĭcĭtàrĕ, with true e. In English it is long in machīne, marīne, fīend, fee, tea, bee, grieve, eel. It is short in ĕqual, ĕduce, deceit, heat, beet, reef, grief, teeth. German examples are vīeh, wīeder *against*, wĭder *again*, wĭe vīel *how much*, vĭelleicht *perhaps*. It is medial in knie *knee*. French examples are surprīse, vīve, īle, stȳle, ĭl, vĭf, phȳsĭque, Ĭmĭter, lĭquĭde, vĭsĭte, polĭtĭque, which must *not* be pronounced like the English *physic*, etc., with the vowel of *pit*. The following are perhaps medial:—prodige, cidre, ligue, vite, empire." (Art. 399.) This is certainly (i). The short value in accented syllables is noteworthy. In "bĕlieve, rĕgret, dĕscent, which cannot differ from dispose," (art. 395), Prof. Haldeman hears 8v. not 9v., that is (*i*), and not (i).

10v. in *āisle*, *Cāiro*. "French *a* in âme, pătte. The former is commonly received as the vowel of *arm*, the latter of *pat*. Duponceau (Am. Phil. Trans.,

1818, vol. i. p. 258), in 1817, made the distinction. He says that French *a* occurs in the English diphthongs *i* and *ou*, and that the sound is between *ah* and *awe*, being *ah* pronounced as full and broadly as possible, without falling into *awe*. The initial of English *i* (or *e* in *hĕight*) differs in being pronounced *u*p and *a*t. This is probably the proper vowel for grass, pass, alas (Fr. hélas)." (Arts. 400, 401.) The vowel is meant for (*a*) according to Duponceau's description, and that vowel *is* pronounced in French pâte. But the vowel in Fr. patte is either (a) or (ah), and not (*a*), at present at least. The pronunciations (gr*aa*s, gr*a*s), etc., seem to be much broader than any used by educated Englishmen, but see (1152, *d'*). Prof. Haldeman uses (*a*), and not (ə) or (æ), as he suggests above, for the first element of long ī, that is (*ai*), not (ə'i, æ'i), see (108, *c*).

11v. in *awe*. "This sound lies between A and O, and is common in several German dialects. . . . . The Germans represent it commonly by å, adopting the Swedish mode, where however the sound seems to be a kind of *o*." (Art. 402.) The sound is, therefore (ʌ). The Swedish is (ʌo), having the tongue as for (ʌ) and the lips as for (*o*), see (1116, *a'*). "This *awe* is not to be determined by its length, but by its quality. It is *long* in rāw, flāw, lāw, cāw, āll, cāll, thāwed, lāud, hāwk; *medial* in loss, cross, tossed, frost, long, song, strong, or, for, lord, order, border, war, warrior, corn, adorn, born, warn, horn, morn, storm, form, warm, normal, cork, wan, swan,

gāud	God	nŏd	gnāw'r	nor	Nŏr'ich
āwe	or	ŏrange	rāwed	rod	Rŏdney
fāwned	fond	astŏnish	āwed	aught	ŏdd
thāwed	thought	Thoth	lāws	loss	lŏzenge.

1. long *āwe*	pāwned	wāw	squāw	yāwn	hāw
2. short *ăwe*	ăuthor	wăter	squăsh	wănt	hŏrse
3. medial *awe*	pond	war	swan	wan	horn
4. medial *odd*	rod	God	thought	gone	John
5. short *ŏdd*	pŏnder	bŏdy	squăt	hŏnest	hŏrror."

(Arts. 405–407.) It is evident that the vowel is either (ɔ, ɔ̨), or (ɔ¹). The indications of length do not seem to be strictly observed in England.

13v. in *ōwe, bōne, bŏat*. "This well-known sound is *long* in mōan, lōan, ōwe, gō, lōw, fōe, cōal, cōne, bōre, rōar, bōwl, sōul; and *short* in ŏver, ŏbey, ŏpen, ŏpinion, ŏnyx, ŏnerous, ŏak, ŏchre, rŏgue, ŏats, ŏpium; and *medial* dawn, fond, bond, pond, exhaust, false, often, soften, gorge, George; and *short* in squăsh, wăsh (cf. rush, push), ăuthor (cf. ŏath, pĭth), wătch, wăter, slăughter, quărt, quărter, wărt, shŏrt, mŏrtar, hŏrse (cf. curse), remŏrse, fŏrmer, ŏften, nŏrth, mŏth, făult, fălter, păltry." (Art. 403.) These quantities cross my own habits materially. Many of *medial* length are reckoned *long* in England, and still more of them *short*. See notation for medial quantity (1116, *ba*).

11'v. in *pond, rod*. } "This
12v. in *odd*. } from the preceding 11v. in being formed with less aperture." (Art. 405.) It is observable that according to Mr. Bell (ə) is the 'wide' of (ʌ), that is, the aperture at the back of the greatest compression is greater. But perhaps Prof. Haldeman spoke the vowel with the tongue further forward, as (ɔ̨), or even with the tongue raised, (ə¹). "It is *short* in nŏt, nŏd, hŏd, whăt, squătter (cf. the open wăter), mŏrrow, bŏrrow, sŏrrow, hŏrror, chŏice, pŏnder, thrŏng, prŏng; *medial* in on, yon, John, God, rod, gone, aught, thought, bought, caught, naught, fought, sauce, loiter, boy, and perhaps long in cōy, ōil. Some of these medials may belong to *awe*, and some of those to this head. The accuracy of these examples is not expected to be admitted in detail, because practice between the two vowels is not uniform; yet it is probable that no one puts the vowel of *potter*, or the quantity of *fall*, in *water*, which is neither wăwter nor wŏtter. In the following table, the medial examples have been chosen without regard to the vowel they contain:

in going, showy. It does not occur in Italian. O is *long* in the German tōn, dōm, hōf, hōch, lōb, tōd, trōg, mōhn, lōhn, mōor, mōnd; *medial* in oder, also, vor, von, wo, ob, oheim; and *short* in wŏhin, hŏfnung, ŏst, ŏfen, ŏber, kŏch, lŏch, zŏ-o-lŏg." (Arts. 416, 417.) This must be (*oo, o*). There is no mention of (*oo'w*). The short accented (*o*) is not in received English use.

13'v. in *whole*. French *o*. "This sound seems to the writer to be more open than *owe*, and closer than *o* aperto, and his impression is that the long and short sound have the same quality. . . . The New England or Yankee *o* in whŏle, cŏat, is a short sound with a wider aperture of jaw than *owe*, but not (perhaps) of lip. It has been casually heard, but not studied, and we refer it to the French *o* in bonne." (Arts. 412, 415.) Mr. Bell considers the French *o* in homme to be (*o*h), and the American *o* in stone to be (oh), the labialised forms of (ɔ, ah) respectively. But Prof. Haldeman suggests another solution, namely (ɔo) or (ʌo), which is Mr. Sweet's analysis of Danish *aa*, and is, in fact, a passing anticipation of Mr. Sweet's discovery of the effect of different degrees of rounding upon one lingual position (1116 *a'*). The sound is altogether a provincialism, and I have been accustomed to consider the French sound as (o) and the Yankee as (*o*), which I have also heard in Norfolk (non) = none.

14v. in *pool*. } "These two vowels are
15v. in *pull*. } distinct in quality, and have the same variations in quantity. They are to each other as *awe* is to *odd*, and they require distinct characters." (Art. 422.) Hence they are marked as (u, *u*), which are exactly as (ʌ, ɔ), the second being the wide of the first. "In passing through the series A, O, U, it will be found that U in *pool* is labial in its character, and that this labiality is preserved in shortening *fōōl* to *fŏŏlish*, whilst *full*, *fullish*, have very little aid from the lips." (Art. 423.) That (*u*) can be imitated with widely open lips is readily perceived, but it can be most easily pronounced with the lips in the (u)-position (1114, *d'*). This lipless (*u*), or (u^4), is very useful to the singer, as it can be touched at a high pitch, whereas true labial (*u*) cannot be sung distinctly at a high pitch. "If we compare *fool* with a word like *fuel*, *rule* (avoiding the Belgian diphthong *iew*), we detect in it (fyoo'l, rule), a closer sound, which when long is confused with U, as in *fool*, *rule*, meaning by the latter neither ryule nor riwl, but *rool*, with a narrow aperture. This closer u is often preceded by *y* and *r*, as in due, dew, stew, rŭin, rūde, where it is rather medial than long." (Art. 424.) Probably we should write this (u^1), or (ˌu), or even (ˌu^1). It seems to be local and individual, not received. This sound, or what I suppose to be this sound, I seem to have heard from Americans, and in Lancashire, and it approached one of the palato-labial vowels, or (y)-series. In fact I felt it as a form of (u). "Leaving quantity out of the question, we pronounce *brew*, etc., with 15v. [*u* in p*u*ll], whilst Worcester, probably the most judicious of the English orthoepists, refers them to the key-word move." (Art. 591.) This is, I think, the more usual pronunciation. The *u* orthography, however, suggests palatalisation to the speaker, and hence he makes an approach to (uj, *u*j = ɪ, y).

1c. and 25c. in *now*, *aisle*, are "coalescents," a term introduced, I believe, by myself, to classify (ɹ, w), as the form under which the vowels (i, u) *coalesced* with another vowel. Prof. Haldeman uses 1c. and 25c. to form diphthongs, and distinguishes them from (ɹ, w). In order to shew that they have this meaning, I employ the acute accent on the preceding vowel, thus (*á*w, *á*ɹ), which are really equivalent to my (*á*u, *á*i), but have the disadvantage of not so accurately distinguishing the second element, so that for (*á*ɹ) the reader has a choice among (*á*i, *á*ɪ, *á*e, *á*y, *á*ɹ), etc. Prof. Haldeman says: "The separation of the coalescents from the vowels, being quite modern, their difference is seldom recognized in alphabets. *This is a grave defect.*" (Art. 173.) As to the nature of the difference, he says: "The labial vowel *oo*ze readily becomes the consonant *w*ay, and between them there is a shade of sound allied to both, but a variety of the latter, and a consonant, because it has the power of forming a single syllable with a vowel, which two vowels cannot do. . . . . The guttural vowel p*i*que may become the guttural liquid *y*ea, as in min*i*on, and between the two lies the guttural coalescent in a*i*sle, e*y*e, bo*y*. The consonant relation of the coalescents is shown in the combinations ho*w* *w*ell, m*y* *y*ears, in which it is difficult to tell where the coalescent ends. A comparison of the former (or how-ell) with hâ-well, and the latter (or my-ears) with mâ-years, will show their affinity. A coalescent between vowels is apt to form a fulcrum, by becoming a more complete consonant. Compare (emp)*loyer*

with *lawyer*." (Arts. 163–5.) I think I usually say (hɔ'u:⌣we·ll, hɔ'u:⌣e·ll, hɔ'u'ˌel) for *how well, how ell, Howell*, and (mə'i⌣ɹii'zz, mə'i⌣ii'zz) for *my years, my ears*. Similar difficulties occur in *lying* (lə'ii·⌣iq), and French *païen, faïence, loyal* (pái-iɛa fái-iaas lói-iál), not (luáiál), with a long (i), without force gliding and diphthongising each way, which the hyphen tends to make plainer. The English *loyal* is either (lə'i⌣vl) or (lə'i·⌣iv'l), not, I think, (lə'i·ɹvl), and certainly not (lʌʌ·ɹvl). Similarly for *employer, lawyer* (emplə'i·⌣v, lʌʌ·ɹv).

2c. and 26c. in *way, yea*, are certainly (w, ɹ), but whether or not in addition (ˌuw, ˌiɹ) cannot be affirmed.

3c. and 27c. are certainly (wh, ɹh). Unfortunately the sounds are departing. See the citation (1112, *b'*), where it appears that Professor Haldeman never hears (wh) in English without a following (w); and, as appears by his example, he does not hear (ɹh) without a following (ɹ). But, translating his symbols, he says, "(wh) occurs in several Vesperian languages, and the whistle which Duponceau attributes to the (lena·pe), Delaware, language, is this sound (wh'*dee*) heart, (ndee) my heart, (wh'de·nhiim) strawberries, with flat ('d). In the Wyandot (wɔ·ndɔt), (salakwh"*u*) it burrows, it occurs before a whispered vowel. Compare Penobscot (nekwhdə·s) six, (whta·*u*ɹak) ear, (whta·*u*agollh) ears." (Art. 457.) "This (whd) shows that the (w) put in (whwen) is not by defect of ear, which might cause it to be inferred beside the vocal (d). The frequency of the whispered vowels is curious."—Prof. H.'s MS. note to proof.

5c. in *hm* seems to be (mh), *hm* = (ʍmh), or perhaps (ʍmmh). "One form of Eng. (mh) often accompanies a smile with closed lips—an incipient laugh reduced to a nasal puff; to the other (mh-m) a true (m) is added, when it becomes an exclamation—sometimes replaced with (nh-n)."—MS. addition.

16c., 17c., 18c. are varieties of (r), but it is difficult exactly to identify them. "The Greek and Latin R was trilled, as described by the ancients, and this accords with European practice. The letter 'r' therefore means this sound. We have heard trilled *r* in Albanian, Armenian (in part), Arabic, Chaldee, Ellenic, Illyrian, Wallachian, Hungarian, Russian, Catalonian, Turkish (in part), Islandic, Hindustanee, Bengalee, Tamil, and other languages in the pronunciation of natives." (Art. 500.) Probably (r, ʀ, ˌr, ̣r, ˌ̣r, rj) are here not distinguished, and the forcible form (.r) is not separated from that of moderate strength. "The trilled *r* is assigned to English as an initial, although many people with an English vernacular cannot pronounce it. Dr. James Rush would have the trill reduced in English to a single tap of the tongue against the palate. This we indicate by r̄, with a dot above." (Art. 501.) This faint trill would be our (ˌr); but the English, I believe, do not strike the palate at all when saying (r). Mr. Bell, as we have seen (1098, *b*), denies the trill in English altogether, and gives us (r̥). "The Spanish (South American) *r* in perro *dog*, as distinguished from the common trilled *r* of pēro *but*, seems to be untrilled, and to have the tongue pressed flatly, somewhat as in English *z*, and doubled, as in *more-rest*. It may have arisen from an attempt to yotacise *r*. We mark it *r* (or, if trilled, r) with a line below, in case it is distinct from the next." (Art. 501*a*.) Now the Spanish *rr* in *perro* is what the Spanish Academy (Ortografía de la lengua Castellana, 7th ed. Madrid, 1792, p. 70) calls R *fuerte*. Prince L. L. Bonaparte says that it is found in Basque, and calls it an "alveolar *r*," which seems to be my (ˌr). The common (r) in Basque is generally used as a euphonic insertion to save hiatus, as in English *law(r) of the land*. Mr. Bristed (Transactions of the American Philological Association for 1871, p. 122–3) talks of "the apparent negroism prevalent in Cuba of substituting a vocalized *r* for the strongly trilled final *r*, e.g. *amaw* (or something very like it) for *amar*," compare Mr. Thomas's Creole French *r* (1155, *a'*). On the authority of his son, just returned from Spain, Mr. Bristed adds that in Madrid there is "a slurring of medial *r*," and that "the Andalusian dialect tends to drop final letters, even *r*." Prof. Haldeman *may* mean (r̥). "Many of my sounds were heard casually, and must be accepted as open to correction from further observation."—MS. addition. He proceeds: "Armenian and Turkish have a smooth (i.e. an untrilled) tactual *r*, much like the Spanish *rr*, if not the same, and, with that, requiring farther investigation and comparison. English smooth *r* in curry,

acre (a-cr), begr, grey, curt, is formed by much less contact than the European and Asiatic *r* requires. It is the true liquid of the *s* contact, and allied to the vowel in *up*, a character *ɤ* to be formed provisionally from italic *x*." (Arts. 502-3.) "A consonant subject to both a preceding and a succeeding influence may vary with the speaker, putting the same or a different *gr* in *ogre* and *grey*. I was wrong in putting *grey* among my examples in § 503. It should be excluded. I adopted the single-tap *r* on the authority of Dr. Rush, and because I have heard it; but I use neither this nor any other trill in my English. This is the speech of my locality, when it is not influenced by contact with German and Irish modes of pronunciation, and it seems that Mr. Bell rejects the trill."—MS. addition. This he then identifies with my (ɹ). But my (ɹ) is only (ə¹) at most, followed permissively by (r). Prof. Haldeman retains this (ɹ) in the second syllable of (ˌrepɹizentɛeˈshyn) in the specimen, and says it is "due to the unaccented syllable as compared with (pˌrɪntyd), etc." In other cases he corrected it in the proof to (r), which I have given as (ˌr) for uniformity. Perhaps my difficulties arise from the Professor's *not* trilling his (r) as I really *do*. "A more open smooth *r* is found in cur, fur, far, more. Mr. Ellis regards *fur* as *f* with this open *r*, without a vowel between. . . . We regard *fur* as having the *open* vowel ɤ (with which the consonant is allied) *short*, the quantity being confined to the consonant (*fur* = fɤ˘ʃ˘), and the tongue moving from the vowel to the consonant position. The same open consonant occurs in arm, worm, turn, ore; and although, for a particular purpose, we have cited *arm* as long, it contains a short vowel (a˘r˘m) and long or medial consonant. If we write 'rn for *urn* and f'r or fʀ for *fur*, we certainly cannot represent *far*, *four*, in the same manner. Moreover we may dissyllabise pr-ay on a trilled or a close *r*, and monosyllabise it p'ray with the most open. At one time the discussion of the English letters led to a curious result. When the *difference* between the open *r* of *tárry* (from *tar*) and the close one of the verb *tárry* was ascertained, an *identity* of vowel and of consonant was represented,—a greater error than to spell *more* and *moor*, *fairy* and *ferry* alike, or *pres-d* for *prest*." (Arts. 505–9.) I feel obliged, from the identifications made by Prof. Haldeman, to transcribe 16c. by (ˌr), 17c. by (ɹ), and 18c. by (ɹ), but I am not at all satisfied with the transcription. I think the sound 17c. is sometimes (ə¹), sometimes (ˌr₀¹), sometimes (ə¹ˌr₀¹); and that 18c. may be (ə, ʀ, əh) or (ˌr₀ɹ), or one of the first followed by the second. These are points of extreme difficulty, partly arising from the involuntary interference of orthographical reminiscences with phonetic observations.

Prof. Haldeman made the following observations on the proof, after reading the above remarks: "There is a negro perversion of *more* to (moə). I think you admit too little difference between *awe* and *or*, like Bloomfield—

In earliest hours of dark and hooded morn,
Ere yet one rosy cloud bespeaks the dawn,
. . . . . .
Still foremost thou the dashing stream to cross,
And tempt along the animated horse; . . . .

"I do not consider any English *r* open enough to constitute a vowel, but I think I have heard a coalescent ('r)" [the acute belongs to the preceding element with which it forms a diphthong], "forming a reversed diphthong, in a dialect of Irish, in *gé*, *gédh*, or *geodh* a goose. As I recal it, it is a monosyllab between the English syllabs *gay* and *gray*, the *r* open and untactual and so near to (ə) that the result would be *g*(ə)*ay* were this not a dissyllab like *claw-y* besides *cloy*." As will be shewn hereafter, *or* is used in American comic books to represent *aw* (AA) just as much as in English, and likewise *r* omitted, and *er* is also used for the faintest sound of ('h).

21c. and 22c. also present difficulties in transcription. "The liquids of the palatal contact are a kind of J (*yea*) made at the palatal point, and as Eng. *w*, *v*, and *r*, *z* are permutable, so ʒ falls into ʃ (zh), and its surd aspirate into *t* (sh). Hence the word *soldier* (= soldʒr or soldʒər) is apt to fall into soldʃɤ, and *nature* (=net-ʒɤ, netʃʒɤ or netʃɤ) into netɤɤ or netrər." (Arts. 518, 519.) From this I consider ʒ to represent a form of (ɹ) which is still nearer to (i), with therefore the tongue slightly lower than for (ɹ), so that (ɹ₁) would be its best sign, and ʒ will then be (ɹ₁h). According to the same habit which obliges Prof. Haldeman to say

(whw-, ɹhɹ-) we necessarily have ($ɹ_1hɹ_1$). Hence his examples must be transcribed (sɔldɹ$_1$ɭr, sɔldɹ$_1$ɣɭr, nɛtɹ$_1$hɹ, nɛtɹ$_1$hɹɹ, nɛtɹ$_1$ɹ).

The remaining consonants present no difficulty.

11. in *hay*. "Many deny that *h* is a consonant, because 'it is not made by contact or interruption.' But when the breath is impelled through an aperture which obstructs it, there is interruption, and if we vary the impulse we can make English *oo* and *w* with the same aperture... H, h, is the common English and German *h*, in the syllables held, hat, hast, hose. ɦ is for the eighth Hebrew letter hheth ... and is commonly called an emphatic *h* and is often represented by *hh*. As heard by us, it is an enforced, somewhat *close h*, with a tendency to scrape along the throat, and, consequently, it is not a pulmonic aspirate. . . . The Florentine aspirate *casa*, *misericordia*, *chi*, we have casually heard, and believe it to be ɦ, and also the Spanish *j*, *x*, before *a*, *o*, *u*, as in jabon *soap* = ɦä'bón, and the geographical name San Juan (= sä̃nɦʷan) in English—sɛxnʷvɒn." (Arts. 553, 565, 567.) The identification of ɦ with (*h*), see (1130, *b*), and the statement of its relation to h, seem to shew that this h is my (ʜh). The examples are then meant for (*h*abbho'n, san*h*whan, sænwhwɔn), but I think that Spanish *j* differs from (*h*). Prince L. L. Bonaparte considers it to be (kh), and identifies the Florentine sound with a 'vocal' aspirate (1136, *c*), my (ʜ). Prof. Haldeman observes on the use of (ʜ) for me, (ʜ|h) for Smart, and (ʜh) for himself and Sweet in the comparative specimen given below:—"You assign three kinds of initial *h* to four speakers, where I think the ear would give the same result, except where *h* is dropt. I pronounce English *here* and German *hier* exactly alike as far as the *r*, and I suppose you do the same, but the smooth English *r* gives a dissyllabic tendency, which is absent from the German form." I believe I call the English word (ʜíi') and the German (uhiir), but may occasionally say (ʜiir, ʜii'r uhii'r), which are all anglicisms. I sometimes fall into (ʜh) in English. For Smart's (ʜ|h), see No. 56 of his scheme below, (1204, *b*).

Henry Sweet.

Mr. Henry Sweet adopts Mr. Bell's Visible Speech Symbols and my palaeotype, and kindly himself wrote out his specimen in palaeotype, so that there are no difficulties of interpretation. It is necessary to observe his higher (e) or (e^1), and his (o) with a (u) rounding or (o_u), his consonantal termination of (*iiɹ*, *uuw*), his advanced (*o*, ɔ) or (ˌ*o*, ˌɔ), his forms of (*ee'j*, *oo'w*) as (*éy*, ˌ*óo*$_u$), his acceptance of (ɹ) as (əh) in (ʌ'əh, ɛɛ'əh, evəh), etc., his constant use of ('h), even rounded, as ('h*w*), his analysis of his diphthongs for (ə'*i*, ə'*u*) as (ʊɛ'*y*, ʊ'*y*) and (ɑɔɑ'o), and his lengthened consonants, as (sɪmm, lɛtt). He uses (ɜ, ɛ) where I use (ə, e), and altogether his pronunciation differs in many minute shades from mine, although in ordinary conversation the difference would probably be passed by unnoticed, so little accustomed are we to dwell on differences which vex the phonologist's spirit. This little passage presents one of the most remarkable analyses of spoken sounds which has yet been published.

In returning me the proof corrected, he wrote: "I am inclined to accept your analysis of *ch* as (t‿sh) for my own pronunciation also. I think the second element of the (au) diphthong may be the simple voice-glide rounded ("h*w*) instead of the mid-back (o), (sɑɔɑ'ondz) would therefore be written (sɑɔɑ"h*w*ndz). In the same way I feel inclined to substitute the simple voice-glide unrounded ("h) for the ('əh) wherever it forms the second element of a diphthong. I leave it to you to make the alterations or not." As Mr.

Sweet, on account of leaving England, was unable to correct a revise of the example, I preferred following the proof as it left his own hands, and content myself with noting these minute points. But it is worth while observing what extremely rough approximations to (i, u), such as ('hj, 'hw), when added to any one of the sounds (æ ʊ, ɜ a o o, œ a ʌ ɔ, ə ah oh oh, əh œ ah ɔh) and even (e e œ, ɛ æ æh), serve to recall diphthongs of the (ái, áu) classes to the mind with sufficient clearness to be readily intelligible.

B. H. Smart.

Mr. B. H. Smart's "Walker Remodelled . . . . exhibiting the pronunciation of words in unison with more accurate schemes of sounds than any yet furnished, according to principles carefully and laboriously investigated, 1836," contains the most minute account of English sounds that I can find in pronouncing dictionaries, though very far below what is presented in Visible Speech or by Prof. Haldeman. It seemed therefore best to contrast his representation of the same passage, by turning out each word in his dictionary, and transliterating it into palaeotype. For this purpose it is necessary to identify his symbols as explained in his schemes and principles. The numbers of his symbols in the schemes, with the examples, are sufficient to identify them, so that their forms need not be given. The same numbers also refer to the paragraphs in his 'principles,' giving the detailed description, from which I am obliged to cite some passages, although the book is so well known and readily accessible. Mr. Smart is only responsible for what I put between inverted commas.

"SCHEME OF THE VOWELS."

"*The Alphabetic Vowels, by nature long, though liable to be short or shortened.*"

1. accented as in *g*ate, *g*ait, p*a*y. This sound is recognized as (*ee*'j), but made (eeɩi) by Smart, see (1108, *d*), or perhaps (ee'j).

2. unaccented as in *a*erial, ret*ai*l, gatew*ay*. "This tapering off into No. 4 cannot be heard in the unaccented alphabetic *a*, owing to its shorter quantity," it is therefore (e) short or (e^e) of medial length, probably the first in *a*erial, and the second in the other words. But I hear (*ee*twe'j), which, however, I suppose he takes as (geeɩi·twe^e). But see No. 13.

3. accented as in m*e*, m*ee*t, m*ea*t, is certainly (ii), but whether distinguished always from (*ii*) is uncertain.

4. unaccented as in d*e*fy, ped*i*gr*ee*, gall*ey*. "The quantity is not always equally short: in *pedigree*, for instance, it is not so short in the third syllable as in the second. Generally it is as short as No. 15, with which it is identical, except that No. 15 is essentially short, while the unaccented alphabetical No. 4 is by nature capable of quantity. The word *indivisibility* must in strict *theory* be said to have one and the same vowel-sound in each syllable; but *practical* views rendering the distinction necessary, we consider the vowel in three of the syllables [1st, 3rd, 5th], to be essentially short, and the vowel in the remaining four to be naturally long, although, from situation, quite as short as No. 15." Here then short (i, *i*) are confused. The 'practical views' are in fact that No. 15, the 'essentially short' (*i*), is found gliding on to a consonant, and No. 4, the 'essentially long' (i), is found at the end of a syllable. The distinction is false; in this word (*i*) occurs throughout, and (i) would give a strangely foreign effect, the sound being (*i*:ndi*j*vi:zi*j*bi li*j*ti), although (e^i) or (ə) might be used in the 2nd, 4th, 6th and 7th syllables rather

than (i). But in consequence of Smart's distinction, I shall transcribe his No. 4 by (i) as (*i*ndiv*i*zibíliti).

5. accented as in w*i*de, def*i*ed, def*y*. "This sound is diphthongal. In the mouth of a well-bred Londoner it begins with the sound heard in No. 39, but without sounding the *r*, and tapers off into No. 4." This gives (ə'i) or (ə'*i*); I take the former. Prince L. L. Bonaparte thinks that (œ'i) is meant. See below No. 19. "Some allege its composition to be No. 23 and No. 4," that is (âi, â*i*), "but this is northern; while others make it to be No. 25 and No. 4," that is (ʌ'i, ʌ'*i*), "which is still more rustic. The affirmation *ay* is, however, a union of the sounds 25 and 4, at least as that word is commonly pronounced; though in the House of Commons, in the phrase, 'the ayes have it,' it seems to be an ancient custom to pronounce the plural word as uniting the sounds Nos. 25, 4, 60 [=(ʌʌ·*i*z)], or as it might be written *oys*, rhyming with *boys*."

6. unaccented as in *i*dea, fortif*i*es, fortif*y*. "This unaccented sound differs from the foregoing by the remission of accent only." It is often, however, extremely short. It does not seem to occur to orthoepists generally that diphthongs may be very short indeed, and yet possess all their properties, with the relative lengths of their parts. In *likewise*, the first diphthong, although accented, is generally much shorter than the second; in *idea*, the diphthong is often scarcely touched, but is always quite sensible.

7. accented as in n*o*, b*oa*t, f*oe*, s*oul*, bl*ow*. "In a Londoner's mouth, it is not always quite simple, but is apt to contract towards the end, almost as oo in *too*." Now this seems to imply that the vanish to (u) is *not* received; that (*oo*) is intended, and (*óo*ˌu) unintentional. Still as he admits (*éc*ˌi), I shall take his No. 7 to be (*óo*ˌu).

8. unaccented as in *o*bey, follow. "In remitting the accent, and with accent its length, No. 8 preserves its specific quality, with no liability to the diphthongal character to which the accented sound is liable." Hence I transcribe (*o*).

9. accented as in c*u*be, d*ue*, s*uit*. "Though for practical purposes reckoned among the vowels, No. 9 is, in truth, the syllable yōō, composed of the consonant element 56 and the vowel element 27." This view gets over all phonetic difficulties, and is very rough. I transcribe (ɹuu).

10. unaccented as in *u*surp, ag*ue*. "Although a diphthong can scarcely lose in length, without losing its diphthongal character, yet a syllable composed of a consonant and a vowel may in general be something shortened." I transcribe (ɹu). The passage shews the vague phonetic knowledge which generally prevails.

"*The Essentially Short Vowels.*"

11. accented as in m*a*n, ch*a*pman. This "differs in quality as well as in quantity from both No. 1 or No. 2, and No. 23,—it is much nearer the latter than the former,—indeed so near, that in theory they are considered identical; but it is not, practically, so broad as No. 23." That is, his No. 11, which we must identify with (æ), lies between (eeˌi) or (e) and (a), but is theoretically identified with the latter. The way in which in dialectal writing (æ, a) are confused under one sign *a*, has caused me much trouble, and I have found many correspondents apparently unable to discover the difference in sound.

12. unaccented as in *a*ccept, chapm*a*n. This "differs in quality from the preceding by verging towards the sound of No. 19, its distinct utterance being near to No. 11, its obscure or colloquial utterance carrying it entirely into No. 19. In final syllables the more obscure sound prevails; in initial syllables the more distinct." Hence in the former I transcribe (ə^æ), in the latter (æ^ə). But these indicate helplessness on the part of the phonologist. Prince L. L. Bonaparte makes the former (ə) and the latter (œ), see No. 19.

13. accented as in l*e*nt. This "in theory is reckoned the same sound as No. 2. That it does not differ from it in quality may be perceived by the effect of a cursory pronunciation of *climate*, *ultimate*, etc., which reduce to *climet*, *ultimet*, etc." That is, Smart confuses (*e*, e), just as he confused (*i*, i), see No. 4. But while the confusion of (*e*, e) is tolerably possible, that of (*e*, ɛ) is barely so. Hence I transcribe No. 13 as (e), and not as (ɛ).

14. unaccented as in sil*e*nt. This "is liable to be sounded as No. 15." I transcribe (e), though perhaps (e') or even (*y*), to allow of confusion with (*i*),

might be more correct. But Smart may not have intended to recognize any intermediary between (e) and (i).

15. accented as in p*i*t. This "in theory is reckoned the same as No. 4, and that it does not much differ in quality may be perceived by the word *counterfeit*, in which No. 4 in the last syllable shortens itself into No. 15." This is (*i*) certainly.

16. unaccented as in sawp*i*t. This "differs from the foregoing by the remission of accent only," and will hence be also written (*i*).

17. accented as in n*o*t, common. This "in theory is reckoned the same as No. 25, and that it does not differ in quality may be perceived by observing that *salt*, *fault*, etc., though pronounced with No. 25 in slow utterance, are liable to be shortened into No. 17." That is, Smart confuses (ʌ, ɔ) just as he confused (*e*, e) and (i, *i*). Yet he speaks of (ʌʌ) as a *broad*, not a *lengthened*, utterance of *o* in *cost*, *broth*, etc., and recommends a "medium between the extremes." Hence I transcribe 17 as (ʌ), 25 as (ʌʌ), and this "medium" as (ʌᴬ).

18. unaccented as in p*o*llute, command, common. This "differs in quality from the preceding by verging towards the sound No. 19, more or less, according as the pronunciation is solemn or colloquial. In final syllables the sound No. 19 under the character *o* is, in general, so decided, that even in the most solemn speaking any other sound would be pedantic." These cases he marks especially, as in common, and I transcribe (ə) simply. "In initial and other syllables, the sound preserves its character with some distinctness, as in pollute, pomposity, demonstration;" here then I transcribe (ə^{ə}), "yet even in these we find a great tendency to the sound No. 19, and in the prefix *com-* the tendency is still stronger." Wherever he marks this stronger tendency to indistinctness, I transcribe (ə) rather than (ə^{ə}). Prince L. L. Bonaparte thinks that (ʊ) is meant by the *o* in pollute, and (ɔ̈) by the *o* in common, see No. 19.

19. accented as in n*u*t, c*u*stard. "No. 19, No. 39 (without sounding the *r*), and No. 24, are all, in theory, the same, the last however more or less approaching the sound No. 23, according as the speaker is more or less distinct. They are all modifications of what may be called the natural vowel, —that is to say, the vowel which is uttered in the easiest opening of the mouth." But whether these 'modifications' are (ə, ɜ, ʊ, əh), etc., there is nothing to shew. Hence I transcribe No. 19 by (ə), which, to me, approaches most to the natural vowel, and No. 24 by (ə^{ə}). Prince L. L. Bonaparte, who has made a careful study of Smart, writes to me: "Although in your transcription of Smart (ə) is the only one of the four signs (ɜ, ə, ʊ, ɔ̈) which occurs, it seems to me that Smart represents (ɜ) by No. 24 *a* in mann*a*, (ə) by the first No. 12 or *a* in *a*ccept, (ʊ) by the first No. 18 or *o* in pollute, and (ɔ̈) by No. 19 *u* in n*u*t, or by the second No. 12 *a* in chapm*a*n, and second No. 18 *o* in comm*o*n. The three signs, No. 19, the second No. 12, and the first No. 18, see also No. 20, are synonymous. They represent Smart's 'natural vowel,' which is, as he says in No. 19, merely *ur* without sounding the final *r*. In No. 36 he says that *er*, *ir*, *or*, *ur*, *yr*, are necessarily pronounced *ur*. Hence the words *sir*, *bird*, *first*, see No. 35, contain Smart's natural vowel, your (ɔ̈), and not your (ə). In fact, Smart says that the first No. 12 is to No. 24 as No. 11 is to No. 23, see Nos. 12 and 24, and that No. 24 is a mean between Nos. 19 and 23, just as the first No. 12 is between Nos. 11 and 19. He also says in No. 18, that the first sound of No. 18 lies between No. 17 and No. 19. Hence the first sound of No. 18 is (ʊ), in the same way as No. 24 is (ɜ), and the first No. 12 is (ə), and the second No. 12, second No. 18 and No. 19, are (ɔ̈), which is his natural vowel." This is extremely ingenious, and logically worked out, but it depends on the hypothesis that Smart pronounced No. 19 with the same vowel that Bell used in pronouncing *err* (ɔ̈), which is different from the vowel Bell used in pronouncing *urn up* (ɜ). And Smart's No. 35 leads me to suppose that he did not understand the nature of Bell's distinction (ɔ̈, ɜ), although he felt that there was some distinction. I doubt much indeed whether Smart had any clear conception of the four different sounds (ə, ɜ, ʊ, ɔ̈), which seem to have been first discriminated by Mr. M. Bell, as the result of his theory of lingual distinctions. And hence I feel that to write Smart's key-words, No.

12 *a*ccept chapm*a*n, No. 18 pollute comm*o*n, No. 19 n*u*t, No. 24 p*a*pa, mann*a*, Mess*i*ah, as (əkse·pt tshæ·pmən; pul|ɹuu·t kə·mən, nət, pəpaa· mæ·nɜ Mesə'i·ɜ), although possibly correct, is very probably incorrect. I do *not* think he said (nət), though this *is* a cockneyism. I do *not* think he said (pəpaa· mæ·nɜ), for unaccented (ɜ) is very rare and very ugly. I do *not* think he said (əkse·pt), though he may have said (pul|ɹuu·t). In this state of doubt, I have chosen symbols which seem to mark his own uncertainty, on the principle of (1107, *d*), namely, (æᵃkse·pt tshæ·pmaᵃᵉn; poᵃl|ɹuu·t kə·məᵃn, nət, pəᵃpaa· mæ·nəᵃ Mesə'i·əᵃ), where the double sign in fact represents that the sound was felt to be intermediate in each case, but to have *more* of that represented by the large letter, though Smart would allow either sound to be used purely; but if so, he thought that of the large letter preferable. Except as regards *nut*, which *may* have been Mr. Bell's (ɜ) rather than my (ə), and may really have been in Mr. Smart's mouth (ɔ),—though I can hardly think the last probable,—I have no reasonable doubt as to the propriety of my symbols. I thought it right, however, to give the Prince's very ingenious hypothesis. He was at the pains to transcribe the whole example according to his theory; but the reader can so readily supply the necessary changes that I have not given it.

20. unaccented as in walnut, circus. This "differs from the preceding only by the remission of accent," and is hence transcribed (ə).

21. accented as in *g*ood, h*o*od, "an incidental vowel." This, "essentially short, is, in other respects, identical with No. 27, the most contracted sound in the language." That is, Smart confuses (u, *u*) as he had previously confused (e, *e*; i, *i*; ʌ, ɔ). It is necessary to transcribe (u), though I much doubt his having ever used it for No. 21 in actual speech.

22. unaccented as in childh*o*od, "an incidental vowel." This "differs from the preceding only by the remission of accent," and is hence transcribed (u).

"*The Remaining Incidental Vowels, by nature long, though liable to be shortened.*"

23. accented as in pap*a*, the interj. *ah*. "In almost all languages but the English, this is the alphabetic sound of letter *a*." It is transcribed (aa).

24. unaccented as in p*a*pa, mann*a*, Mess*i*ah. This "differs from the preceding [No. 23] not only in quantity but in quality, by verging to the natural vowel [No. 19], and in colloquial utterance quite identifying with it. It fluctuates between No. 23 and this natural vowel No. 19, just as ă [*a* in chapm*a*n, the second No. 12] fluctuates between No. 11 and No. 19." It is transcribed (əᵃ), see No. 19. Prince L. L. Bonaparte thinks that (ɜ) is meant, see No. 19. Smart uses No. 24 for French *e muet* in such words as *coup de grace*, *aide de camp*, which seems due to orthographical prejudice, as *dü* might have led the ordinary reader to say (dɹu).

25. accented as in l*aw*, the noun sub. *awe*, etc. This is (ʌʌ) without doubt.

26. unaccented as in jackd*aw*. This "differs from the preceding by remission of accent, and such shortening of its quantity as it will bear," by which I understand that it is generally medial (ʌᴬ).

27. accented as in p*oo*l. "The sound of the letter *u* in Italian and many other languages," that is (uu).

28. unaccented as in whirlp*oo*l, cuck*oo*. This "differs from the preceding by the remission of the accent, and such reduction of quantity as it will bear so as not to identify with No. 22, for *whirlpool* must not be pronounced as if it were *whirlpull*. Where, however, it is not followed in the same syllable by a consonant, as in *cuckoo*, *luxury*, it may be as short as utterance can make it." Here the nemesis of confusing (u, *u*) appears. It will be necessary to transcribe (uᵘ) in the first case, as of medial length, and (u) in the second. He writes (lək·sh|ɹuə'ri), which is extremely artificial.

29. accented as in t*oi*l, b*oy*. This "is a diphthongal sound whose component parts are Nos. 25 and 4." That is, it is (ʌʌ'i).

30. unaccented as in turm*oi*l, foot-b*oy*. This "differs from the preceding by the remission of accent, but its diphthongal nature prevents any perceptible difference in quantity," so that the transcription (ʌʌ'i) will be retained.

31. accented as in n*ow*n, n*ow*, br*ow*n. This "a diphthongal sound of whose component parts are Nos. 23 and 27; at least, is the former of the two component sounds nearer to No. 23 than No. 25, though Walker makes the combination to be Nos. 25 and 27." That is, Smart analyses it as (âau), and not as (AA'u). He certainly could not have said (âau) with the first element long, but he had no means of writing (âu). Walker says: "The first or proper sound of this diphthong is composed of the *a* in *ball*, and the *oo* in *woo*, rather than the *u* in *bull*," that is (AA' uu). It will be seen that Mr. I. Pitman (p. 1183, key) uses ou =(ɔ'u) as his analysis of the diphthong down to this day. I have never heard it in received pronunciation.

32. unaccented, as in pron*ou*n, nutbr*ow*n. This "differs from the preceding only by the remission of accent," and hence (âau) is retained as the transcription.

"*The Vowels which terminate in Guttural Vibration, by nature long, though liable to be shortened.*"

33. accented, equivalent to No. 23 and *r*, as in *ar*dent, that is, "No. 23, terminating in guttural vibration, ... there is no trill, but the tongue being curled back during the progress of the vowel preceding it, the sound becomes guttural, while a slight vibration of the back part of the tongue is perceptible in the sound." I don't pretend to understand any part of this observation. He also says: "the letter *r* is sometimes a consonant, ... and sometimes a guttural vowel-sound," and "that the trill of the tongue *may* be used wherever the following dictionary indicates the guttural vibration, is not denied; but it cannot be used at such places without carrying to correct ears an impression of peculiar habits in the speaker,—either that he is foreign or provincial, Irish or Scotch, a copier of bad declaimers on the stage, or a speaker who in correcting one extreme has unwarily incurred another. The extreme among the vulgar in London doubtlessly is, to omit the *r* altogether —to convert far into (faa), hard into (HHaad), cord into (KAAd), lord into (LAAd), etc.;—an extreme which must be avoided as carefully as the strong trill of *r* in an improper place." Under these circumstances I transcribe (') for the "guttural vibration," or "guttural vowel-sound," whatever that may be, and own myself, and almost every one I hear speak, to belong to the extreme of the vulgar in saying (aa) for (aa'), although I often hear and say (aa[r). Hence No. 33 will be (aa').

34. unaccented as in *ar*cade, doll*ar*. This "differs from the preceding, both in quantity (though this cannot be much) and in quality, by verging towards unaccented No. 39. Indeed when the letters *ar* occur in a final unaccented syllable, as in *dollar*, it would be a puerile nicety to attempt distinctness." I transcribe (aa^{ə}'), when he writes "ar equivalent to" No. 23 followed by the guttural vibration, that is, the sound (aa) merely verging to (ə'); and (ə') otherwise.

35. accented as in *er*mine, v*ir*tue. This "lies between Nos. 41 and 39, and in mere theory would not be distinguished from the former." I shall transcribe it (e'), though I am sure that it is usually a perfectly simple vowel-sound, and Smart gives no means of exactly determining it. Of course he may have distinguished it as (œ'). See No. 19.

36. unaccented as in comm*er*ce, lett*er*, nad*ir*. This "is scarcely ever heard without some corruption of its quality in a final syllable, where the letters *er*, *ir*, *or*, *ur*, *yr*, will almost necessarily be pronounced ur," No. 39. "This necessity is less in some words than in others, in *commerce*, for instance, than in *letter*." Hence I transcribe (e^{ə}', ə') in the two cases.

37. accented as in *or*der. This, "which is equivalent to No. 25 and r," that is to (AA'), "occurs frequently in the language, often requiring to be distinguished from No. 47. For instance *form* (fAA'm), meaning figure, must be distinguished in pronunciation from *form* (foo·ə'm), meaning a bench." I transcribe (AA'), though I generally hear (AA) or (AA[r).

38. unaccented as in stup*or* or in sail*or*. This "is seldom distinct." I transcribe (AA^{ə}') and (ə') according to his marks, on the principle of No. 34.

39. accented as in *ur*gent. This "is the natural vowel terminating in the guttural vibration," and is transcribed (ə'), though how this differs from (ə) or ('h), or any one of the sounds discussed in No. 19, it is difficult to say.

40. unaccented as in sulph*ur*. This

"differs from the preceding only by the remission of accent," and is, therefore, still transcribed (ə').

41. accented as in m*a*re, "equivalent to Nos. 1 and 39," that is (éeı·ə'), but surely the (ı i) must be omitted and at least (ee·ə') said, and this is strange. I transcribe (ee·ə').

42. unaccented as in welf*a*re, "equivalent to Nos. 2 and 39," that is (eə').

43. accented as in m*e*re, "equivalent to Nos. 3 and 39," that is (iə').

44. unaccented as in atmosph*e*re, "equivalent to Nos. 4 and 39," that is (iə').

45. accented as in m*í*re, "equivalent to Nos. 5 and 39," that is (ə'ī·ə').

46. unaccented as in emp*i*re, "equivalent to Nos. 6 and 39," that is (ə'iə').

47. accented as in m*o*re, "equivalent to Nos. 7 and 39," that is (*oo*ıu·ə'), meaning, perhaps, (*oo*·ə'), as the (ı u) could not have been used, see No. 41.

48. unaccented as in therefo*r*e, equivalent to Nos. 8 and 39," that is, (*oə*').

49. accented as in m*u*re, "equivalent to Nos. 9 and 39," or (ɹuu·ə').

50. unaccented as in fig*u*re, "equivalent to Nos. 10 and 39," or (ɹuə').

51. accented as in p*oo*r, "equivalent to Nos. 27 and 39," or (uu·ə').

52. unaccented as in black-a-m*oo*r, "equivalent to Nos. 28 and 39," or (uə').

53. accented as in p*ow*er, "equivalent to Nos. 31 and 39," or (ǎau·ə').

54. unaccented, as in cauli-fl*ow*er, "equivalent to Nos. 32 and 39," or (ǎauə').

In reference to Nos. 41 to 54—of which it is said, "it is only by being followed by guttural vibration that these sounds differ respectively from Nos. 1 to 10, 27, 28, 31, and 32"—it should be remembered that Mr. Smart does not distinguish properly between (i *í*, *e e*, *o o*, u *u*), and hence the changes which Mr. Bell, myself, and others notice (1099, *a'*) in the action of the diphthongising ('h) upon preceding (i, *e*, *o*, *u*), were necessarily passed over by Mr. Smart. He says indeed: "It has been said that there is a palpable difference between the vowel-sound in *payer*, *player*, *slayer*, and that in *care*, *fair*, *hair*, *share*. What difference may be made in New York I know not; but I know that none is made in London, nor can be made without that peculiar effect which shows an effort to distinguish what in general is necessarily undistinguishable," but that he did feel a difference is, I think, certain from the following remarks: "Identical, however, as they are, except as regards the peculiarity noticed, the practical necessity for considering them distinct elements will be perceived in the comparison of the first syllables of *va-rious*, *se-rious*, *fi-ring*, *to-ry*, *fu-ry*, with the first syllables of *va-cant*, *se-cant*, *fi-nal*, *to-tal*, *fu-gitive;* an identity of these syllables in pronunciation is decidedly provincial; the true utterance of the former is *vare-ious*, *sere-ious*," etc., with Nos. 41 and 43, etc. "The difference in view will be rendered intelligible to those familiar with French pronunciation, by comparing the sound of *dear* pronounced correctly as an English word, with that of *dire* pronounced correctly as a French word. In both the vowel commences after the *d* precisely in the same way, but in the French word it remains pure, unmixed with the *r*, which begins a new syllable formed with what is called the mute *e*, the word being pronounced (dii·rəᵃ)," [vowels Nos. 3 and 24,] "or nearly so; while in the English word, the sound of the *r* (not the trilled *r* as in French) blends itself with the *e* during its progress." [I hear French (ˌdiir), English (d*ii*'), or (d*ii*'r) before a vowel.] "So also in *dear-ly*, *care-ful*, etc., the addition of a syllable beginning with a consonant distinct from the *r* making no difference to the previous syllable, the *r* in that previous syllable blends itself with the vowel exactly as in *dear*, *care*, etc.; and the only difference between *dear-ly*, *care-ful*, etc., and *va-rious*, *se-rious*, *fi-ry*, *to-ry*, *fu-ry*, etc., is, that in the latter the *r*, besides blending itself with the previous vowel, is also heard in the articulation of the vowel which begins the following syllable." [Hence I feel bound to transcribe (vee·ə'riəs, sii·ə'riəs), etc., where I seem to say and hear (vee'·riəs, s*ii*'·riəs), etc.] "Of this blending of the *r* with the previous vowel, it is further to be observed that the union is so smooth in polite utterance as to make it imperceptible where one ends and the other begins;" [meaning, I suppose, that the diphthong is perfect, no interruption occurring in the glide, not even a slur, thus (eeə') not (ee‿ə'), although his careful interposition of the accent mark (ee·ə'), instead of putting it at the close (eeə'·), gives a different impression, and always leads me to read

with a slur (ee⌣ə');] "while in vulgar pronunciation the former vowel breaks abruptly into the guttural sound, or into the vowel No. 24 used for the guttural," [meaning, I suppose, (ee·ɹə', ee·,ə'), or (ee·ɹəᵃ, ee·,əᵃ).] "Among mere cocknies this substitution of No. 24 for No. 34, or No. 40, is a prevailing characteristic, and should be corrected by all who wish to adapt their habits to those of well-bred life." [Here he again becomes mysterious, separating his guttural vibration from his guttural vowel, with which he identified it in No. 33. As far as I can observe, and I have been constantly observing the use of *r* by Englishmen for many years, this distinction is founded in error. I can understand, and hear, (ə, ər₍, ər, ʊ, ʊr₍, ʊr, 'h, 'r₍, 'r), but the difference (əᵃ, ə') escapes me.] "It is, moreover, remarkable of these elements that each will pass on the ear either as one or two syllables, and this is signified in the schemes by the equivalent indication ä'ur, ï'ur," [=No. 1, accent, No. 39; and No. 5, accent, No. 39; or (ee·ə', ə'i·ə')], "where the mark of accent placed over the former part gives it the appearance of the first of two syllables, while the omission of the hyphen shows that the whole is pronounced as one." He refers here to No. 134, where he says, that: "*pay-er* and *may-or; li-ar, buy-er*, and *high-er; slow-er* and *grow-er; su-er* and *new-er; tru-er, brew-er*, and *do-er; bow-er* and *flow-er;* are perfect rhymes to *mare, hire, lore, cure, poor*, and *hour*." To me (peeɹʊ, lə'iɹʊ, bə'iɹʊ, ʜə'iɹʊ, sloo·ɹʊ, groo·ɹʊ, sïû·ɹʊ, nïû·ɹʊ, truu·ɹʊ, bruu·ɹʊ, duu·ɹʊ, bə'uɹʊ, flə'uɹʊ), where ⌣ might be used for ɹ, are always dissyllabic; but *mayor* = *mare* precisely, = (mee'), and (loo', kïû', puu') are distinctly monosyllabic, though diphthongal, while *hire, hour*, involving triphthongs, are looser respecting the final, so that (ʜə'ï, ə'ü') or (ʜə'i⌣'h, ə'u⌣'h) may be heard, but *not* (ʜə'iɹʊ, ə'uɹʊ) in two syllables, according to present usage. For past usage see examples from Shakspere, p. 951. I acknowledge having heard Mr. Smart's semi-dissyllabism in some elderly people, and was much struck by it in the late Sir John Bowring's evidently much studied pronunciation, but I cannot recognize it in my own generation, and I was born in 1814.

55. "a slight semi-consonant sound between No. 4 and No. 58, heard in the transition from certain consonant to certain vowel sounds: as in l'ute, j'ew, nat'ure, g'arment, k'ind." This "is a sound so short and slight as to be lost altogether in the mouth of an unpolished speaker, who says (luut, dzhuu, néeᵢi·tshuə'), or more commonly (néeᵢi·-tshə'), garment, kind, etc., for *l'ute, j'ew*, etc. On the other hand, there are persons who, to distinguish themselves from the vulgar, pronounce No. 58 distinctly on the occasions which call for this slighter sound of No. 58 or No. 4. This *affected* pronunciation," [which he writes l⌣yoot, j⌣yoo, na'-ch⌣yoor, g⌣yar'ment, k⌣yind.] "be it observed, is to be avoided with as much care as the slight sound, which in the mouth of an elegant speaker *naturally* slides in between the consonant and the vowel, is to be imitated." I believe the sounds he means are (lᵢíût, dzhᵢíû, néeᵢi·tshᵢíû', gjaa'meᵢnt, kjə'ind), but, in consequence of No. 58, I transcribe this "semi-consonant" by (ᵢɹ). As respects its use after (sh), Prof. Haldeman says: "If, by the conversion of *i* into English *y* or *zh*, o-be-di-ent becomes o-be-dyent (the writer's mode of speaking) or o-be-dzhent, no speaker of real English can preserve *both dzh* and *i;* yet Walker has coined a jargon with such forms as o-be-je-ent, and cris-tshe-án-e-te. Similarly if 'omniscient' has an *s*, it has four syllables; if *sh*, it has but three. Compare the dissyllables Russia, Asia, conscience, and the trissyllables militia, malicious" (Anal. Orth. art. 311). Smart, using the transcriptions suggested, writes (*o*-bii·-dient = *o*-biid·-ɹent, krist·-ɹəᵉⁿn), colloquially (krist·-shᵢɹəᵉⁿn), where the separation of (t-sh) is inorganic, (kris:-ti-æn·-i-ti, AM-nish·-i-ent, AM-nis·-si-ens, Ee'ᵢish·-ɹəᵉⁿn Ee:-shi-æt·-ík, Rəsh·-ᵢɹəᵉⁿn, kAn·-shᵢɹens, mi-lísh·-ᵢɹəᵃ, mæᵃ-lísh·-ᵢɹəs). I seem to say (obii·dí⌣ʊnt, krí·sᵢt shʊn, krí:stᵢæ·nïti krí:sᵢt shᵢæ·nïti, əmnísh·i⌣ʊnt, əmnísh·i⌣ʊns, *Ee*·shʊ *Ee*:shᵢæ·tík, Rə·shʊn, ko·nshʊns, mílí·shʊ, mulí·shəs). It seems that many of these changes of (s) into (sh) through (i) are in a state of transition, and that the stages are (-si-ʊ, -s-ɹʊ, -shi-ʊ, -shí-ʊ, -shʊ), and that those speakers who have learned to speak in any prior state have a sort of repulsion against a following one, and will never submit to it,—when they think of it,

that is, in 'careful speaking,'—leaving the change to be accomplished by the rising or some following generation. The admission of all pronunciations as now coexisting, instead of the stigmatisation of some as vulgar or as wrong, marks the peculiarity of my standpoint, whence I try to see what *is*, rather than decide what *should be*.

"SCHEME OF THE CONSONANTS."

56. "h, as in *h*and, per*h*aps, ve*h*ement, is a propulsion of breath, which becomes vocal in the sound which follows it, this following sound being hence called aspirated." As 'propulsion' may be an 'elegant' translation of 'jerk,' I transcribe (ʜ|h). "And the sound which follows is in our language always a vowel, except *w* and *y*; for *w* is aspirated in *wheat*, *whig*, etc., which are pronounced *hwēat*, *hwĭg*, etc., and *y* is aspirated in *hew*, *huge*, etc., which are pronounced *hyōō*, *hyōōge*, etc." Hence I transcribe (ʜ|hwiit, ʜ|hɹuudzh). "It is to be further noted that the aspirate is never heard in English except at the beginning of syllables;" [that (*iz*s) is really (*iz*|h), and might therefore be well called a final aspirate, naturally never occurred to him,] "and that in the following and all their derivatives *h* is silent: *heir*, *honest*, *honour*, *hostler*, *hour*, *humble*, and *humour*." The two last words are now most frequently aspirated, just as Smart aspirates *herb*, *hospital*, which may still be heard unaspirated from well-educated people. I heard a physician, speaking at a hospital public meeting lately, constantly say (ɔ'spitəl).

57. "w, beginning a syllable without or with aspiration, as in *we*, be*w*are, fro*w*ard, *w*heat equivalent to h*w*ēat, is a consonant having for its basis the most contracted of the vowel-sounds, namely No. 27, which sound, being partially obstructed by an inward action of the lips, and then given off by an outward action, is changed from a vowel to a consonant. A comparison of the French word *oui*, as a Frenchman pronounces it (viz. No. 28, No. 3, accent), with the English word *we* as an Englishman pronounces it, will show the difference between the vowel and the consonant." This is (w).

58. "y, beginning a syllable as in *y*ou, and this sound is always to be understood as present in Nos. 9, 10, 50, which are equivalent to y, with Nos. 27, 28, and 52, is a consonant, having for its basis the slenderest of the vowel-sounds, namely, No. 3," [what is the precise difference between "the slenderest" and "the most contracted" of the vowel-sounds? Who would imagine them to be respectively (ii, uu) and *not* (uu, ii)?] "which sound being partially obstructed by an inward action of the jaw carrying the back of the tongue against the soft palate, and then given off by an outward action, is changed by these actions from a vowel into a consonant. When very slightly uttered, with little of the organic action, and therefore resuming much of the character of a vowel, it is No. 55." Hence, I transcribe No. 58 by (ɹ), and No. 55 by (|ɹ).

59. "s and ss; also c or sc before e or i, as in *s*ell, *s*it, ma*ss*; *c*ell, fa*c*e, *c*it, *sc*ene, *sc*ience," is (s).

60. "z, zz, ze, as in *z*eal, bu*zz*, ma*ze*," is (z).

61. "sh as in mĭ*sh*'-un, so spelled to signify the pronunciation of mission," is (sh).

62. "zh as in vĭ*zh*'-un, so spelled to signify the pronunciation of vision," is (zh).

63. "ch, tch, as in *ch*air, ea*ch*, ma*tch*," is (tsh), see No. 64.

64. "j; and also g before e or i, as in *j*og; *g*em, a*g*e, *g*in," is (dzh). Nos. 63 and 64 "are not simple consonants, the former being t and sh, and the latter d and zh." Prince L. L. Bonaparte considers that Smart's observations in No. 147 tend to shew that, notwithstanding this statement, Smart really analysed (tshj, dzhj). But to me Smart's observations only relate to the use of (tsh|ɹ, dzh|ɹ), as he says in Nos. 61, 62, 63, and 64, that these consonants are "unable to take the consonant y [No. 58] into fluent union, and therefore either absorb the y entirely, or reduce it to the slighter element" No. 55, here transcribed (|ɹ). Of the possible reduction of (sh|ɹ) into (shj), he seems to have had no clear conception. Thus, he takes no notice of (lj nj). His *coup d'œil*, *bagnio* are (kuudɔᵃ·l', bœn·ɹo). But his habit of speech may have been different from his analysis. This is often the case. Thus Mr. Murray and myself analyse my own pronunciation of "long *ā*" differently (1109, *d*).

65. "f, ff, fe, as in *f*og, cu*ff*, li*fe*," is (f).

66. "v, ve, as in *v*ain, lo*ve*," is (v).

67. "*th*, as in *th*in, pi*th*," is (th).

68. "th, the, as in *th*em, wi*th*, brea*the*," is (dh).

69. "l, ll, le, as in *l*et, mi*ll*, sa*le*," is (l). The last syllable of *able*, *idle*, he says, is "a syllable indeed without a vowel, except to the eye," adding in a note, "*A-ble*, *e-vil*, *ma-son*, *broken*, etc., although heard with only one vowel, are as manifestly two syllables to the ear (all our poetry proves it) as any dissyllable in the language."

70. "m, mm, me, as in *m*ay, ha*mm*er, bla*me*," is (m).

71. "n, nn, ne, as in *n*o, ba*nn*er, tu*ne*," is (n).

72. "ng, as in ri*ng*," is (q).

73. "r, rr, as audibly beginning a syllable or being one of a combination of consonants that begin a syllable, as in *r*ay, e*r*ect, flo*r*id (=flo*rr*id), to*rr*id, p*r*ay, sp*r*ead. Under other circumstances, the letter is a sign of mere guttural vibration." This "is an utterance of voice acted upon by a trill or trolling of the tongue against the upper gum." Again, in No. 33, he speaks of *r* in *r*ay, etc., as "formed by a strong trill of the tongue against the upper gum." [This would be (ˌr), but I shall transcribe (r), as I have transcribed (n), see No. 78. But that the trill is *strong* is 'strongly' opposed to Mr. M. Bell's untrilled (r̥).] "The trill in which the utterance of this consonant mainly consists, is often faultily produced by the back of the tongue against the soft palate" [meaning the uvula, which is the real vibrator, against the back of the tongue], "so formed, it makes the noise called the burr in the throat, a characteristic of Northumbrian pronunciation, and not unfrequent in particular places and many families elsewhere." The burr is (*r*), the dental trill is (ˌr).

74. "p, pp, pe, as in *p*op, su*pp*er, ho*pe*," is (p).

75. "b, bb, be, as in *b*ob, ru*bb*er, ro*be*," is (b).

76. "k, ck, ke; also c final, and c before a, o, or u, or a consonant, as in *k*ing, ha*ck*, ba*ke*; anti*c*, *c*at, *c*ot, *c*ut, *c*laim," is (k).

77. "g, before a, o, or u, or a consonant, as in *g*ap, *g*ot, *g*un, *g*uess, pla*gu*e, *g*rim," is (g).

78. "t, tt, te, as in *t*en, ma*tt*er, ma*te*, is an utterance of breath confined behind the tongue by a close junction of the tip of the tongue and the upper gum, the breath therefore being quite inaudible, till the organs separate to explode, either the breath simply as in *ăt*, or the breath vocalised as in *too*." If the contact with the *gum* is to be taken literally, I must transcribe (ˌt), and must then have (ˌr, ˌd, ˌn). I am inclined to believe, however, that in all cases Smart was contenting himself with old definitions, instead of making independent observations; and hence I shall use (r, t, d, n).

79. "d, dd, de, as in *d*en, ma*dd*er, ma*de*," in consequence of what is said in No. 78, I transcribe (d). See No. 78.

As Smart makes no difference in meaning when a consonant is doubled, I shall not double consonants in transcribing, and in consequence I shall not divide syllabically, as this would be impossible on his plan without such reduplications. Smart distinguishes two accents, primary and secondary, which I transcribe as (ˈ) and (ˌ), and place after the vowel or after the consonant as he has done. With regard to monosyllables, he says (art. 176) that they are all "exhibited as having *accented* vowel-sounds." But as he makes unemphatic *a*=No. 24 or (ə^a^), *me*=Nos. 70 and 4, or (mi), *your*=(jəˈ), *am*, *was had*, *shall*, *and*, =(ə^æ^m, wəz, ʜ|hə^æ^d, shə^æ^l, ə^æ^nd), *for*=(fəˈ), *of*=(əv), *from*=(frəm); *my*, *by*=(mi, bi), and *thy* "among people who familiarly use it"=(dhi), and *the*=(dhi) before a vowel and (dhə^a^) before a consonant, and *you* "in the accusative case and not emphatic"=(ji) or (jə), I shall so transcribe them in the connected passage, but I omit the hyphens.

Some of the words in the example are not in Smart's Dictionary, such as *graphical*, *phonetic*, *linguistical*, and inflexions and derivatives, such as *its*, *printed*, etc. His pronunciation of these has been inferred from *graphic graphically*, *phonology mimetic*, *linguist sophistical*, and the simple words. Altogether I believe that the transcription fairly represents the original.

COMPARATIVE SPECIMEN OF INDIVIDUAL SYNTHETIC

A. J. ELLIS.

See pp. 1091–1173.

Dhu-ri·t'n un-pri·ntyd
re:prizentee·shun u-dhu-sə'u·nz
uv-læ·qwyd‚zh‚sh, bi·mii·nz uv-
kæ·ryktuzs, whi·t‚sh-ur
i:nsufi·shunt, both-in-kə'i·nd
un-nə·mbu-r, un-whi·t‚sh
mus-dhee'·fʌ bii:-kumbə'i·nd ʌ-
mə·difə'id, if-wi-wud-gi·v u-
græ·fikul si:mbulizee·shun u-
dhu-fone·tik e·lumunts widh-
oo·nli sə·m-digrii: uv-
egzæ·knys 'n-kunvii·nijuns,
huz-bii·n, frum-ʌʌ·l tə'im, fu-
nee·shunz uz-we·l-uz
i:ndivi·diiú‚ulzs,
liqgwi·stikul stiúu·dunts
nət ekse·ptyd, wə·n-
u-dhu mos-ne·sesuri
un-wə·n-u-dhu mos-
di·fik'lt uv-prə·blumzs, un-
uzs-kə·nsikwuntli skee'·sli
e·vu bin-hæ·pili solvd. Let-
dhi·s tii·t‚sh-us dhut-dhi-
jinve·nshun uv-rə'i·tiq, dhu-
gree·tyst un-moo·st
impʌʌ·tunt inve·nshun
whi·t‚sh dhu-ɹhuu·mun mə'ind
uz-e·vu meed, un-whi·t‚sh,
æz-it-indii·d ʌʌ·lmost
eksii·dz its-stre·qth,
huz-bin-oo·f'n un-
nə·t ə·nd‚zhə:sli utri·biiútyd
tu-dhu-gə·dz; lə'i·k-dhi
ʌʌ·guniz'm uv-u-stee·t, ut-wə·ns
si·mp'l-'n kə·mpleks, i·z-nət-
dhu wəə·k-uv i·ndivi:diiú‚ulzs,
bət-uv-se·ntiúrizs, puhæ·ps-
uv thə'u·zunz-uv ɹii'zs.

Prof. S. S. HALDEMAN.

See pp. 1186–1196.

Dhə ⌊ritn ynd p⌊rintyd
⌊repɹizentee·shyn yv dhə sáwndz
yv læqgwidzh báɹ minz yv
kæ·⌊ryktɹz, whwitsh aɪ
insəfi·shynt, both in káɹnd
yn nə·mbɹ, ynd whwitsh məst
dhɛɹfoɹ bi kəmbáynd ʌᴬɪ
mədyfáɹd if wi wud giv ə
g⌊ræ·fikl simbl‚izeshyn yv
dhə fonetik e·lymynts widh
o·nli səm dig⌊rii· yv
egzæktnes ynd kənvii·nɹyns,
hhæz bin, fɹəm ʌl táɹm fʌᴬɪ
ne·shynz əz wel yz
indyvidɹuylz [indyvidzhylz]
liqgwistikl stɹu·dnts
nət ekse·ptyd wən [wən]
yv dhə most ne·sysy⌊ri
ynd wən yv dhy most
difikylt yv p⌊rəblymz, ynd
hhæz kənsikwyntli skɛ·ɹsli
evɹ bin hhæpyli sʌᴬlvd. Let
dhis tiitsh əs dhət dhə
invɛnshyn yv ⌊ráɹtiq, dhə
g⌊rətyst n most
impʌᴬ·ɹtnt inve·nshyn
whwitsh dhə ɹhɹuu·myn máɹnd
hhæz e·vɹ med, ynd whwitsh,
æz it indii·d ʌʌlmost
eksii·dz its streqth [strenth?]
hhæz bin ʌᴬfn [ofn] ynd
nət əndzhə·stli æt⌊ri·bɹytyd
tə dhə gʌᴬdz; láɹk dhə
oɹgynizm yv ə stət, æt wəns
si·mpl yn kəmpleks, iz nət
dhə wəɹk yv indyvi·dɹuylz
bət yv se·ntɹ‚hɹ‚əɹiz pyɹhhæps
yv thówzndz yv ɹiiɪz.

PRONUNCIATION OF ENGLISH IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY.

H. SWEET.

See p. 1196.

Dh'-ri·tn-'n-pri·nte¹d-
RE:pr'z'ntéy·sh'n-'v-dh' sɔɔ'o·ndz
-'v-læ·qqgwe¹dzh ·bɐ'y-miiɟ·nz-'v
-kæ·re¹ktəhz wi:tsh-'r-
i:ns'fi·sh'nt b,óo$_u$:th-e¹n-kɐɐ'y·nd-
'n-nɜ·mmbəh 'nd-wi·tsh-m'st-
dhEɐ'əh:f'hw-be¹-k'mbɐɐ'y·nd-'hw-
m,ɔ·de¹fɐ'yd i:f-we¹-w,ud-gi:v-'h-
græ·fe¹k'l-si:mb'lɐ'yzéy·sh'n-'v-
dh'-f,onE·te¹k-E·l'm'nts w'dh-
,oo'o$_u$:nle¹-sɜ·mm-de¹griiɟ:-'v-
e¹gzæ·ktne¹s-'n-k'nviiɟ·nɟ'ns
HH'z-biiɟ:n-fr'm-AA·l-tɐɐy:m f'-
néy·sh'nz 'z-WE:ll-'z-
i:nnde¹vi·dzh,u'lz,
liqqgwi·ste¹k'l -stɟuuw·d'nts-
n,ɔ:tt-e¹ksE·pte¹d wɜ:nn-
'v-dh'-m,óo$_u$:st-NE·s'sre¹
'nd-wɜ:nn-'v-dh'-m,óo$_u$:st-
di·fe¹k'lt-'v-pr,ɔbble¹mz, 'nd-
'z-k,ɔ·nse¹kw'ntle¹ skEɐ'əh·sle¹
E·vəh-biɟn-HHæ·p'le¹-s,ɔ·llvd. LEtt
-dhi:s-tiɟ·tsh-'s dh't-dh'-
e¹nvE·nsh'n-'v-rɐ'y·tiq dh'-
gréy·te¹st-'n-m,óo$_u$:st-
e¹mpA'əh·tnt-e¹nvE·nsh'n
wi:tsh-dh'-HHɟuuw·m'n-mɐɐy·nd-
'z-E·vəh-méey·d 'nd-wi:tsh
'z-e¹t-i·z nndiiɟ:d AA·lm,óo^{u}st-
e¹ksiiɟ·dz-e¹ts-strE·qth,
HH'z-biɟn-A·fn, 'n-
n,ɔ:tt-ndzhe¹·stle¹, 'tri·bɟuwte¹d-
t'-dh'-g,ɔ·ddz, lɐ'y:k-dhe¹-
A'əh·g'ni:zm-'v-'h-stéy·t, 't-wɜ·ns
-si·mpl-'n-k,ɔ·mpleE:ks, e¹z-n,ɔ:tt-
dh' wəəh·k-'v-i:nnde¹vi·dzh,u'lz
b't-'v-SE·ntsh're¹s, præ·ps-
'v-thɔɔ'o·zndz-'v-ɟiiəhz.

B. H. SMART.

See pp. 1197–1205.

Dhə^a rit·n ə^{m}nd print·ed
rep:rizentée|i·shən əv dhə^a sáaundz
əv læq·gwe^{e}dzh, bi miinz əv
kær·æktə'z HHwitsh aa'
in:səfish·|JEnt, bóo|uth in kə'ind
ə^{m}nd nəm·bə' ə^{m}nd HHwitsh məst
dhe'·foə' bi kəmbə'ind· A'
mAd·ifə'id if wi wud giv ə^a
græf·ikə^{m}l sim:bəlizée|i·shən əv
dhə^a fonet·ik el·iments widh
óo|un·li səm digrii· əv
egzækt·nes ə^{m}nd kanvii·niens,
HHə^{m}z bin frəm AAl tə'im fə'
née|i·shənz ə^{m}z wel ə^{m}z
in:divid·JUə^{m}lz,
liqgwist·ikə^{m}l stJuu·dents
nAt eksept·ed, wən
əv dhə^a móo|ust nes·esə^{m}ri
ə^{m}nd wən əv dhə^a móo|ust
dif·ikəlt əv prAb·lemz ə^{m}nd
HHə^{m}z kAn·sikwent:li skee·ə'sli
ev·ə' bin HHæp·ili sAlvd. Let
dhis tiitsh əs dhə^{m}t dhə^a
inven·shən əv rə'i·tiq, dhə^a
grée|it·est ə^{m}nd móo|ust
impAA·ə'tə^{m}nt inven·shən
HHwitsh dhi HHJuu·mə^{m}n mə'ind
HHə^{m}z ev·ə' mée|id, ə^{m}nd HHwitsh,
ə^{m}z it indiid· AAl·mo^{o}st
eksiid·z its streqth
HHə^{m}z bin Af·n ə^{m}nd
nAt əndzhəst·li æ^{e}tri·b·Juted
tu dhə^a gAdz, lə'ik dhi
AA'·gə^{m}nizm əv ə^a stée|it ə^{m}t wəns
sim·pl ə^{m}nd kAm·pleks, iz nAt
dhə^a wə'k əv in:divid·JUə^{m}lz,
bət əv sen·tJuriz, pə'HHæps·
əv tháau·zə^{m}ndz əv Jii·ə'z.

OBSERVATIONS ON UNSTUDIED PRONUNCIATIONS.

All the above specimens of pronunciation labour under the obvious disadvantage of being the result of deliberate thought. Mr. Bell's and Mr. Smart's, like those of all pronouncing dictionary writers and elocutionists, give rather what they think ought to be than what they have observed as most common. They take to heart a maxim which Dr. Gill borrowed from Quintilian and stated thus: "Quemadmodu*m* in moribus bonorum consensus, sic in sermone consuetudo doctoru*m* primaria lex est. Scriptura igitur," by writing, he, as a phonetic writer, implied pronunciation, "omnis accommodanda erit, non ad illum sonum quem bubulci, quem mulerculae *et* portiores [*sic*, portitores?]; sed quem docti, aut cultè eruditi viri exprimunt inter loquendum et legendum." But my object in this book is to know what men *did* and *do* habitually say, or think they say, and not merely what they think they *ought* to say. I have therefore endeavoured to catch some words which were not given as specimens of pronunciation, but, being uttered on public occasions, were, I thought, fairly appropriable. Of course this attempted exhibition of some pronunciations labours under another immense disadvantage. When Prof. Haldeman, Mr. Sweet, and myself wrote down each his own pronunciation, we were each able to repeat the sound, feel the motion of the organs, revise and re-revise our conceptions as to what it really was, and thus give the result of careful deliberation. But when I attempt to write down a passing word,—and the very merit of my observation consists in the absolute ignorance of the speaker that his sounds and not his sense are being noted,—there is no possibility to recall the word, and unless it happens to recur soon, I am unable to correct my first impressions. I have indeed often found that after hearing the word several times, I have been unable to analyse it satisfactorily. Still, knowing no better method of observing, I give a few results to shew what it leads to. I name the speakers when they are well-known public men, whose speech-sounds may probably be taken as a norm, as much as their thoughts. They will understand, that they are named, not for the purpose of "shewing up" peculiarities, but of enforcing the fact that men of undoubted education and intelligence, differ in pronunciation from one another, from pronouncing dictionaries, and from my own habits, so that the term "educated pronunciation" must be taken to have a very "broad" signification. It must be understood that all these pronunciations were noted on the spot, as soon as possible after each word was uttered, and that I have in no case allowed subsequent impressions to affect my original note, which I have regarded as a conscientious, though of course possibly erroneous, observation. When (e, ə) are written, I can never feel sure that (ɛ, ɜ) were not actually used. When, however, (ɛ, ɜ) are written, they were certainly observed. No attention having been paid at the time of noting to the difference between (н, нh), the use of н cannot be guaranteed, and (нh) is often more probable. In each case I have thought it best to add my own pronunciation, as well as I can figure it, for the

purpose of comparison. This is always placed last, and is preceded by a dash. Thus, in the first word cited, "*accomplished* ækə·mplı́sht —ukə·mplı́sht," the italics indicate ordinary spelling, the first palaeotype the pronunciation observed, the second palaeotype, following the (—), the pronunciation which I believe I am in the habit of using in connected speech. If nothing follows the dash, my pronunciation agrees with that observed, but both disagree from several (and possibly, but not necessarily, all) pronouncing dictionaries. When no dash is added, my pronunciation differed too slightly to be noted. In no case, however, must these notes of my own pronunciation be taken as a confirmation or correction of the former. They are added merely to mark differences of habit. Such men as I have cited by name have certainly a full right to say that their pronunciation is *a received English* pronunciation—at least as much so, I think more than as much so, as any professed elocutionist. It may be observed that my list is not extensive enough, and that especially I have not given examples from the pronunciation of professed men of letters, from the bar, the stage, or the pulpit. This is true. All these classes labour under the disadvantage of making speech a profession. I have an idea that professed men of letters are the worst sources for noting peculiarities of pronunciation; they think so much about speech, that they nurse all manner of fancies, and their speech is apt to reflect individual theories. However, Prof. Bain may be taken as one of the best examples. The bar has rather hereditary pronunciations, where they are not individual and local. The stage for the higher class of dramas is archaic and artificial; for the middle and lower it is merely imitative, and hence exposes an observer to all the chances of error in taking information second hand. The pulpit is full of local pronunciations, but Professor Jowett, distinguished and admired as a preacher as well as a scholar, may be considered a sufficient representative of this class. Men of science I have especially represented. They are forming a large and influential class at the present day. The general Londoners in public meeting assembled seemed to me a good source for general varieties. Parliament is far too local; and so are country gentlemen, from whom its ranks are mainly recruited. Of course it must be understood that the peculiarities which I have chosen to note do not characterise the *general* run of the pronunciation of the speakers observed. It must not be assumed that every word is peculiar, or that the greater number of words present divergent characters. Thus the words from Prof. Bain and Prof. Jowett are *all* that it occurred to me to note in two courses of lectures—a very small number when thus considered. The general speech of educated London differs only in certain minute points, and in a few classes of words, so far as I have hitherto observed, from that which I have given as my own. Even in the cases cited, where I have put my own for contrast, the differences are seldom such as would strike an observer not specially on the look-out for individualities of pronunciation.

PROF. ALEXANDER BAIN.

Words observed in listening to a course of lectures on "Common Errors on the Mind," delivered by Prof. Bain at the Royal Institution in May, 1868. Prof. Bain had evidently considered well both his pronunciation and delivery, so that all his deviations from custom must be regarded as the result of deliberate choice, although possibly modified by local habits, as in (boodh) for (booth). And as Prof. Bain has bestowed considerable attention on phonetic writing, no allowance need be made for possible Scotticisms. I do not feel at all certain that (ə'i, ə'u) are correctly analysed.

accomplished ækə·mplisht—ukə·mplisht
advantages ædvaa·ntydzhyz—ædvaa·ntudzhyz
against you age·nstjuu—uge·nst' ju
aghast ægaa·st—ugaa·st
alternation ʌʌltɜnee·shun—æ:ltunee·shun
a solid ah sə·lid—u sə·lid
a strong u stroq—
away uwee·—uwee
beau ideal boo ideɹæ·l—boo ə'idii·ul
both boodh—booth
branch brahntsh—brantsh braantsh
cessation siisee·shun—sesee·shun
circumstances sɹ·kumstænsiz—sɜɜ:kumstunsyz
circumlocution sɹkəmlokuu·shun—sɜɜ:kumlokiúu·shun
class klaas—
classes klæ·siz—klaa·syz
compounds kə·mpəundz—kə·mpə'undz
consummated kənsə·meted—kə·nsumee:tyd
contrast kə·ntraast—
crafty kraah·fti—kraa·fti
dance dæns—daans
economised iikə·nəməizd—ikə·numə'izd
educability ediukəbi·liti—
effect ife·kt—efe·kt
engine e·ndzhin—ə·ndzhin
epoch ii·pok—e·pok
example egzaam·pl—
explanation eksplæ·nee·shun—e:kspluee shun
extolled ekstoo·ld—ekstə·ld
eye hii—ə'i
faculties fæ·kəltez—fæ·kultyz
fatigue fahtii·g—fetii·g
force foors fuurs—foo's
forth foorth—foo'th
fraternity freteɹ·niti—fretəə·niti
fraternize fræt·ɹnəi·z—fræ·tunə'i:z
functionary fə·qkshəneri—
genus dzhen·əs—dzhii·nəs
good guud—gud
handicraft hæ·ndikræft—hæ·ndikra:ft hæ·ndikraa:ft
hardly haa·rdli—haa·dli
heroine hii·roɟin—he·roɟin
heterogeneous het·ərodzhii·niəs—he:turoɟdzhe·niɟəs
hold hoold ?—hoold
human ɟhuu·mun—
ignorance i·gnərəns—
implanted implæ·ntyd—impla·ntyd implaa·ntyd
important impoor·tunt—impʌʌ·tunt
inexorable ine·gzərəbl—ine·ksurubl
initiative ini·shutiv—ini·sh(ɟutiv
intrinsically intri·nzikuli—intri·nsikuli
irrespective irəspe·ktiv—i:respe·ktiv
isolation əisolee·shun—
knowledge nə·lydzh—
language læ·qwydzh—
last laast—
learners ler·nɹz—ləə·nuzs
lesson les·en—le·sun
maturity mætjuuɹ·riti—mutiúu'·riti
mass maas—
master maa·stɹ—maa·stu
miracle me·rukl—mi·rukl
modern thought mə·drun thʌʌt—mə·dun thʌʌt
musician miuzi·shən—miúzi·shun
mutual miu·tjuul—miúu·tiúɟul miúu·tiu'l miúu·tshul
narrow naa·ro—næ·ro
natural næ·tjurul—næ·tiárul næ·tshrul
obedience obii·dɟins—obii·diɟyns
path paath—
peculiar pikiu·liɟɹ—pikiúu·liɟu
person pə·sn—pəə·sn
plastic plæ·stik—
plasticity plaasti·siti—plæsti·siti
practice præ·ktiz—præ·ktis
prejudice pre·dzhudəis—pre·dzhudis
pressure pres·iur—pre·shu
processes prəs·esiz—proo·sysyz
purport pəɹ·po'rt—pəə·put
relativity reluti·viti—re:luti·viti
says seez—sez
sensibilities se·nsəbi·litiz—se:nsibi·litiz
sentient se·nshunt—se·nsh(ɟ)ynt
soar sʌʌɹ—soo'
speciality speshiæ·liti—
spirits spi·rets—spi·rits
spurring spə·riq—spəə·riq
stoical sto·ikul—stoo·ɟikul
student stshuu·dunt—stiúu·dynt
suited suu·ted—siúu·tyd
system si·stəm—si·stym
task taask—task taask
testimony te·stimoni—te·stimuni
thorough thor·o—thə·ro thə·ru

thoroughly thor·ol*i* — thə·rol*i* thə·rul*i*
transition trænzísh·un, trænsízh·un — trænsí·zhun
tutors tjuu·tɹz—tiúu·tuzs
understood ə·ndɹstuu·d—ə:ndʉ*j*stu·d
variety vurəi·íti—
volcanoes volk*ee*·nooz—volkaa·nooz
want wʌnt—wont
was wəs—wɔz wəz
whole hool—hoo'*w*l

PROF. JOWETT,

the Master of Baliol College, Oxford, in February, 1871, gave three lectures on Socrates at the Royal Institution. The following are a few of his pronunciations there noted.

aspirant æ·spurunt—æspə'*i*'·runt
attaching himself to him ætæ·tshin-ímself-tuu:ím
bone boo'*w*n—boon ?
but that the famous b'ət-dh'ət-dh*i*-*fee*·məs—bə·t-dhʉt-dhʉ fee·məs
certain sə·rtn—səə·tyn
character kah·ruktu—kæ·rektu
Chatham tshæ·tum—
Cicero si·suro—
describing him dískrái·biq-ím—dis-kə'í·biq-him
difficulty di·fukílti—di·fíkulti
discontented di·skunte:ntyd—
discovery di·skə·vuri—
discrepancy di·skrípunsi—dískre·punsi
due djiúu—diúu
earliest əə·li*j*est—əə·li*j*yst
ears ɹii·*j*uz—*ii*'z
education e·dzhiúk*ee*:shun — e:diúk*ee*·shun
evil ii·vyl—ii·vl
example egzaa·mpl—
exhausted egzʌʌ·styd—
foreign fɔ·run—fɔ·ryn
gather up gaa·dhur-əp—gæ·dhur-əp
haughtily hʌʌ·tuli—haa·tili
he has had hii·-uz-æd—hii·-uz-hæd
height hɹhâitth—hə·it
highest hɹhâi·est—hə·i·yst
human ɹhiúu·mun—
humourist ɹhiuu·murist—
image i·midzh—i·medzh
Isthmian i·smi*j*un—ísthmi*j*un
knowledge noo·ledzh—no·lydzh
lastly laa·sli—laa·stli
lecture le·ktshu—le·ktiú'
manhood mæ·nud—mæ·nhʉ:d
mask maask—
memorabilia me:morubí·li*j*u—me:muru-bí·li*j*u
minutiae mâinîûu·shi*j*ii—mínîúu·shi*j*i
moulds moolz—moo'*w*ldz
must have mə·st-uv—
natural næ·tshurul—næ·tshurul næ·tiú'-rul
nature nee·tshu—nee·tshu nee·tiú'
opinion upí·nɹun—opí·nɹun
oracle ɔ·rukl—
ordinarily ʌʌ·dínərili—ʌʌ·dínerili
origin ɔ·rudzhín—ɔ·rídzhin
ornaments ʌʌ·numynts—
parallel pæ·rulel—pæ·rulul
passed paast—
persons pə·rsnz—pəə·snzs
politician pɔ:lutí·shun—pɔ:liti·shun
politics pɔ·lutíks—
Potidaea pɔ·tudii'·—pə·tidii·*j*u
process proo·ses—
society susâi·uti—sɔsə'i·iti
Socrates sɔ·krutiiz—
soon sun—suun
time táim—tə'im
unable ə·nee:bl—unee·bl
ventured ve·ntshud—ve·ntiú'd ve·ntshud
virtue vəə·tshu—vəə·tiú vəə·tshu
whole hool—hoo'*w*l
Xenophon ze·nufen—
years ɹii·*j*uz—ɹii'z

SIR G. B. AIRY,

Astronomer Royal and President of the Royal Society, made use of the following pronunciations while speaking at the Royal Society, 30 Nov. 1872.

components kompoo·nents — kompoo·-nynts
geodesists gii:odii·sists—dzhi*j*ɔ·disists
geodesy gii:odii·si—dzhi*j*ɔ·disi
Greenwich grii·nwitsh—grí·nidzh
meridional miri·di*j*oo·næl—míri·diunul
New Zealand niúu ze·lund — níuu zii·lund
Nova Zembla noo·vee ze·mblee—noo·vu ze·mblu
palaeontology pee:li*j*ɔontɔ·lo*j*dzhi—pæ·li*j*ɔn*j*tɔ·lu*j*dzhi
stereoscopic stii'·ri*o*)skɔ·pík — ste·ri*o*)-skɔ·pík [some say (stii'·ri*o*skoo·pík)]

DR. HOOKER,

when delivering his opening address as President of the British Association at the Norwich Meeting on the 19 Aug. 1868. I believe Dr. Hooker is East Anglian by birth.

accumulated aky·mylee:ted—ukiúu·miú-lee:tyd. [N.B. The first, accented, (y) was rather indistinct and very short.]
alone alo·n—uloo'*w*·n
are ee'—aa
bones bonz—boo'*w*nz

cantonment kantuu·nmʊnt — kæ·ntʊn-mʊnt
either ee·dhʊ [not (*ee*)]—ii·dhʊ ə'*i*·dhʊ
few fɹy [perhaps (fey), the word was difficult to catch, and I noticed it only once]—fiúu.
finite fi·nit [in the phrase (dhi *i*·nfinit ʊn dhʊ fi·nit), this pronunciation was altogether new to me, though I have often heard (*i*·nfə'inə'it) as opposed to]—(fə'*i*·nə'it)
Lawrence lʌʌ·ryns [not (lʌ) or (lɔ)]—(Lɔ·ryns)
only o·nli [not at all uncommon]—*oo'w*·nli
neither nee·dhʊ—nii·dhʊ no'*i*·dhʊ
plants plahnts—plaants
progress prɔ·gres—proo·gres [there is great diversity in the words *product progress*, many give (prɔ) and others (proo) to both; I say (prɔ·dɔkt proo·gres), but Col. Strange at the same meeting said (proo·dɔkt, prɔ·gres).]
quote kot [quite short (*o*)]—k*wooo*t
series sii·*yri*iiz—*sii*·*ri*iiz
stone ston—st*oo'w*en
undertaken ə:ndʊt*ee*·kən [distinct (kən)]—ə:ndʊt*ee*·k'n
wholly ʜo·li—ʜ*oo*·lli

MEN OF SCIENCE.

Only a very few cases are here given, chiefly remarked at meetings of the British Association. Men of Science have usually many very curious local pronunciations, and others arising from using words for themselves from books long before they have heard others use them. There seems to be no tradition or norm for scientific terms, and if the pronunciation is such as to bring the printed form of the word to mind, men of science care very little for the pronunciation of scientific terms. Many of the following are certainly dialectal, but all the speakers were educated, often very highly educated men.
absorbed æbsʌʌ·pt—æbsʌʌ·bd
albumen æ·lbʊmen—æ·lbiúu·men
anestheties ænesthii·tíks—ænesthe·tíks
antidotal æ·ntidoo:tʊl—ænti·dotʊl
appearance apii·*yr*yns—ʊpii'·rʊns
aqueous æ·k*wi*ʊs—*ee*·k*wi*ʊs
asteroids æstii'·ro*yi*dz [Prof. Stokes]—æ·stʊrə'idz
before bifoo·ʀ—bifoo'·
class klæs—klaas
commander kʊmæ·ndʊ—kʊmaa·ndʊ
comparable kʊmpee'·rʊbl—kɔ·mpʊrʊbl
compare kʊmpee.r·—kʊmpee'·
constitution kʊnstitj*u*·shʊn — kɔ:nsti·tiúu·shʊn
contrive kʊntrái·v—kʊntrə'*i*·v
doubt dʊut—də'ʊt
dry drɹ'i—drə'*i*
electrolysis ile·ktrɔlə'i·sis — ii:lektrɔ·lisis
endowment endoo·mʊnt [Prof. Huxley]—endə'*u*·mʊnt
equidistant e·k*wi*di:stʊnt—ii:k*wi*di·stʊnt
estuaries ii·stjʊ*y*ʊriz—e·stiú*y*eriz
experiments ekspəə·rimʊnts—ekspe·ri-mʊnts
explicable eksplí·kʊbl—e·ksplíkʊbl
find fæ'ind—fə'ind
gaseous gaa·ziʊs [Prof. Stokes], *gee*·*si*ʊs [the late Mr. Babbage]—*gee*·*zi*ʊs
haste ʜæst—ʜ*ee*st
introducing introdjuu·sjiq—*i*·ntrodiúu·siq
larger læ·rdzher—laa·dzhʊ
Lausanne losaa·n—losan [equal stress]
loose láus—loos
lungs lɔqgz—lɔqz
moon mun [Sir W. Thomson], mu'n [the late Prof. Rankine]—muun
paragraphs paa·ragræfs [the late Prof. Rankine]—pæ·rʊgraafs
Paris paa·ris—pæ·ris
past pæst—paast
phi = *φ*, fæ'*i*—fə'*i*
pulsates pʊ·lsets - pə·l*see*ts
pulsative pʊ·lsetiv—pə·lsʊtiv
pulse pʊls—pɔls
put v. pʊt—pʊt
round ráhund—rə'ʊnd
size sáiz—sə'iz
staff stæf—staaf
strata strææ·ta—stree·tʊ
substantial sʊbstaa·nshul—sʊbstæ·nshʊl
systematising si:stejmatái·ziq—si·stʊ-mʊtə'i:ziq
transactions trænsæ·ksʊnz—traansæ·k-shʊnz
wind n. wə'ind—wind

GENERAL PUBLIC.

The following were noted at public meetings. The speakers are separated, but the names not being generally well known, are withheld:

A Peer.

rise ráhiz—rə'iz
adoption ʊdɔ·pshʊn—
observing ʊbzəə·viq—
last laast—
large laa,rdzh(?)—laadzh
framers free·mʊz [not *fre*e]—fr*ee*·mʊz
paragraph pæ·rʊgraaf—
brighter bráhi·tʊ—brə'*i*·tʊ

darkness daa·ˌrknis(?)—daa·knys
record re·kʌad [in law courts (rekʌʌ·d)]—re·kʌad
trained ˌtreend(?)—treend
conversant kɔ·nvəsunt [(kɔnvəə·sunt) is common]—
director de·ire·ktə—dire·ktə [and (də'i-) occasionally, when used emphatically]
agree ægrii· [with distinct (æ)]—ugrii·
only oo·nli [not (oo'w-), and (o·nli) is common]—oo'w·nli
bazaar buzaa'·—buzaa·
forth foo'th [the ('h) was uncertain]—
two or three years tu-ʌ-thri-ɜii'z

A Noble M.P.

samples sæ·mplz [generally, once at least (saa·mplz)]—saa·mplz
decide disái·d [long *i* always (ái) or (di)]—disə'i·d [long *i* never (ái), which I reserve for *aye*, and thus distinguish *eye*, *aye* as (ə'i, ái)]
parcels pa·slz—paa·selz
I dare say ái dəə see [not (see'j)]—ə'i dəə see'j
time tɪɪhdim [brought out very emphatically, not the ordinary pronunciation]—tə'im
idea áidii·ə [distinct final trill]—ə'idii·ɹə

A General Officer.

resolution re:zoluu·shən—re:zulˌiúu·shən
century se·nɹtshəri—se·ntiúri
further fʌʌ·dhə—fəə dhə
I have had it ə'i·əv hæ·dit—
serious sii'·riɹəs—sii'·riɹəs
always ʌʌ·lwez [short (e)]—ʌʌ·lweez
cholera kɔ·lərə—
pass paas [distinctly long]
my lord mílʌʌd· [(r) distinctly absent]

Clergyman (Irish ?).

chairman tshɛ'·mən—tshee'·mən
pray pree [distinctly (ee)]—pree'j
say see—see'j
name neem—neem
gracious gree·shəs—gree·shəs
staff stæf [very thin(æ), almost (ɛ)]—staaf
class klæs—klas klaas
thanks thæqks—
command kɔm—maa·nd—kumaa·nd
ask aahsk [compare *class* and *command*]—aask
kind kjáhind—kə'ind
guidance gjáhi·duns—gə'i·duns
our óur [I think trilled (r)]—ə'u'
course kóous [the (s) inclined to (sh)]—koo's
intercourse i·ntəkʌʌs [possibly (-koos)]—i·ntəkoo's

Physicians, various.

rotation rotee·shən [not (tee'j)]—
anxiety æqɹsə'i·iti [not (æqks-), nor (æqz-)]—æqzə'i·iti
future fiúu·tshə—fiúu·tiu'
vote voot [not voo'wt]—
hospital ɔ·spitəl [this one speaker invariably omitted the aspirate in this word only, even to the extent of saying (ə nɔ·spitəl) for *an hospital*; an archaism]—hɔ·spitəl
kindness kháind·nd·ˌes [probably due to emphasis]—kə'i·ndəys
write rhráit [or nearly so]—rə'it
across akrɔɔ·s—əkrɔ·s əkrɔɔ·s
behalf bəhæ·f—bihaa·f
appreciate əprii·shiɹeet—əprii·shieet
really rii'·li [rhyming to *clearly* (klii'·li), some say (rii·əli), and (rii·li) is heard, but conveys the notion of *reely*, i.e. inclined to reel]—
strengthened stre·qth'nd [not (stre·nth-'nd), as Prof. Tyndall and very many speakers say]—
known nóoun [the (u) distinct]—noo'wn

Professional and Commercial Men.

support supporting supʌʌ·t supoo'·tiq—supoo't supoo'·tiq
empowered empɪhháu'd [strong (ɪh) due to emphasis, the same speaker said (pɪhóu')]—empə'u'·d
literature li·tərɛɹtshə—li·tərətiú'
clearance k'hlii'·rəns—klii'·rəns
engage engee·dzh [not (gee'j)]—
closely klo·sli [short (o)]—kloo·sli
surprised supɪrə'i·zd—suprə'i·zd
policy pɪhɔ·lusi—pɔ·lisi
correlation kɪhoo:rilee·shən—kɔ·riɹlee·shən—
congratulation kəngræ·tshˌiúlee·shən—kəngræ·tiúlee·shən
only o·nli [short (o)]—oo'w·nli
burden bəə·dn—
progress prə·gres—proo·grˌes
halfpenny hee·pni [not (ee'j)]—hee·puni
importance impóou·təns—impʌʌ·təns
management mæ·nidzhmˌint—mæ·nedzhmynt
absolutely æ·bsoliútli—
four foo'—
fivepence fə'i·vpens—fi·pens
year ɜii'—
pounds pa'unds—
office ɔɔh·fis (?)—ɔ·fis [(ʌʌ·fis) is not uncommon]
hundred hɪhə·ndəd—hə·ndryd
naturally næ·tshərəli—næ·tiúrəli
homœopath hoo·miɹopæt [(-pæt) distinct]—

financially fə'inæ·nshuli — finæ·nshuli [the (fə'i-) arose perhaps from emphasis, but I have heard (fə'inæ·ns)]
adherents ædhii'·rynts—
premature pre·mætiiu'—prii:mutiiu'·
expenditure ekspe·ndi,tshu — ekspe·ndi'tiu'·
additional ædi·shunul—
sought for SAA·tfA—
regarding rigaa·diq [not (gjaa) which is common]—
fund fand—fənd
humanity hiumæ·niti—jhumæ·niti
cards kaadz [tendency to (kj)]—
board boo'd [no tendency to (boo')]—
advantage ædvæ·ntedzh—ædvaa·ntedzh [(ud-) ?]
make meek' [no tendency to (ee'j)]—
abstain æbstee·n [no (ee'j)]—
homes HOOmz [no (oo'w)]—
puncture pə·qktiu' [clear (t)]—pe·qktiu'
appreciation æprii:si,ee·sh[un — uprii·si,ee·shun
strongly ,s,t,ro·qli [some speakers seem to have a great difficulty with (str-) initial, and hence are led to dentalise the combination; it is remarkable that (,t,r) frequently occurs in dialects, although (,t) and (,r) are no longer recognized English sounds]—stro·qli
returns ritæ·rnz [merely the effect of emphasis, the speaker has no dialectal peculiarities]—ritəə·nz
there should be dəə:shudbii·
remarks rmah·ks [I could detect no vowel after (r)]—rimaa·ks
parcels pah·rsulz [trilled (r)]—paa·sylz
industry i·ndə:stri—i·ndustri
plants plahnts—plaants
world wohrld [certainly provincial]—wəəld
immediately imii·dzhytli [very common]—imii dietli
samples sahmplz—sæ·mplz
circumstances sə·kumstahnsez — səə·kumstunsyz
importance impAA·tns—impAA·tuns

Young Educated London.

The following were furnished me by Mr. Sweet as "the transcript of rather a broad London pronunciation of a girl of about twenty, which has some interesting features." He particularly calls "attention to the substitutes for (*ee*, *oo*), which were evidently transitional stages to (ah*i*, ah*u*), with which indeed they may be easily confounded on a superficial examination." Mr. Sweet's own pronunciation is added after (...) when it differs, and mine after (—) as before. Except in my own case the (H) represents (uh) most probably. See Mr. Sweet's own pronunciation, p. 1207.

one wəəən ... wunn—wən
ask nask ... —
err əəh ... —əə
eye aa'i ... uu'y—ə'i
me miis ... —mii
hid HIid, HIdd ... —HId
may MEE'i ... mee'y—mee'j
egg EEG EGG ... EGG—eg
air EE'əh ... —ee' ee'r
add ææd ædd—æd
how HÆÆ'o ... HÆÆ'o—Hə'u
two tuuw ... —tuu
pull puul pull ... pull—pul
owe ɔɔ'o ... oo'o$_u$—oo'w
awe AA ... —
or AA'əh ... —AA A or
odd ɔɔd ɔd ... —ɔd
joy dzhoo'i ... dzhoo'y—d,zhə'i

WHENCE DO DIFFERENCES OF PRONUNCIATION ARISE?

These examples are amply sufficient to shew that considerable diversities of pronunciation exist among educated speakers of all classes, even when speaking with the greater care usually taken in public delivery. That great differences of opinion exist among orthoepists is well shewn in Worcester's and especially Soule and Wheeler's pronouncing dictionaries,[1] which, although not descending into the

[1] "A Manual of English Pronunciation and Spelling; containing a full alphabetical vocabulary of the language, with a preliminary exposition of English orthoëpy and orthography; and designed as a work of reference for general use, and as a text-book in schools, by Richard Soule, jr., A.M., and William A. Wheeler, A.M." Boston, U.S., 1861; London, Sampson Low, pp. xlii. 467. An extremely condensed and useful little book, not lumbered with meanings, and giving the opinions of Walker, Smart, Webster, Worcester, Goodwin, when they differ. Hence this vocabulary may be used as a compendium of these five writers' opinions.

minutiae attempted in the preceding lists, save me from loading my pages with a complete vocabulary of XIX th century varieties of pronunciation.

Now whence do these differences arise?

The most obvious source of difference is that in fact there is no such thing as educated English pronunciation. There are pronunciations of English people more or less educated in a multitude of other things, but not in pronunciation. Children are never trained in the proper exercise of their vocal organs, or have their ears sharpened to appreciate differences. It would not be at all difficult to train the young organs, if only the teachers knew anything about it. We devote years of upper school life to the study of classical languages, and enter deeply into their etymology, but we do not give the least practical instruction in the substantial form of language—speech-sounds, or their relations to one another, on which depend the principal changes which claim our attention.[1] The consequence is that pronunciations grow up now much in the same way as they did six hundred years ago. There is only one important difference —facility of communication. It required the War of the Roses to make an English of England, and the War of the Commonwealth to temper that down into the mother of modern speech. But now people are being thrown together with the greatest ease and rapidity from all parts of the country. Still, it is the opening of life which principally determines pronunciation. Children hear few speakers, chiefly those of their own age and standing. They regard not the voices of adults beyond those of a few familiar friends. Their vocabulary is limited, extremely limited, and when they grow up they learn more words by eye than by ear; hence they acquire habits of families, schools, coteries, professions, businesses, localities. Their organs become fixed; they notice from others only what they themselves say. It is not polite to correct even a friend's pronunciation; a stranger resents the impertinence. But still "young men from the country," or with narrow habits of speech, often get laughed out of their peculiarities. More, still, of a lower class of life ape those of the upper when they get mixed up among them, and strive hard to change a pronunciation which might betray their origin. But all this has a small influence. In the main the most educated pronunciation in English is local, with its corners more

[1] One of my kind assistants, who is collecting materials for a local glossary, said that I had opened his eyes; he had hitherto thought of *words*, and not of their *sounds*. To think of a word independently of its sound is the outcome of our school instruction. In schools a word is a sign on paper, to which different persons may give different sounds, and which some people a long way off and a long time ago, in Greece or Italy, pronounced we don't know, and we don't care, how. But in writing a glossary we are writing words never written. The collections of letters must suggest the sounds or nothing at all. A glossary of collections of letters to which the right sound cannot be even approximatively given, is really no glossary at all. We might just as well—perhaps better—give a meaning to a current number, for that *could* be pronounced (in his own manner) by every one. Yet this, I am sorry to think, is the state of *most* of our provincial glossaries at the present day—and I am afraid for *most* I ought to have said *all*.

rubbed off than it was fifty or a hundred years ago, but still essentially local, using that word as applicable to all limited environment. The language, however, contains thousands of words which are not used in ordinary conversation, and concerning which extraordinary variety prevails, as we have seen. The pronouncing prophets themselves, the Buchanans, Sheridans, Walkers, and their followers, have no principle to go on. They have had wider observation, but most of them make up their minds à priori, upon limited inductions, and men of literature disown their authority. Is it possible to arrive at any principles amid this chaos?

Our language consists essentially of two elements, which, for brevity, we may call German (Anglo-Saxon with Scandinavian), and French, (Norman with French, Latin and Greek). Now the German element really presents little or no difficulty. Our German words are familiar, and their dialectal forms are generally widely different from the received pronunciation of educated people in London, at court, in the pulpit, at the bar, on the stage, at the universities—and, in a minor degree, in parliament, and in the lecture-room, on the hustings, and in public meetings. The difficulty for most people lies with the French element, which is preponderating in the vocabulary, but is comparatively rare in speech, and which our wonderful orthography is totally incapable of investing with a vocal garb. Those who know Latin and Greek are therefore apt to imagine that they should shew the Latin and Greek origins by pronouncing the words much as they would if they were written with Latin and Greek letters. Hence such curiosities as (dɔktrə'*i*·nʊl, *i*nimə'*i*·kʊl),—I have not heard (sə'*i*·və'*i*l), although surely *cīvīlis* has as much a right to its (ə'*i*z) as *doctrīna* and *inimīcus*. It was in the same spirit that Prof. Stokes spoke of (æstii·ro*j*idz) from ἀστὴρ, (although this becomes ἀστεροειδής, which should have led him to (aste·ro*j*ə'*i*dz), and I recollect that the late Prof. Traill of Edinburgh always insisted on the termination (—o*j*ə'*i*d) in similar words,) and Sir G. B. Airy used (gii:odii·si) from γῆ, (although the Greek is γεωδαισία), and (miri·di*j*oo·næl) from *meridiōnālis*. But this is, I conceive, a mere mistake. Our language was formed at a time when the pronunciation of Greek and Latin even in England was totally different from that now in use. Almost all our old words which can be traced to Latin and Greek came to us in a French form, and received their pronunciation and accent from our mode of dealing with French words. It would seem therefore most reasonable to suppose any Greek word to be first Latinised, then taken as French, and finally put into English. This will not exactly answer for those more recent words which have been taken from Latin and Greek by persons who did not know French, and which have hence preserved the Latin forms more closely, but even then it gives a principle. Thus, remembering *o·rator*, *se·nator*, the Scotch are more consistent than the English in saying *cu·rator;* and remembering *geo·metry*, *geo·graphy*, it is more consistent to say *geo·desy;* and similarly *de·monstrate* is more in accordance with our plan of accenting French words than

demo·nstrate. This principle will make us independent of Latin and Greek *quantity*, which had ceased to be felt in Italy and Greece long before words were introduced into English. We must say (æ·mí·kʊbl), not (ʊmə'í·kʊbl), or (ʊmə'i·kee:bl), which would be real foreignisms; we must say (ví·ktʊri), not (víktoo'·ri), Latin *victōria*, although we say (víktoo'·ri)əs), for which (víkto·ri)əs) would be more analogical, and we do not make the last syllable (-*oos*), notwithstanding Latin -*ōsus*; just as we make -*al*=(-ʊl), notwithstanding Latin -*ālis*. For a similar reason a final unaccented -*ice*, -*ite*, -*ine*, -*ise*, should have had (*i*), not the (ə'*i*) now so general in recent words.

A difficulty arises with respect to French words recently introduced which retain their French form. As long as the persons using a word are conscious of its nationality, they make more or less successful or feeble attempts to imitate the French pronunciation, so that we get *ennui* (ɔnwii·), *aide-de-camp* (*ee*·dí·kɔʌ), *coup d'œil* (kuupdæə'*i*·l), *envelope* (o·nvəloop), *environs* (o·nvíron), *chef d'œuvre* (sheeduu·vʊ) *coup d'état* (kuudítaa·), and similar hybrid monstrosities. When the words remain French, they must take their chance, but, when possible, they should be anglicised on the old French models. A list of the oldest French words used in English is given in the Appendix III. to Dr. Morris's *Historical Outlines of English Accidence* (2nd ed. 1872). But without this knowledge, we see that (e·nvʊləp, envə'*i*'·rʊnz) are good English. Perhaps (tshiif, mʊnuu·vʊ) would hardly preserve (tshiif·duu:vʊ) from being ridiculous, and hence the English 'masterpiece' is preferable. *Bayonet* is given as (*bee*·onet, *bee*·ɔnet) by different orthoepists. I have never heard any one say so. (Bee'·net) is usual in civil life, but (bæ·net) is heard among officers and (bæ·gʊnet) among privates. All similar French technical words should have their English technical pronunciation assigned. As for the modern Indian words, they ought to receive the pronunciation current among English residents in India. The old Arabic words have already a character of their own, and cannot be touched. But it is really a pity that we *dare* not simply anglicise them, as the French unreservedly gallicise all imports.

The above remarks are meant simply to draw attention to the subject. I have so often and so explicitly renounced all claim to dictate on English pronunciation that my "ought, should," etc., cannot be taken to mean more than emphasised suggestions, consequent on the adoption of a proposed theory.

AMERICAN PRONUNCIATION.

Before closing this section, I feel that some notion of American pronunciation should be given. This stands in a totally different relation to received English from the provincial. It is rather traditional English, as was seen by Noah Webster's remarks (pp. 1063-70). Americans generally claim to speak English without provincialisms, and in the sense in which English provincialisms exist, namely as distinct dialectal forms, with historical pedigrees,

at least as respectable as the received form of speech, the claim is correct. But in the sense that local pronunciations do not clearly exist, I have good American authority for saying that the claim is unfounded. Owing perhaps to this absence of dialects, Americans consider that, on the whole, they speak "better" than the English. I do not pretend to decide as to "better" or "worse," but certainly they speak "differently" from the English; that is, despite of the many admissible varieties of received English, the American varieties are inadmissible—from an Englishman. A few, a very few, Americans seem to have acquired English habits, but even then a chance word, such as (tree'jt) for (tree'j)=*trait*, reveals the speaker's home. The intonation is rarely English, even when all nasality is absent; but this is a point I purposely omit to notice, though it is often the most striking peculiarity the speakers exhibit.

AN AMERICAN PREACHER,

a personal friend of my own. He lived in Virginia for the first 21 years of his life, which, he tells me, in "pronunciation differs from the North as Naples from Florence, Baden from Berlin, or (almost) Yorkshire from London." After that he came to the North, and acquired new habits of speech, which again, in the last few years, have been crossed by London associations. Hence some of the points noted may belong to different localities in the United States. I have not noted Londonisms of course. The pronunciations are noted from his public speaking. In private conversation the differences were not so marked. Of course there is more than usual doubt as to the exact sounds in this and the following case, owing to the greater difference between the speaker's pronunciation and my own, which is added after a (—) as usual.

acorn ee'jkun—*ee*'KAAN
already A^A'lre:*di*—Alre·d*i*
apparent upee·T$_{\text{I}}$ent—upee'·rynt
Aryan æri'un—aa·ri*e*n
atonement utoo·nmynt—utoo·nmynt
Boston BA^A'stn—Bo·stun
career kuree'·—kuri'
chastisement tshæ·stai·zm$_{\text{I}}$ynt—tshæ·stizmynt
classes tlah·s$_{\text{I}}$iz—klaa·syz
comeliness ko·mlines—ko·mli*n*ys
commune komiuu·n—ko·mi*u*un
construed konstruu·d—ko·nstruud
data daa·tu—dee·ta
discretion diskri·sh'n—diskre·shun
divine divaa'i·n—divə'i·n
doth dooth—dəth
dreary drii·ri—drii'·ri
elements e·lumunts—e·limynts
fossil fo·sl—fo·sil
gelid ge·lid—dzhe·lid
grapple grah·pl—græ·pl
great gREET—gree'jt
guidance gahi·d$_{\text{I}}$ons—gə'i·duns
harassed næraa·st—næ·rost
home hoo'm—*hoo*'um
importance impAA·t$_{\text{I}}$ons—impAA·tuns
leniently len·i$_{\text{I}}$entli—lii·ni$_{\text{J}}$untli
mendicant ME·ndi$_{\text{I}}$k$_{\text{I}}$ent—me·ndikunt
mercantile mə·kuntil—mə·kuntə'il
moment moo·m$_{\text{I}}$ent—*moo*·mynt
momentary moo·mentəri—*moo*·munturi
most moost—*moost*
motion moo·shun—*moo*·shun
mouth mohuth—mo'uth
museum miûuzium—miûzii·um
notion noo·shn—noo·shun
own ·*oo*nh—*oo*'un
Palestine Pæ·lystiin—Pæ·lestə'in
perfect v. pəəfe·kt—pəə·fekt
puerile py·uril—piû'·ril
robes roo·bzs—roobz
room rum—ruum
Satan see tnh—see·tun
secular sii·kiûlu—se·kiûlu
sophistry soo·fistri—sə·fistri
stone stoon stoo'un ston—*stoo*'un
substratum sobstraa·tum—sobstree'jtum
sure syy'—shuu'
swamps SWAAmps—swomps
testimony TE·stimooni—te·stimuni
throne throon—throo'un
used [=*accustomed*] ʒyst—ʒiûust

AN AMERICAN LADY LECTURER,

highly educated, graduate of an American university, with quiet manner, good delivery, and evidently carefully studied pronunciation.

afford æfoo'·d—ufoo'·d
always A·lwez—AA·lweez
apportionment apoo'·shunmynt—upoo'·shunmynt

before bifoo·ɹʊ—bifoo'·
both booth—booth
career kʊɹiír—kʊrii' [the final (-iir) was very marked, not even (-ii'r)]
character kah·rəktʊ—kæ·rekte
Chicago shikAA·goo
chivalric shivæ·lrík—tshi·vʊlrík [this is one of the new importations; *chivalry* as an old word should be (tshi·vʊlri), see suprà p. 682, v. 45).]
class tlaas—klaas, [but tl-, dl-) are very usual initials in place of (kl-, gl-) in England]
closer klo·sʊ—kloo'w·sʊ
combative kəmbæ·tív—kə·mbʊtiv
compared kʊmpHee'·d—kʊmpee'·d [probably the (pH) was accidental]
culture kʌ·lɹtshʊ—kə·ltiu' [but (-tshʊ) is quite common in England]
demand dímaah·nd—dímaa·nd
difficulties di·fəkʌltiz—di·fíkʊltiz
dog dɔɔg—dɔg
economical e:kənɔ·míkl—ii:kənɔ·míkʊl
educator e·dzhʊkeetAA'—e·díúkee·tʊ [the (edzhʊ) is not uncommon in England]
egotism ii·gotiz'm—e·gotiz'm
embarrassment embah·rəsmʊnt — embæ·rəsmʊnt
err ɜ'—əə
expenditure ekspe·ndítshiú'—eksp·ndítiú' [or (ekspe·ndiɹtshʊ), the latter is very common in England]
first fəəhst fœ'st—fəəst
forth foo'th—foo'th
funds fʌndz—fəndz
girls gœœlz—gəəlz [this is one of the most difficult words to note in English; it is perhaps the only word in which I persistently palatise (*g*), as (gəəlz) is very harsh to my ears; of course (gælz) is very common, and I have heard (*g*æ'lz) as a studied pronunciation. See (1156, *c'*).]
home hhoo'ʊmm—Hoo'wm
importance impAA·tns—impAA·tʊns
introduce i·ntrodʊʊs—introdiúus
leisure lii·zhʊ—le·zhʊ [(lii·zhʊ) is not uncommon in England, but it is archaic]
located lo·keted—lokee·tyd
long lAAq—lɔq
marsh mah'sh—maash
Michigan Mi·shigʊn
mischief mis,ɹtshii·f—mi·s,ɹtshi·f
mutual miúu·tshiúʊl—miúu·tiú,ɹʊl [but (miúu·tshʊl) is very common in England]
naturally næ·tshiúrʊli—næ·tiúrʊli [but (tsh) is quite common in England]
new níy nə'y (?)—niúu [the diphthong was very difficult to catch]
no nooɹu—noo'w
none noon—nən
only o·nli—oo'w·nli [but (o·nli) is not uncommon in England]
open oo·pʊn—oo·pn
parent pee·rynt—pee'·rynt
prudent prə'y·dynt — pruu·dynt [see *new*]
radius re·diəs—ree·diəs
St. Louis Sent Luu·is
say seeeɹi—see'j [this was an accidental emphasis apparently]
society sʊsâhi·iti—sasə'i·ʊti
store stoo'—stoo'
sure shiyy' (?)—shuu'
surely shiu·ʊlə'i—shuu'·li
surveillance sʊvi·lɹʊns—sʊvee·lɹʊns [this is one of our unsettled importations]
test tEEst—test
towns tHA'ʊnz—tə'ʊnz [the (tH) was no doubt accidental]
traits tree·ts—tree'jz
holy hho·li—Hoo·lli
wrath raath—rAAth
wrong rɔɔq—rəq
year ɹii'—

One of the most striking features of these pronunciations in connection with older English pronunciation is the continual cropping up of (oo) where we have now (*oo*, *oo'w*) and again the use of (*oo'*, *oo*ɹʊ), for (oo') which has still more recently tended to (AA', AA) for *-ore*. The diphthongal forms for *ew*, *u*, are transitional, from (éu, yy), and are difficult to catch, but seem to confirm these two as the generating forms. Some of the pronunciations are, however, probably of American development, for our language has been cultivated with great care in the United States, not only in literature, but in orthoepy, and the pronouncing dictionaries there published are much esteemed in England.

Although perhaps not quite in place, I here insert some American words and observations on diversities of American pronunciations furnished me by Dr. J. Hammond Trumbull, of Hartford, Connec-

ticut, U.S., and Mr. Charles Astor Bristed, of Yale Coll., Connecticut, U.S., and Trinity College, Cambridge, England, in 1871. Dr. Trumbull gave the pronunciation in Glossic, which I have transliterated. Mr. Bristed has not written pronunciations systematically; I have inserted palaeotypic interpretations to the best of my judgment.

DR. TRUMBULL'S NOTES ON AMERICANISMS.

Cade, bred by hand; cosset, (keed). This old English word is still in use by farmers, etc., near Newport, R.I., who talk of 'cade lambs,' 'cade colts.' I have not heard of it elsewhere in the U.S.

Char, v. and n. (tshooɹ) always, I believe, in the U.S., except the occasional (tshəəɹ) and pl. (tshəəɹz) of laborers and farm servants.

Bogie, *Boguy*, a bugbear, (bu·gɐ). Common, among boys and the uneducated, in Connecticut. (Dh' bu·gɐz-'l ke·tsh-ɹi).

Drool or *dreul* (druul, drí*u*l), for 'drivel,' used everywhere by mothers and nurses. The latter is the less polished form.

Ewe. Commonly (ɹiúu), but twenty ago I very often heard (*ɹoo*) from farmers, butchers, and others in eastern Connecticut and R. Island.

Eft (=Newt), (e·vít, e·vet). Common in Conn. 'Newt' is rarely used; 'eft' (monosyll.) never, I think. (A.S. *efete*.)

Fice, *Fise*, (fɔis). A worthless dog, a cur. Virginia and the southern States. Common, though I have not met with it in print, except in a Choctaw-English Vocabulary from a southern mission-press, 1852. Compare, *foisty*,—"*foisting cur*" (Nares), —'*fice*,' in Grose,—'*fiest*, *fice*, *fist*,' Wright's Prov. Gloss.

Fillip, n. and v. (flíp), always. I never heard it as a dissyllable in N. England.

Gambrel, roof, (gæ·mbl gæ·mbel). N. England, common; thirty years ago, nearly universal.

"*to Gange*." In a list of "words common at Polperro in Cornwall," in Notes and Queries, 1 S., x. 301, I find this word with the meaning: "to arm with wire the line attached to the fishing hook." ["To *gange* a hook is to arm it and the snood with a fine brass or copper wire twisted round to prevent their being bitten off by the fish." Glossary to the *History of Polperro*, by Jonathan Couch, F.L.S., Truro, 1871.] Almost all N.E. fishermen know how to (gænz) —or, as many pronounce it, to (gænzh, gændzh) a hook—though the word is not in our dictionaries. Here, the *ganzing* by which the hook is secured to the line, and the line protected, is done by winding them with waxed linen thread or silk twist (Fr. *ganse*), whence I suppose the name, and not from Fr. 'ganche,' Sp. 'ganacho,' a hook.

Gumption, (gə·mshən); more common, colloquially, in N.E. forty years ago, than it now is. I never heard the *p* sounded. (Hii-z *noo* gə·mshən) or (Hii *keent* got *noo* gə·mshən).

Lean-to (addition to a building), (lí·ntu). Conn. and Mass., the common pronunciation, among farmers, etc. I never heard (lii·ntuu, lii·ntɹ).

Mich, v. (miitsh), part. (mii·tshin). Connecticut, farmers, laborers, etc., —as in speaking of a dog or cat (*goo*·in mii·tshin rəund), or of a (*puuɹ* mii·tshin fe·lu).

Refuse, adj. and n., (re·fíudzh), and sometimes (rə·fædzh). N.E., lumbermen, joiners, provision dealers, etc. —for the lowest merchantable quality of any description of goods. In a Boston paper of Dec. 3, 1716, I find advertised, "Refuse alias Refuge Fish" for sale. Common twenty years ago,—but much less common now.

Whoppet, (who·pit). A harmless cur, or mongrel dog. Connecticut. and elsewhere in New England. Common, in the rural districts, though omitted by Bartlett and Webster. Wright, Prov. Gloss., has "Whappet; the prick-eared cur." Here, the name has a larger denotation.

MR. BRISTED'S NOTES ON AMERICAN PRONUNCIATION.

South Carolina.

The inhabitants of Charleston, and all the Southern and South-Eastern part of this State, pronounce initial *w* (whether at the beginning of a word or syllable) like *v*. Like *v* to me; perhaps you would call it (bh) or German

w (which I own myself unable to distinguish from *v*). This peculiarity is common to all classes, except those of the upper class who have lived in Europe or at the North. They are not aware of it. I cannot find any European origin for it. It is supposed to come from the negroes. Teachers from the middle of the State have told me that the boys from the central and northern districts pronounce *w* in the usual and correct way. [Prof. March, in his letter to me of 22 March, 1872, from which I have already so largely quoted (1092, *c*. 1143, *c*), says: "A large part of the people of this region (Easton, Pennsylvania, U.S.), which was settled by Germans, do not use their teeth for English *v*, or make with *w* the usual English sonancy, and they are said, therefore, to exchange *w* and *v*. I dare say the facts are the same at Charleston, South Carolina, of which Mr. Bristed speaks. I have heard it said that the South Carolina change was started by German market gardeners about Charleston, but one would think that there must have been some general tendency to this *lautverschiebung*, or it could have hardly gained currency, as it has, among that proudest and precisest of colonial literary aristocracies. It looks like it too, that they sound *r* like *w*, or drop it. *Mister* is *Mistoow* (mi·stuuw?) they say,—one of my slight diphthongal *ws*, I suppose, if really any." In another part of his letter he had said: "As to the naturalness of *w*, I notice that my children, just catching sounds, not only make *w* in its own place, but also for other letters, regularly for *r*." [in which case perhaps it is a substituted lip trill with tense lips. or (ɯ), see (9, *cd*),] "and for *wh* they make *f*. This last is an unknown change here in mature speech." As to the American interchange of *v*, *w*, see Webster's remark (1067, *d*) relating to Boston and Philadelphia, where he observes *w* used for *v*, which in the case of Philadelphia Prof. March, no doubt correctly, has just ascribed to the influence of German *w* (bh). There is a well-known cockneyism by which (v, w) are said to interchange in England. We all know that old Weller in *Pickwick* spelled his name with "a *we*." Dr. Beke considers, from personal experience, that the sound is really (bh), which is heard as (w) for (v) and as (v) for (w); and he believes that in Naples and Rome there is the same tendency among the uneducated to substitute (bh) for (v). This opinion was contained in a private letter, in answer to another gentleman, who informed me that he had heard Romans, especially Roman beggars, use (w) for (v). I had never noticed this habit myself when in Rome, and my son, who was in Rome at the time when I received this information, did not succeed in hearing more than an occasional German (bh), with which sound he was well acquainted. But more recently a Scotch lady informed me that she had certainly heard (w) and not (bh) for (v) in Rome. It is a point requiring investigation, and as it has considerable philological interest, I think it right to draw attention to it here. I have never been fortunate enough to hear (w, v) confused in London, naturally, off the stage and out of story-books. But I recollect when a boy hearing people at Canterbury regularly saying what sounded to me as (wæn) for *van*, and one respectable pianoforte tuner, after vainly trying to say *view*, bringing out something like (wuu). But this was in days when I had no notion of German (bh). The confusion of *w* and *v* is also reported from East Kent, and East Anglia generally. The Charleston confusion, however, is a remarkable phenomenon.]

[In a later communication Mr. Bristed adds:] We (that is, all Americans except the Carolinians aforesaid, and *possibly* the Southern negroes generally; I am not sure on this last point) say *hwen*, putting the aspirate before the digamma, so that, were the monosyllable prolonged to a dissyllable, it would be (ɯuen) or (hu·en). [See (pp. 1142–3).] The Carolinians who say *v* (or what I call *v*) for *w*, do *not*, I think, mix any aspirate with it; they say *ven*, not *hven*. But I am not *absolutely certain* of this. [In his original notes respecting South Carolina, Mr. Bristed added:] Also common to all classes, and also unconscious, is the old *re-actionary Anti-Irish* pronunciation of (ii) for (ee), *cheer* for *chair*. But it seems confined to some words, *e.g.* they don't say *fear* (fiir) for *fair* (feer). [Writing subsequently, he says on this point:] I have discovered that the last century pronunciation (tshiir) [the trilled (r) in this and the following examples is possibly an oversight] for *chair* is not so common in

South Carolina as I had supposed. On the other hand, I have found in some of the best educated Charlestonians the still more archaic pronunciation (eer) for *ear*, *e.g.* (feer) for *fear*, (reer) for *rear*, (beerd) for *beard*, etc., etc. Not having a nice musical ear, I will not be certain that the sound is *quite* as long as (ee), but for practical purposes it is the same; *proof*, I first observed it from supposing that a friend had said *fare* when he meant to say *fear*. (Beerd) for *beard* is heard in other parts of America (and of England I suppose), but the general substitution of (eer) for *ear* seems to be Carolinian. The pronunciation is involuntary, and acknowledged by the natives to be heretical; it is not like their (kjard) and (gjard), of which they are proud as of shibboleths. It is never found without the *r*; no Charlestonian would say (peez) for *peas* as an Irishman does. [Considering that some of the earliest cases of *ea* sounding as (ii) occur before (r), these archaisms are very interesting.]

Gulf States generally.

All classes, from Virginia to Georgia inclusive, have a sort of shibboleth of which they are proud. It is the old Sheridan and Walker insertion of *y* before *a* after initial *c* and *g*; *gyarden* for *garden*, *kyard* for *card*. I believe Sheridan and Walker only inserted the *y* when *a* is followed by *r*; but our Southerners say *kyamp* for *camp*. [This means possibly only (*gaa*·dn, *k*aad, *k*æmp).] I do not know how far this pronunciation extends westward; for instance, if it is found in Alabama, I am pretty sure it is not in Mississippi, and *a fortiori* in Louisiana and Texas.

New England.

All but the best educated New Englanders make an insertion before *ow* final in monosyllables. Probably most persons would explain this insertion as *ä* nasalized. I don't think so, *e.g.* I don't think the New England *cow* is like the first syllable of the Spanish *causa*. Some make the insertion *ŭ*. I consider it *y*. *Kyow* for *cow*, *nyow* for *now*. [Probably (*kæ'u*, *njæ'u*), see the extract from Webster (1066, *b'*). If there is nasality, it will be (*kæ'ɲ*, *njæ'ɲ*).] Whatever nasalization there is, seems to me to lie in *the diphthong itself*, not in the preceding insertion. I think this is clear from polysyllables, *e.g. around*, where there is no insertion that I can detect, but there is a nasalization or *twang*. [Possibly (*ræ'*,*ɲd*) see (136, *d'*).] The New Englanders sometimes lengthen *ŏ* into *au*. *Nauthing* (or more commonly *nauthin*) for *nothing*. [Possibly (nA^A·thin) or merely (no^o·thin), which would be more historical.] On the other hand, they frequently substitute *ŭ* (ə) for *ō* (*oo*), *stun*, *hull*, for *stone*, *whole*. *The substituted vowel is the pure and simple English ŭ.* The New England pronunciations of *stone*, *whole*, are precisely the English words *stun*, *hull*. [They sound to me more like (stən, hol) than (stən, ʍol).] There is, however, *one word*, in which the people of Massachusetts (*not* the other New Englanders, so far as I have observed) substitute *ŏ* for *ō*. That word is *coat*, for which they say *cot* (kɔt). It is just possible the sound may be a little longer than *cot* (kɔ^o t), but it certainly is not so long as *caught*, or as Italian *o aperto*. [The Italian *o aperto* is by no means always or generally long, so that I attributed a medial length to this vowel; but in a subsequent letter Mr. Bristed says:] Since I wrote to you, I have observed that the Massachusetts pronunciation *caught* for *coat*, about which I was doubtful, does exist; within a fortnight I have heard it, as broad as possible, from a lady. Some Massachusetts men maintain that the *short* sound usually given in Massachusetts (especially Eastern Mass.) to the *ō* of *coat* is not *ŏ*, but *the short sound of ō*, a sound which, *if* it exists, has a constant tendency to run into *ŏ* or *ŭ*. [Short (*o*) certainly seems to exist in English dialects and in America, but it is frequently misheard as (ə), and it is singular that in Mr. I. Pitman's phonography (*oo*, ə) are represented by marks which should systematically represent them to be the long and short of the same sound. All this again is attributable to the relation of (u, o) and (ə, *oh*), where the vowels in each pair are due to the same position of the tongue, and differ only by the "rounding" or "lip-shading." This again leads to the common affected drawl (əə'oh) for (*oo*). In the same letter Mr. Bristed notes having heard *root* made (rut), rhyming to *foot*; and *deaf* called (diif), see (1069, *c*), by educated speakers. He adds:] Nearly all the New Englanders say *testimŏny* and *territŏry*.

The pronunciation *fort'n*, *nāt'r*, [possibly (fAA·tn, nee·tu)] for *fortune*, *nature* (the very shortest possible indistinct vowel substituted for ū), was traditional in New England, and only went out in the present generation. [It is XVII th-century English.] When I was a boy at Yale College (Connecticut) in 1839, some of the older professors said *fort'n*, *nāt'r*, etc.

The Bostonians and the people of Eastern Massachusetts generally are popularly accused of superfluous final g: *capting*, *Bosting*, for *captain*, *Boston*. Or to be more accurate, they are charged with substituting *ng* (q) for various short terminations. I have not observed this particularly in them. It seems to me a vulgarism general in both England and America. Dickens's Mrs. Gamps and Hay's Western Colonels say *parding* for pardon. But I *have* observed that the Bostonians lay unusual stress on these short final syllables. This winter [1870–1] a Boston young lady observed to me, "You New Yorkers say, 'the chick'n goes up the mount'n.'" I retorted, "What do *you* say? The chicking goes up the mounting?" She replied, "No, the chickenn goes up the mountenn." (That is the nearest I can come to literating her.) [Possibly (tshí·kkenn, máu·nntenn), exaggerating for the purpose of illustration. Smart marks (tshi·k·en, máau·nteen). I think (tshí·kin, mə'u·nten) or (-tin) are common. But (tshí·kn, máu·ntn) or (tshí·kun, mə'u·ntun) are disagreeable to my ears. Some persons likewise say (Læ·tn, Sæ·tn, pu·dn), but these sounds are going out of use.]

New York.

I am a native New Yorker, though not now resident in the State. This fact disqualifies me in a measure from noticing our peculiarities. Indeed, I *know* of but one, which has come up in the better classes within the last twenty years, and is (I think) more common with young women than young men. It consists in dropping medial *r*, and thinning the indistinct vowel before it into a very short *e*, *e.g. fest* (fᵉst) for *first*. [I have myself noticed in many Americans a tendency of this kind in the pronunciation of the word America, from which the *r* seems to be lost, or not trilled at all, and the *e* curiously obscured, something like (əmə·ɹikə), with a tendency to (əmə·ɹr̥ikə əmə·ɹrikə), but the vowel used for *e*, for which I have helplessly written (ə), does not glide on to the following (r̥, r) in the slightest degree. But the same speakers pronounce a trilled (r) before vowels habitually in other cases.]

Western States.

I have never been in them, and only know from common report that among the less educated classes, the pronunciation (a, aa) for (ee) is universal. *Bar* for *bear*, *far* for *fair*, *straunger* for *stranger*. [Possibly remnants of (bæær, fæær, stræænd·zher), misheard. Mr. Bristed finds a difficulty in understanding (æ, ææ) in palaeotype, which seems to him "to embrace all sorts of sounds, from the shortest continental sound of *a* to ordinary English ā. This," says he, "causes confusion. I am not sure how you pronounce *plaid*; it seems to me that you call it *pläd*." I call it (plæd), and it is curious that the American Worcester gives no other pronunciation; I have heard (pleed) called a Scotticism, which Mr. Bristed thinks the only right sound, as he says of mine, it "is surely a mistake, according to Scott's rhymes *plaid*, *laid*, *maid*, etc. Perhaps your (ææ) is that 'fifth sound of *a*, *ai* in *fair*,' given in the old dictionaries, Walker, etc., which to me has always seemed a myth. I mean I can't make out any difference between *fair* and *fare*." Walker made none, but I have adduced these facts to shew what difficulties variety of pronunciation throws in the way of indicating sounds by keywords. As to *fair*, etc., however, the sound may really be (aa), and not (ææ). Such sounds occur dialectally in England.]

General Americanisms.

We all (except perhaps some of the negroes?) sound distinctly the *h* of initial *wh*, just as Irishmen, Scotchmen, and North-Countrymen do. This I believe to be the only universal Americanism. There is a great difference between the speech of (most) Englishmen and (most) Americans, but it is a *musical* difference rather than a *letter-power* difference. We pitch our conversation in a monotone; Englishwomen appear to a green American to be *just going to sing* when they talk. [The English return the compliment with interest, which reminds me that

a Pole, whose language to an English ear is all hiss, told me, after hearing Hamlet, that the English words sounded to him as mere hisses!] Some Englishmen think that we lengthen the *i* more than they. I doubt it. I don't think, for instance, that we say (tâim) for (tə'*im*). [Many Americans do say (tâim), and even (tâ,*im*).] All Americans pronounce *vase* to rhyme with *case*. I see you would rhyme *vase* with *draws*. So does Sotheby in his Homer, and I am told this is the British Museum pronunciation. Most Englishmen of my acquaintance sound it with German *a* (to rhyme with *grass?*). Your pronunciation would be unintelligible to most Americans. [*Vase* has four pronunciations in English: (VAAZ), which I most commonly say, is going out of use, (vaaz) I hear most frequently, (*veez*) very rarely, and (*vees*) I only know from Cull's marking. On the analogy of *case* (*kees*), however, it should be the regular sound. I have known the three first pronunciations habitual among a party of four speakers, to whom the fourth sound was unknown. Goodrich gives all four sounds; but just as Cull only acknowledged (*vees*), Smart only admits (*veez*). As to the British Museum pronunciation, I find on inquiry that the Antiquities Department call it (vaaz), "to rhyme with *papa's*." but one of the assistants in that department says he would say (VAAZ) of a modern vessel to contain flowers* (for instance), "in fact," says my authority, "he seemed inclined to distinguish different kinds of vases by the pronunciation."] The vulgar pronunciation of *i* for *oi* is very general among the less educated New-Englanders, but is chiefly confined to words in *oil*, *boil*, *spoil*, etc. No native says *by* or (bai) for *boy; that* is purely Irish. [These are all XVIIth century.] I *think* I have found a New York peculiarity, *bud*dy, no*bud*dy, for *body*, *nobody*, but am not quite certain if the vowel *is* the indistinct ü. [(Noo·buds) is the most common English, but perhaps Mr. Bristed meant (noo bo·dí); was it (noo bo·dí)?]

AMERICAN PRONUNCIATION ACCORDING TO AMERICAN HUMOURISTS.

The pronunciation indicated by humourists in any language is of course *not* the pronunciation of the educated part of the people. But it must be the pronunciation of a section of the people, and also a widely known pronunciation, or the whole humour of its adoption would be lost. It therefore occurred to me that Dr. Trumbull's and Mr. Bristed's remarks on existent and Noah Webster's on older Americanisms would be best supplemented by a selection of phonetic orthographies from the works of known humourists.

Major Downing's "Letters" appeared in the New York *Daily Advertiser* in 1833–4, and had a popularity never before equalled in the United States. This book was a political skit on General Jackson's government, and is described in the *Quarterly Review*, No. 106, as "by far the most amusing, as it must be allowed to be the most authentic, specimen that has as yet [1835] reached Europe of the actual colloquial dialect of the Northern States." They are by this reviewer attributed to "Mr. Davis, of the respectable mercantile house of Brookes and Davis, New York." To these then I give the first place. The whole book is not spelled phonetically, but about as much American orthography is introduced as Scott uses of Scotch spelling in his works, and this I have extracted. With the humourous mode of expression, the grammar, and so forth, I have of course had nothing to do. I quote from the second English edition, published by Murray in 1835, "from the latest New-York edition."

Judge Haliburton's "Clockmaker; or, the Sayings and Doings

of Sam. Slick of Slickville"—of which the introductory letter, attributed to Mr. Slick himself, is dated 25 Dec., 1836—is fully as authentic, but the sprinkling of spellings is rather sparser, and I have not attempted to go through more than about one-sixth of the book.

Charles F. Browne's "Artemus Ward his Book" is made up of contributions to the New York *Vanity Fair* about 1860. It is almost entirely in picturesque spelling, which is frequently merely grotesque, but generally exhibits specimens of Yankee pronunciation, or what must pass current as such among Americans. His efforts in that way met with general appreciation. From this book I have culled a large number of words without attempting to exhaust the list.

Bret Harte's "Heathen Chinee and other Poems mostly humorous" have furnished me with several pronunciations supposed to be current in the Gold Mining Regions of California.

In quoting these words the letters D, S, W, H, refer to Downing, Slick, Ward, and Harte respectively. The addition "occ." shews that the spelling is only *occasionally* used by the writer to whose letter it is appended.

One of the most striking points to an Englishman on reading them is that there are practically no American Americanisms among them. They are all old friends, known in English humourists, and known in older or dialectal or vulgar English pronunciation. The twang, the intonation, the application, all tend to give them a different effect, but these are absent in the bare phonetic representation. The orthography of the writers is left intact, and I have not ventured to suggest their meaning. There may be some recondite differences with which I am unacquainted; but when the words are read as their spelling would suggest to one used to received pronunciation, the effect is quite familiar.

1. *Miscellaneous.*

The following is an alphabetical arrangement of some words and phrases which could not be easily classified.

A. *Account* 'count D, *acute* cute D S H, *afraid* afeard D, *against* agin D, *am not* ain't H, *are not* ain't H, *Americans' Merricans* H, *apoplexy* appleplexy D, *apothecaries* pottecaries D, *attention* tenshon D.

B. *Believe* bleeve W, *bellows* bellesses D, *be not* beant S, *beyond* beyend D, *boisterous* boysterious W, *by and by* bime-by D W.

C. *Calculate* kalklate D, *chimney* chimbly D, *Chinese* n. Chinee H, *classically?* cussycally W, possibly a mere grotesque; *contrariness* contrairiness H, *cordial* cordyal W, put apparently as an uncommon pronunciation, indicating "corjal" as the common? (1069, *cb'*); *cupboards* cubbords D, *curiousest* curiesest D.

D. *Damned* damned S, this is given as an uncommon spelling, "darn'd" being most usual, but in consequence of Webster's remark (1067, *cd*) this will be given among the *er*-words; *diamonds* diminds W, *does not* don't D, *drowned* drownded D, *durst not* dursent H.

E. *even almost* eny most D, een amost, een almost S, *evenly?* e'eny D, *ever a one* ary one D.

F. *Funeral* fun'l H.

G. *Gave* gin D, evidently the participle used for the preterite, see *given*; *genuine* giniwine, genwine D, *give* gin W, here we have the participle used for the present; *given* gin D, *grew* grow'd S.

H. *Handkerchiefs* handkerchers D, *have not* hain't D, hant S, *have given* a gin S, *heard* hearn D W, the form *heerd* also occurs, as will be seen afterwards; *hers* hern S, *his* (pred.) hisn D, *history* histry W, *holiday* hollow-

day D, probably a mere grotesque; *howsoever* homsumever howsever D.

I. *Idea* ide idee D, idee H, idear W, *ideas* idees W, *is* be's H, *is not* ain't D W H, an't S, isn't H, *it is not* taint D, tante S, 'tain't H, *it was not* twarnt D, *I was* Ise W.

K. *Knew* know'd D, *knoll* nole D, this must be merely grotesque spelling, as the sound is received.

L. *Laudanum* lodnum D.

M. *Mamma* mam H, *military* milingtary W, *Mississippi* Massissippy D, *Missouri* Mizzoori H, *monster* monkster W, *more than* moren mourn W.

N. *Necessity* needcessity S, also in Irish and in Scotch, so that it is not a mere grotesque; *necromancy* nickremancy D, *never a* nary a W H, here there is a mistaken tautology, as *nary* should mean *never a*, see *ever a* above.

O. *Of it* on't D, *only* ony D, *ordeals* ordeels W, evidently given as a mispronunciation in place of *orjeels*, see *cordial* above; but historically *or-deal* =ags. or-dâl, would be pronounced as W writes; OR-DE-AL is a mere piece of confusion; *ordinary* ornery W H, *ordinarier* ornrear W, *ours* ourn D S.

P. *Particular* pertickler H, *particularly* particly W. *perhaps* p'r'aps H, *popular* poplar W, *previously* previsly W, *probably* probly W.

R. *Regular* regler W, *rheumatism* rumatiz D.

S. *Saw* p.t. see D, seed S W, *secure* skewer W, *seen* p.p. sawn W, *series* serious W, *shall not* sha'nt D, *shallow* shaller S, *singularest* singleris H, *soldiers* sogers D, *sovereignty* suvrinty W. *sphere* spear W.

T. *That there* that air W, *theirs* their'n D, *them* 'em D S, *the other* t'other D, *there* are S, *tickled* tikled D, *told* tell'd D, *tour* tower D, *towards* tords W, *tremendous* tremenjus W.

V. *Violent* vilent W.

W. *Was not* warn't D, warnt worn'nt S, *were not* wa'n't D, *will not* won't D.

Y. *Yours* yourn D W.

2. *Vowels.*

In the following some little attempt at classification will be made, but the instances are not numerous enough to arrive at any satisfactory result.

A. The oldest (aa) sound remains in *stare* star H, *square* squar H, *hair-pin* har-pin H, and is broadened into (oo), where in England it has sunk to (ee), in *chares* chores D. On the other hand, it falls into (ee, e) or even (*i*) in *are* air W, *came* kem H, *again* agen H, agin S, *may be* mebby W, and completely to (ii) in *cars* keers W.

Long *a*, *ai* = (*ee*, ee) has become (ii) in *chair* cheer W H, *cares* keers W, *careless* keerless H, *scared* skeery W, *James* Jeemes H, to which must be reckoned *apparel* appeerel W; but *gave* giv W, is probably only the use of the present as past.

The same tendency is shewn in the short vowel *a* (æ) in *any* eny D, enny W, *can* kin H, *catch* kitch ketch D, *had* hed H, *have* hev W, *that* conj. thet H.

Broadening appears in *canal* kanawl W, *sat* v. sot D, *far* fur D, *stamped* stomped D, but uncertainly in *what* whot wat W occ., wat wot H, where the absence of *h* is noticeable, as it is generally present, and *was* war H. Even *au* shews both tendencies in *because* caze D, *audacity* owdassity W, but *caught* ketched D is merely a weak form of *ketch*, already cited.

E short is thinned to (ii), which may be (i) in *end* eend D S, *nests* neests D, and, as is very common in England, to (*i*) in *chest* chist S, *general* gineral D, ginral W, *generally* ginerally W, *get* git D W, *getting* gitting gittin' H, *kettles* kittles D W, *passengers* passinjers W, *pretty* adj. pretty pritty D. But shews the Scotch broadening tendency in *keg* kag W, *set* p.p. sot S, p.t. sot W, where there may be a confusion with *sat*, *well* adv. wall W, *wrestled* rastled H.

The long *ee* is shortened in *been* ben bin D, but as *ea* seems to remain (ii), even in *New Orleans* New Orleens S, *heard* heerd S W, with which we may class *anywhere* anywheer H, but the old (ee) crops up in *real* rale D, *really* raly D, ra'ly H, *beard* baird H, and some other cases, for which see *er*.

The following are very common in England: *neither* nother nuther D, *chewing* chawin W, *ewe* yo S, *newspaper* noospaper W.

I. In *if* ef W H, *sit* set D, we have a tendency opposite to that of *get* git. *Little* leetle D W is common here, but *squire* square W is very strange.

There seems to be a tendency to sink all unaccented vowels into (*i*), or perhaps Mr. Bell's (*y*), see (1159, *b*), and it is worth while noticing this, because a similar tendency shews itself in Irish,

and (*i*) is constantly used in Buchanan, see the vocabulary, pp. 1072–1083. See the Irish examples below. *Extra* extry W, *panorama* paneramy W, *opera* opery opry W, *actually* actilly S, *animal* animil W, *counterpane* counterpin D, *manage* manige W, *poem* poim W, *garments* garmints W, *trousers* trowsis W, *nephew* nevey H, *region* regine W, *passion* pashin D, *waistcoat* weskit W, *argument* argyment W.

O seems to assume all varieties of different local English forms, so that any classification is difficult. It becomes (aa) in *roar* rar' H, (uu) in *boast* boost D, *more* moore W, falls to (ə) in *home* hum D W, *whole* hull D W, *stone* stun D W, *nobody* nobuddy W, and even to (*i*) in *rose* v. riz D W H, *cover* kiver D W, with which we may compare *touching* techin W, while it varies in the same writer in *bosom* boozum buzzum W. Then we find *solder* sawder S, *boulders* bowlders H, *thought* tho't D, *bought* bo't D.

The (oo) sound varies, as (ǎu) in *route* rowt W, (iû) in *chooses* chuses D, *boots* butes W, *do* dew W occ., *through* thru' D, threw D W, *zoological* zewological W, the last being derived from the "zoo"; and (ə) in *took* tuk W, *roof* ruff D, and *you* yu W, *your* yer H, the two latter used enclitically.

The diphthong OI is treated as long ī in all those cases in which it was so sounded in the XVII th and XVIII th centuries. Thus: *appointed* appinted D, *boil* bile D, *boiling* bilin W, bilin' H, *broiling* brilin D, *hoisted* histed W, *join* jine D W H, *loins* lions W, which of course is merely grotesque for *lines*, *oil* ile D W, *point* pint W, *pointing* pintin W, *points* p'ints H, *poison* pyson S, pizen W H, *soil* sile W, *soiled* siled D, *spoils* spiles D.

U. The prefix *un-* is generally *on-*, as in *uneasy* oneasy S W, *unparalleled* onparaled W, *unpleasant* onpleasant S W, *unsatisfactory* on-satis-factory H. In a few words short *u* is *e*, *i*, as *just* jest D, jist D S, common in London, *judge* n. jedge H, compare Scotch (dzhədzh), *such* sich D W, *shut* shet H, very old. The form *shut* p.p. shot W, seems to be founded on some confusion.

The long ū when accented constantly becomes (uu), a well-known English vulgarism, but dating apparently from after the XVI th century, and the preceding *s*, *t*, do not then become (sh, tsh); but this is by no means always the case, as will be seen from the examples of consonants given below. Thus: *actuate* actooate W, *adieu* adoo W, *amusing* amoozin W, *circuitous* sircooitius W, *confused* konfoozed W, *constitution* constitooshun W, *dispute* dispoot W, *excuse* excoos W, *gratuitous* gratooitus W, *impudence* impoodents W, *including* incloodin W, *individual* individooal W, *influence* inflooince W, *lunatic* loonytick W, *nuisance* noosanse W, *obtuse* obtoos W, *peculiar* pocooler W, *punctually* puncktooally W, *pursue* pursoo W, *resumed* resoomed W, *spiritual* sperretooul W, *subdued* subdood W, *sued* sood W, *suit* soot W, *untutored* untootered W, *virtuous* virtoous W. It will be observed, however, that all these examples are from W. After *l* and *r* this change is received, but W furnishes both *bloo* and *blew* for *blue*.

Unaccented *u* in open syllables, which, though always very short (iû), is called long by our orthoepists, seems mostly to become (i, *i*). Thus: *education* idecation edication S, *minute* n. minet S, minit H, *minutes* minits W, *valuation* valeation S, *value* valy S, *regulating* regelatin D, *ridiculous* ridikilous H.

Final and unaccented *-ure* is usually treated exactly as *er*, and generally does not influence the preceding consonants, as *creature* critter cretur D, creeter critter W, *creatures* critters S, *features* featurs S, *figures* figers D, figgers W, *future* futer W, *injure* inger D, *legislature* legislatur D, *nature* natur D S, nater W, *natural* nateral S, natral W, *pasture* pastur S, *pictures* picters W, *rapture* rapter W, *venture* venter W, *pressure* presher W. The last word is exceptional. It will be found that these foreign words are very irregularly treated in the English dialects, probably depending on the time of their having been first used.

3. *The Consonant R.*

ER, EAR, UR. The treatment of vowels before R is very curious in America, dependent partly on the R having become thoroughly vocal, and partly on the retention of the old *ar* forms, with which *ur* forms have been confused. A few *er-* words retain their form as *er*, *ear*, or *air*, thus: *dern* dern H, *earth* airth S, yearth W, *early* airly S, *pert* peart H. But the rule is

for all such words to become *ar*, as: *learn* larn D S, *learned* larned D, larn'd S, *search* sarch S, *astern* astarn D S, *bear* bar W, *certain* certin sartin D, sartain S, *certainly* sartinly W, *certify* sartify D, *concern* concarn S, *concerned* consarned W, *converse* convarse W, *dern* v. darn D W, *derned* darned S, *dernation* darnation D, tarnation S, *deserved* desarv'd D, *determined* detarmined D, *early* arly W, *earth* arth W, *errand* arrand S, *eternal* tarnal D, etarnal S, *eternallest* tarnulest W, *eternity* etarnity D S, *infernal* infarnal D W, *Jersey* Jarsey (?), *merchant* marchant D, *Lord have mercy* Lord a massy S, *nervous* narvous H, *observed* obsarved W, *observes* obsarves W, *preserved* presarved D W, *sermons* sarmons S, *serve* sarve D S, *uncertain* onsartin S W, *universe* univars S, *verses* varses D, to which may be added *there* thar W H, *where* whar W, *blurt* blart S, *disturb* distarb W.

R. The late Prof. Hadley, in reviewing the first part of this work, after quoting my remarks suprà p. 197, says: "It is fortunate for this much-abused letter that so large a part of the English-speaking world is found in America, where the first settlers brought this *r* in a less attenuated state, and where their descendants have been largely reinforced by users of a yet stronger *r* from Ireland and Scotland and the Continent of Europe. Instead of losing the final *r*, like our brethren in Southern England, we are more likely to restore it to its ancient equivalency with the initial letter." (Essays, 1873, p. 252.) See also Prof. Haldeman's remarks (1195, *b'*). My own experience of polished American speech does not bear out this remark. No approach to an Irish or Scotch *r* final seems to be made. If a trill was ever used by the speakers I observed, it must have been very faint, for I am constantly awake to trills, and should have certainly remarked it. An untrilled *r*, perhaps as much of a consonant as (r̥), I seem to have heard; I think I have heard at least one American preacher say (ʜhæ̯rt) where I say (ʜaat),—a matter of choice, (ʜart) presenting no difficulty to me. But that Dickens' *smorl tork* for *small talk* would have been as easily written by an American as by an English humourist will be quite apparent from the following instances, which shew that *ar or* are recognized ways of writing (aa AA) without implying the least trill or vowel (ə) in place of a trill. It follows therefore that such a pronunciation must be familiar to American ears from American mouths. No American humourist could otherwise have ventured to use it.

After arter D S W, *ah!* ar W, *à la* ar-lar W, *amassed* amarsed W, *basking* barskin W, *calm* carm W, *danced* darnced W, *daughter* darter D S H, *earned* ernt, *rhyming to* want D, *half* harf W, *Iago* Iargo W, *last* larst W, *lather* larther W, *laugh* laff D, larf W, *laughable* larfable W, *laughed* laft D, larfed larved S, *laughing* laffin D, larfin S, *Madam* marm S W, *pa* par W, *pass* pars W, *passed* parst W, *pasture* parster W, *sauce* sass D W, sarse sarce S *saucer* sasser D, and similarly *awful* orful W, *off* orf W, *offsprings* orfsprings W, *officer* orficer W, *thought* thort thawt W, the last being an identification of *or aw* by W.

In the following we have not only the *r* omitted, but the vowel which was before it shortened, shewing its utter disappearance even from the thought of the speaker. *Horse* hoss W, *horses* hosses W, *burst* bust D W, busted H, *bursting* bustin W, *curse* cuss W H, *cursing* cussin D, *coloured* culled W, *first* fust W, *lanterns* lantuns W, *nursing* nussing W, *persons* pussons W, *purse* puss W, *worse* wuss W, *worser* wusser W. And I would explain *girl* gal H, *girls* gals D, galls S, in the same way, *gerls* becoming first *garls* and then *gals* (gəəlz gæælz gælz), and similarly *pretty* having the *r* "transposed" becomes *perty*, and then, putty D W, of which pooty D H is regarded only as another form. In *scarcely* scacely W we have a simple omission of *r*, with probably a corresponding omission of its modification of (*ee*) into (ee), which is also found dialectally in England.

ER, UR, as an indistinct vowel where no trace of trill can be reasonably supposed, shews this vocality more completely. Thus it stands for A unaccented in *afloat* erflote W, *drama* dramer W, *orphan* orfurn W, *spectacles* specterkuls W, *valise* verlise W, *umbrella* umbreller W, *vista* vister W, to which may be added the common *always* allers W H, generally written *allus* in England:—for E unaccented in *elements* ellermunts W, *elephants*

ellerfunts W, *intellectual* interlectooal W, *tragedy* traggerdy W:—for I unaccented in *dignify* dignerfy W, *exhibited* exhiberted W, *pusillanimous* pussylanermus W, *signify* siggerfy W, *specimen* spesserman W, *veracity* verrasserty W:—for O, OW, unaccented very frequently, as *bellowed* bellered W, *billows* billers W, *calico* caliker W, *fellow* feller D S W H, *followed* follered W, *gallows* gallers W, *hollowed* hollerd W, *innocent* innercent W, *negroes* niggers D, *patronised* patrernized W, *politest* perlitest D, *political* perlitercal purlitercal W, *potatoes* pertaters W, *shadow* shadder W, *sorrows* sorrers W, *swallow* swaller W, *tallow* taller W H, *vociferously* versifrussly W, *window* winder S W, *widow* widder H, *yellow* yaller S H, yeller W; in *following* follerin W there is a suspicion of a trill, but it is not certain, and even if it existed, it would only be similar to the usual euphonic London *r;* in *colonel* kurnel S, identified in the passage cited with *kernel* kurnel S, we have a received pronunciation; considering *of* as *o'*, the following come under this category: *kind of* kinder D S W H, *sort of* sorter, *ought to* oughter H, *onto* onter W; but in *provisions* pervishuns W it is doubtful whether there is not a confusion of *pro-* and *per-* as prefixes:—for U unaccented in *ague* ager H, *continues* continners W, *continuing* continnering W, with possible trill, *deputised* deppertised W, *invaluable* invalerble W, *sublime* surblime W. In *glorious* gerlorious W, *slave* ser-*lave* W, *prairie* per-rairie per-ar-ie H, it takes the part of an exaggerated ('h), and the same is the case for the ludicrously prefixed *ker-*, sometimes used in W, as *slap* kerslap W.

These examples shew that in America, as it will be seen in § 2, No 10, is the case also in England, *r* has become a mere means, first of writing (aa, AA), and secondly of indicating a *long* or a *brief* ('h, ə, ʊ), that is, one which has either only that short glide which follows a long vowel, or else no glide on to the succeeding consonant. In both cases *r* may consequently be considered as the sign of *lengthening*. Its use in this respect is similar to that of *s* in older French (831, *ab'*), and of *l* in Scotch (Murray, p. 123), having like them no historical foundation, and, so far as the usual value of these letters *r*, *s*, *l*, is concerned, no phonetic significance. They merely arose from the fact that in many words the phonetic values of *r*, *s*, *l*, had been lost, where they once existed, and the preceding vowel lengthened. With regard to the short *-er*, representing (-ə, -ʊ), writers have felt the same difficulty as Mr. Murray in his historical orthography (*ib.* pp. 133, 134), and have generally adopted his contrivance of writing *-a* when final (though many fall into *-er*, which leads, however, to a suspicion of a trilled *r*, which is tainted with vulgarity), and *-er-* when before a consonant (when trilling would be out of the question). Of course in Scotland, where the sight of an *r* in any position is the signal for trilling, this use of *er* was impossible. Its use in the United States, even in humouristic writing, is consequently proof of the very general existence of non-trilled *r* among the English speakers of America.

4. *Other Consonants.*

D is changed to *t* in *hold* n. holt W, which is not uncommon in England. It is added after *n* in *drowned* drowndid W, drownded H, *gowns* gownds W, as with us, but there is a more general tendency to omit it in this case, as *friend* fren W, *vagabond* vagabone W, especially when *s* follows, as *friends* frens W, *husbands* husbans W, *understands* understans W, *reminds* remines W, *handsome* hansom S (although *handsome* hand*sum* S is also found, where the *d* is probably erroneous), and even before other letters, as *handbills* hanbills W. There is a great tendency to change *d* to *j* under the influence of a full *i* unaccented but followed by a vowel, as *Indian* Ingen D, Injin D H, Injun W, and *audience* awjince W, *grandeur* granjur W, *immediate* immejit W, *induce* injuce injooce W, *medium* mejium W, *produce* projuce W, *soldiers* sojers W, *tremendous* tremenjious tremenjis W.

H. This much-abused letter in England seems to escape in America. Of course *ostensibly* hosstensibly W is a mere grotesque to recall *hoss*, the word not being popular. The enclitic *here*, in *this here*, *been here*, etc., suffers various changes, as: h'yur 'yar 'yer yere H, which however are attributed to the strong action of the (iə) or (iə') pronunciation of the *-ere* portion. Even Sir John Herschel (*Sound*, art. 361, in *Encyc. Metr.*) makes "*young*; *yearn*;

hear, *here*" consist of the vowel in "*peep*, *leave*, bel*ieve*, *sieben* (Germ.), coq*uille* (Fr.)," "succeeded more or less rapidly" by the vowel in "sp*urt*, ass*ert*, d*irt*, v*irtue*, d*ove*, d*ouble*, bl*ood*," entirely omitting the *h*. This will be found frequent dialectally, and *earth* yearth H is quite similar.

L for *r* in *frustrated* flustratid W is grotesque, but the omission of *l* in *only* on'y H is quite common.

M is omitted in *rheumatism* rheumatiz H, which is quite familiar in England.

N becomes exceptionally (g) in some words, as *captains* captings W, *cushions* cushings H, *garden* garding W, *weapons* weppings H, but more commonly *-ng* becomes *-n*; in fact this is the rule for the participial and gerundial *-ing* and the word *thing* in composition, as *amazing* amasin S, *capering* caperen D, *everlasting* everlastin' S, *everything* evrythin D, *meeting* meetin S, *nothing* nothin D S W, *pudding* pudden D, *seizing* ceasin W, *something* suthin W H, *toiling* toilin W, etc., etc.

PH. The change to *p* in *nymph* nimp W is probably purely grotesque.

QU becomes *c*, *k*, frequently in *equalled* ekalled W, and occasionally in *quotation* cotashun W.

SK is transposed, or rather the original *cs* is preserved in *ask* ax S.

T is omitted when final after *c*, in *acts* ax W, *conflicts* conflicks W, *contact* contack W, *districts* districks W, *facts* fax W, *intellect* intelleck W, *just so* jes so W, *just* jess H, *object* objeck W, *perfect* perfeck W, *sect* seck W, and after *p* in *attempt* attemp W, *crept* crep' H, also in *don't* preceding *n*, as *don't know* dunno W, and probably also before other consonants. On the other hand, it is added in *once* onct W, *sudden* n. suddent H, and assimilated in *let go* leggo W, to which category probably belongs *partner* pardner H. In *surtout* surtoot W the added *t* is orthographical; educated Americans also pronouncing the final *t* in *trait*.

TH remains *d* in *further* furder W, and is omitted in *clothes* close W, but *that there* that ar' H is the English *that ere*, and it is doubtful whether this should be reckoned as an omitted *th*.

V is written *w* in the first syllable of *conviviality* conwiviality W, shewing that some such change would be appreciated, (1067, *d.* 1220, *d'*), but this is the only instance I have noted.

W is, as often, omitted in *inwards* inards W.

X becomes *z* by the omission of preceding syllable in *exactly* zactly W, where the *t* also ought to be omitted.

The above examples, though very incomplete, will serve to give some notion of the prevailing illiterate or Yankee pronunciations in America. Those arising from negro influence have been kept out of view. But they form a remarkable instance of linguistic break down, and deserve careful study. For examples see *Da Njoe Testament vo wi Masra en Helpiman Jesus Kristus*, or New Testament in the Negro English of Surinam, to be had of the British and Foreign Bible Society, price 2*s.* 6*d.*; also *Proeve eener Handleiding om het Neger-Engelsch, zoo als hetzelve over het algemeen binnen de Kolonie Suriname gesproken wordt*, door A. Helmig van der Vegt, Amsterdam, 1844, p. 56, and *Slave Songs of the United States*, New York, 1871, introduction by W. F. Allen, pp. xxiv–xxxvi. To which Addison Van Name (1155, *c'*) adds Wullschlägel's Neger-englisches, Wörterbuch, Löbau, 1850.

IRISH PRONUNCIATION OF ENGLISH.

Although vast numbers of the Irish who speak English are uneducated, yet the English language is not of native growth in Ireland. There are still several parts of Ireland where English is not spoken. Hence an account of the Irish pronunciation of English can be better classed as educated than as natural. But there is a still stronger reason for placing it next to the American. They are both examples of an emigrated language of nearly the same date. If we disregard the English settlers in Forth and Bargy in the XII th century, to be considered hereafter, the English language in Ireland may be considered to date in the north from the settlement of Ulster by James I. in 1611, and generally from the events

which followed Cromwell's incursion in 1649. The first English settlements on the Bay of Massachusetts date from 1628. The language in both cases therefore belongs to the XVII th century. An inspection of the preceding and following lists compared with the accounts of the pronunciation of that period already given, will shew the correctness of the estimate already formed for these cases (p. 20) as examples of persistent mother-tongue in emigrants.

The general XVII th century character is most strongly marked in Ireland by the retention of the pronunciation of long *e*, in the state which had been reached in the XVII th century,—those words that had then changed long *e* into (ii), mostly marked by the orthography *ee*, remaining as long (ii), and those that had not yet changed their (ee), mostly marked by the spelling *ea*, remaining as (ee) or (*ee*). This character is so marked and prevalent among all but the higher educated classes in Ireland, among whom the present English usage is not a century old, (1050, *a'*), that most persons seem to regard it as one of the marks of Irish "brogue," whereas it is pure XVII th century English fossilized by emigration, and, as we shall see, is more or less persistent among our own dialects. But there are two distinct styles of English spoken in Ireland, that in the Northern part due to the mainly Scotch settlement of Ulster, and that elsewhere spoken.

After Mr. Murray had published his book on the Dialects of the South of Scotland, so frequently referred to (1085, *c*), Mr. W. H. Patterson, of Strandtown, Belfast, sent him a copy of a pamphlet called: "The Provincialisms of Belfast and the Surrounding Districts pointed out and corrected, by David Patterson, industrial teacher of the blind at the Ulster Institution for the Deaf and Dumb and Blind, and a resident of Belfast for the last forty years, Belfast, 1860." Mr. Murray having shewn me this pamphlet, and pointed out the numerous Scotticisms which it contained, I requested him to mark all the words which bore a Scotch character. At the same time, to check the North by the South, I requested Mr. T. M. Healy, who had lived the first 18 out of the 20 years of his life in Cork, where he was born, to mark such words as were pronounced in the same way in Cork as at Belfast, and where there were differences to point them out. Both gentlemen having obligingly complied with my request, I have been enabled to compile the following lists, which, although leaving very much to be desired, give a fuller account of Irish peculiarities than any I can refer to elsewhere.

To obtain further information, I addressed a series of questions to Mr. W. H. Patterson, who sent the pamphlet, and to its author, Mr. D. Patterson, who is himself blind, and is personally unknown to the other, and also to the Rev. Jas. Graves, of Inisnag Rectory, near Stoneyford, Kilkenny, honorary secretary of the Kilkenny Archaeological Society, all of whom, as well as Mr. Murray and Mr. Healy, most kindly and readily assisted me, and from them I have gathered the following information.

The pronunciation of Belfast decidedly differs from that of the

greater part of Ireland, but extends pretty uniformly over the Northern and Eastern parts (about two-thirds) of Ulster. Though Scotch, it is not so much so as the Eastern parts of Down and Antrim. For instance (says Mr. W. H. P.), a farmer living in east of County Down will have many Scotch words in his speech and a very Scotch accent, but will be at once distinguishable from the Scottish land-stewards and gardeners who come over. He will say: "Hae ye got ony guid shearin hewks?" and his children will play at: "Ngeery, ngaary, ngick, ngack, which han will ye tak, the right or the wrang, I'll beguile ye if I can." A child was heard to cry: "Qut cloddin stanes at them kye!" Here *Qut* is *quit*, give over (k*w*at). A farmer's wife called some people to "see Billy biggin," *i.e.* building a corn stack; a wild bee's nest is a bee's *bike* (Co. Down); *missly* is lonely, solitary (Belfast; Mr. Murray says Jamieson gives it for Roxburghshire, but he never heard it, it is ags. misalíce), *brulliment* disturbance (Glenarn, Co. Antrim), *glam* grasp or sudden clutch (Belfast), *hoke* to make a hole (Sc. howk), hence *the hoques* a game played with *peeries* pegtops, which are to *hoque* one another.

All my authorities state that the English from different parts of Ireland is decidedly different, but they are not prepared to say how it is different. It is evident that there is a considerable field for investigation here. The R is strongly trilled. There is an Irish *r* which seems to occupy the whole tongue in its trill, and may hence be written (ˌˌr), but I have not investigated it. The H is always pronounced, except in French words, and the WH is, says Mr. Murray, as in Scotland, varying between (wh, k*w*h). The peculiar dental T, D, before R, are considered under D, in the Alphabetical arrangement of the Consonants, No. 3, below.

My inquiries as to the "brogue" have not resulted in any very satisfactory information. It seems to me that we must study the Irish habits of Celtic pronunciation, and the de-formation of English by persons naturally speaking Celtic, before we can form a proper judgment on the brogue. Thus Mr. Murray, from his own Irish experience, defines the brogue as speaking English with Celtic habits of utterance—1) in the pronunciation of consonants, as the rolling *r* (ˌˌr), the post-aspiration (pнh, bн), the dental or bi-dental (ˌˌt ˌˌd) before this (ˌˌr), and excessive palatalisation of (l, n, k, g); 2) in the vowels (i) for (*i*), (ɔ) for (ə, ʌ), (*ee*) for (ii), all three of which appear doubtful to me, as the last seems certainly XVII th century English; and 3) most of all in the intonation, which appears full of violent ups and downs, or rather precipices and chasms of force and pitch, almost disguising the sound to English ears. In this work I have generally omitted to dwell on intonation, because, at all times extremely difficult to catch and describe in living speech, it was hopeless to recover it in the past. But in local speech intonation is very characteristic, and for Scotch and Irish it is generally unmistakable, although so difficult to describe. Mr. Graves says Cork and Killarney are marked by a peculiar accent on the ultimate syllable, a high key, and a brogue that is never lost. Even the gentry partake of this peculiarity. This brogue, when

once heard, can never be forgotten. Kilkenny, says Mr. Graves, has a peculiar drawling brogue, which he endeavours to write thus: *Calf* caalf, *Margaret* Maargaret, *clean* claane, *height* hoith, *potatoes* pyaatees, *wheat* whate, *father* faather, *door* dure, where *aa* is French *a*, except when answering to *ea*. Mr. Graves also remarks that "in the ballads of the peasantry the consonants at the ends of lines are ignored, it is enough if the vowels jingle together," and adds that this is also the rule of Irish poetry. That is to say, the Irish are still content with assonances, which had disappeared from English poetry before the immigration. In some modern street ballads of Belfast, sent me by Mr. W. H. Patterson, I find: name vain, shame train;—found known, surprise sight, found down, hands land;—eve grief, time line;—tin limb, mixed bricks, line pantomime;—kneel field;—alone home, eyes high, strong on;—chalk walked, malt walked, shock walked, hot clock, stop walked, talk walked, knocked walked (here every stanza ended with 'walked,' and the rhymester was evidently hard up);—remember surrender, perished cherish;—march smash, toast force;—cared bed;—sobbed Lord, joy smiles while;—found town. But by far the greater number of rhymes are perfect, although sometimes the authors seem to have had no rhymes at all "*convanient*," as when they condescend to: comrade poor Pat, morning darling, explain line, spring strung, kneeled side. It is very seldom that an Irish pronunciation comes in as: door sure, scream same.

Mr. Graves gives the following as "a fair specimen of the Kilkenny English of the last generation, *i.e.* as spoken by the old people," and adds that national school education is fast destroying these peculiarities; he says also that this dialect has evidently been influenced by an early English colonisation, and that the speakers use very good English, not clipping their words much. The bracketed explanations are his own.

"Shure yer 'Oner never seen so clane [clear-complexioned] a boy, [unmarried man,] or likely [handsome] a colleen [girl] as them two that was marrid the week afore last.—Is it what the dacent couple had to depind [the *i* sounded like Italian *i*] on for their livin, yer oner is axin? Sorra a haporth but God's goodness, and the quarter of pyates [pronounced as two syllables, pya-tes, a quarter of an acre of potatoes] the boy sot last Easther.—Is it after the woman [the speaker's wife] yer Riverence is axin? Och she's bad intirely with the faver, and the childhre down [sick] along with her. Glory be to God! an sorra an egg or a dhrop of milk meself has to give the crathers, becase the fox, the thief of the world, tuck the hins, an the cow's run dhry with the red murrin, not a dhrop inthered thir lips since yistherday but could wather.—Yer Riverence is a dacent gintleman, and won't see a poor craathur in want uv a bit to aate. The baaste perished [died] on me last week, and sorra a sup of milk I have for the childhre. It's kind faather [proving yourself kin to your father] for yer oner to be good to the poor."

Most words are here in received spelling, some occasionally in

both received and characteristic spelling; probably not one was altogether in received pronunciation.

With regard to the letter *a*, I have been told that the first letters of the alphabet are called (ææ, bee, see, deee), and that *barrel* is (baa·ril), and so on. But nothing of this is shewn in the above or in the following orthography.

In re-arranging Mr. D. Patterson's words, the ordinary spelling is put in italics, his phonetic spelling follows in roman letters, with B annexed, and C if this is used in Cork, S if in Scotch, WS in West and SS in South Scotch, and SE in Scotch English. Sometimes the word is re-spelled or only a single letter is added to shew the differences. When C is put after the usual spelling, it shews that at Cork the received, or what is there considered as the received, pronunciation is used. Sometimes this plan is specially broken through for brevity, as explained on each occasion.

Mr. D. Patterson seems to use *ee*, *ai*, *ah*, *au*, *oa*, *oo*, in closed syllables for (ii, *ee*, aa, AA, *oo*, au), and *i*, *e*, *a*, *o*, *u*, for (*i*, e, æ, ɔ, ə), but (E, ɜ) may be meant, and he seems to have no sign for (*u*). In open syllables, or with a final *e* mute, (a, e, i, o, u) seem to be (*ee*, ii, ái éi, *oo*, iú), and *ou* is (áu). The two sounds (ái, éi) will be spoken of under *i* long.

1. *Miscellaneous.*

To begin with a few instances which cannot be easily classed under letters. We have not unknown deformations of words in *column* colyum B C SE, and *tremendous* tthremen-dyay-iss B, tthremendus C, which appears rather as (trime·ndzhəs) in English, but *massacre* massacree B, massacrai C, is very peculiar. The three following are usual enough in England: *coroner* crowner B, C or corner, *courtesy* curtchy B C, *poem* pome B C SE, (poi·em) S, but *process* C, pross B, seems to be simply (pro·ses) abridged, and *portmanteau* portmantyea B, where *yea* = (*je*), or portmanchu C, is a mere local mispronunciation in B, where 'portmankai' has also been heard. Initial syllables are lost in *apprentice* C, prentice B S, *enlist* list B S C, and perhaps a final *t* in *lancet* lance B S C, which looks, however, more like a different usage.

Accent is thrown back, as regards received pronunciation, in *brigadier* brig'adier B, *cavalier* cav'alier B, *engineer* en'gineer B, *fusilier* fu'silier B, *mankind* man'kine B C, and S for accent, *parishioner* par'ishioner B C; and forward in *contrary* contra'ry B S C, in B and C we ought certainly to have *tth*, *desultory* desul'tory B, desul'tthory C, *discipline* discip'line B S C, *disciplined* discip'led B, *disputable* dispu'table B C, *disputant* dispu'tant B, *district* C, district' B, *exemplary* exem'plary B S C, *industry* indus'try B S, indus'tthry C, as it certainly should be in B, *inventory* inven'tory B S, inven'tthory C, *lamentable* lament'able B S C, *maintenance* maintai'nance B C, (mɛnti·nəns) S, *subaltern* subal'tern B.

2. *Vowels.*

A is sometimes but rarely broadened into (AA, ɔ), as *cabal* C, cabaul B, S (*a*), *canal* C, canaul B, S (*a*), *tassel* torsel B C, S (*a*). The general tendency is towards thinness, which takes several degrees. Thus, *alderman* C, alderman B, that is, with (æl) not (AAl), agrees with the retention of (æ) after *w*, which goes through the Belfast pronunciation, answering to S or SE (ä), but, except in the one word *wasp* wasp = (wæsp) B C, seems to be unknown in C, where the received pronunciation prevails, the examples being: *qualify*, *quality*, *quantity*, *quarrel*, *quarry*, *squabble*, *squad*, *squander*, *swab*, *swaddle*, *swallow*, *swamp*, *swan*, *swap*, *swarm*, *swarthy*, *wadding*, *waddle*, *wallet*, *wallow*, *want*, *war*, *ward*, *warn*, *wart*, *warble*, *warm*, *warp*, *warrior*, *wash*, *watch*, *wattle*, and *what*.

The short *a* seems to be lengthened to (*ee*) in *ration* rashin B C, *nag* C, naig B S, and falls quite into short (e, E) in *apparel* apperrel B C, *bandy* C, bendy B, *branch* C, brench B, (brensh) S, *calico* C, kelligo B, *cartridge*

ketthridge B, or katthrij C, *damsel* C, demsel, S (*e*), *examine* C, exemine B, *example* C, exemple B, *January* C, Jenuary B, *ma'am* C, mem B, (mæm MEM) S, *mangle* C, mengle B, *slant* C, slent B, (sklænt) S, reach (*i*) in *hang* C, hing B S (e^1), *many* C, minny B, *has* C, his B, *have* C, hiv B.

A short often sounds as *e* short in almost any word, but in Belfast this pronunciation is confined to words in which *a* is preceded by (k, g), or followed by (k, g, q). What shade of short *e* this may be is not known; possibly (e), but Mr. Murray suggests that it may be only a too narrow pronunciation of (æ), as a rebound from Scotch (*a*, á), and doubts whether a Southern Englishman would feel it too narrow. In Cork nothing of the kind is known. The following are some of the examples: *bag* beg, *cannel* kennel, *cant* kent, *carry* kerry, *cattle* kettle, *cavern* kevern, *drags* dregs, *fang* feng, *gabble* gebble, *galley* gelley, *gas* guess, *hack* heck, *hag* heg, *in fact* in fect, *knack* neck, *lag* leg, *pack* peck, *pang* peng, *plank* plenk, *rack* reck, *rank* renk.

CAR- GAR- are usually kyar- gyar- in Belfast, but sometimes kare- gare-. The first is just known in Cork. Neither are known in South Scotch.

In *was* C, wuz B, S occ., we have probably an occasional B use, and *vacation* C, vocation B, is no doubt mere confusion. Unaccented A is perhaps exceptionally treated in *America* Americay B C, and 'Meriky C.

A long seems to be in Ireland naturally (ææ), but much further examination is here necessary. D. Patterson notes that *-ar* is often called (-eer), possibly (-æær), and that when following *k* a *y* is introduced, as *kyar*, *skyar*, for *car*, *scar*. This and the long *-are* must in general be passed over, to note *char* C, char B SE, *farm* C, form B, *dare* dar B S C, and *acorn* C, ahcorn B S, *panorama* panoramma B S C, *rather* C, rether B, S (*ree*).

AE is noted as *spae* C, spae B, but the meaning of the pronunciation is not obvious.

AI. Only *again* C, again B SE, *against* C, against B SE, *said* C, said B SE, are noticed.

AU is exceptionally pronounced in *assault* C, assult B, *auger* C, ogre B, *jaundice* jendiez B, jaundis C. The regular sound is marked as *a*, but whether this means (æ) or (ææ) or (aa) is not noted. The C is as received, the S has (*aa*, aa) always, and the English has (AA), hence I only give B in *brawl* bral, *claw* cla, *crawl* cral, *fawn* fan, *flaw* fla, *gnaw* na, *hawthorn* hathorn, *jaw* ja, *gnaw* na, *law* la, *paw* pa, *saw* sa, *sprawl* spral, *tawny* tanny.

E short is apparently lengthened in B, and *not* in C, in *bet* C, bait B, *led* C, laid B, *precious* C, prayshayis B, *shed* C, shade B. It is occasionally deepened to (æ) as in *desk* C, dask B, (dæsk) S, *grenadier* grannidier B S C, *wren* ran B WS C, *wretch* C, ratch B, S (w'r), *wrestle* rassel B WS C; but its general tendency is to sharpen into (*i*), as in *bench* binch B C, *besom* bizzim B, (bæ·zəm) S, *bless* C, bliss B, S (e^1), *brethren* C, brithren B, S (e^1), *cherry* C, chirry B, S (e^1), *chest* C, chist B, occ. C, (ke^1st) S, *clever* C, clivver B, S (e^1), *crevice* C, crivvis B, S (e^1), *devil* divvil B C, S (e^1), *engine* injine B C, S (e^1), *ever* C, ivver B, S (e^1), *every* C, ivvery B, S (e^1), *jerk* C, jirk B, *jet* C, jit B, S (e^1), *kernel* C, kirnel B, *merry* C, mirry B, S (e^1), never C, nivver B, S (e^1), *next* nixt B C, S (e^1), *premises* primmises B C, *red* C, rid B, S (e^1), *shettie* shittie B, S (e^1), *speckled* C, sprickled B S, *together* C, togither B, S (e^1), *twenty* twinti B C, *whether* C, whither B, S (e^1), *wrench* wrinch B C, *yes* yis B, yis yes C, (Je^{1}s) S, *yesterday* yisttherday B C, S (ye^{1}s), *yet* yit B C, S (e^1), and in *senna* C, seeni B, (se·ni) S, it seems to be even lengthened into (ii). Although the tendency does not seem to have always reached C in these cases, it is widely diffused, and the above list is far from containing all the instances that might be given.

E long is often (*ee*) or (ee), where it was so in the XVII th century, as in *decent* daicent B C, *equal* aiquil B C, *extreme* extthraim B C, *female* faimil B, faimail C, *fever* favour B, fayvür C, *frequent* fraiquent B C, *immediately* immaidyently B, immaidjutly C, *scheme* skaim B C, *secret* saieret B C, *tedious* taidious B C. The B short pronunciation in *hero* herro B, hairo C, does not extend to C. In those words where it was spelled or might be spelled *ee*, the (ii) sound had already prevailed by the XVII th century, but *beestings* beestins B, baystins baystees C, *queer* quair B C, are partial exceptions. The pronunciations *were* wur B, wor C, *threepence* thruppence B SE, thrippence C, arise otherwise. But where

EA was introduced in the XVI th century, we know that the sound (ee, *ee*) remained in the XVII th, and hence we are not surprised at finding it almost uniformly so pronounced in Ireland. The remarkable point is that this pronunciation occurs in Belfast also, whereas it has nearly disappeared from the Scotch, whence it was derived. That it really existed there once, appears by some few remains. Thus *reason* is now in SS (ri'·z'n), but in the common phrase *reason or none*, used adverbially, they still say (RE·Z'n-ərni'n). Mr. Murray (in a private letter) says that there are many similar facts which lead him to suppose that the SS (*i'*) in the XVI th century was still (E) or (æ), and that it travelled through (e_1, e^i) to ($e^{ı}$, *i'*). In examining the words in EA, it is hence convenient to divide them into groups.

1) Those words in *ea* now (ee) or (*ee*) both in B and C, but not in S, these are: *bead* baid, *beagle* baigle, *beak* bake, *beam* bame, *bean* bane, *beast* baste, *beat* bait, *bleach* blaich, *breach* braich, *cease* saice, *cheap* chaip, *cheat* chait, *clean* clain, *creak* craik, *cream* craim, *crease* craice, *creature* craitthir B, craitthur C, *deacon* daikin, *deal* dale, *dean* dane, *each* aitch, *eager* aiger, *eagle* aigle, *ease* aize, *east* aist, *eat* ate, *feasible* faizible, *feast* faist, *feat* fate, *flea* flay, *freak* fraik, *grease* n. grace, v. graze, *heal* hale, *heathen* haithen, *key* kay, *lead* lade, *leaf* laif, *league* laig, *leak* lake, *lean* lane, *lease* lace, *least* laist, *leave* lave, *meal* male, *mean* mane, *measles* maizels, *meat* mate, *pea* pay, *peace* pace, *peal* pale, *please* plays, *preach* praich, *reach* raich, *real* rail, *reap* rape, *rear* rair, *reason* raisin, *repeat* repait, *sea* say, *seal* sale, *seam* same, *seat* sait, *sheaf* shaif, *sheath* shaith, *sneak* snake, *speak* spake, *steal* stale, *streak* stthraik, *stream* stthraim, *tea* tay, *teach* taich, *treacle* tthraicle, *treason* tthraizin, *treat* tthrait, *veal* vale, *wean* wane, *weave* wave, *wheat* whait, *wreak* rake.

2) Words in *ea* having the (ee, *ee*) sound in S, as well as B and C, *breathe* braithe, *endeavour* endaiver, *neat* nait, *weak* wake.

3) Words in *ear* having (aa) or (ææ) in B, and the regular (ɔɔ) or (er) in C, *dearth* darth B, S (æ), *earth* C, arth B, S (æ), *heard* C, hard B, S (æ), *learn* larn B C, S (æ), *search* C, sarch B, S (æ).

4) Words in *ea* having (e, E) in both B and C, *leap* lep, *meadow* medda.

5) Other words in *ea*, mostly treated differently in B and C, *beard* baird B, *deaf* deef B S, deef daif def C, *deafen* deeve B S, diffen C, *malleable* mallible B S C, *measure* C, mizhir B, S (e^i), *peasant* C, payzant B, *pheasant* C, fayzant B, *ready* C, riddy B, S (e^i), *squeamish* squammish B, squaimish C, *sweat* C, swait B, *threat* C, thrait B, *treacherous* tthraicheriss B, tthrecherüs C, *weapon* C, waypin B.

EI is not sufficiently exemplified, but the XVII th century pronunciation appears to be the rule, *either* aither B C, *leisure* laizhir B, laizhur C, *inveigle* invaigle B C, *seize* saize B C. Mr. Healy thinks that the *ei* is not so broadly pronounced as *ea*, but I have not been able to determine whether they differ as (*ee*, ee).

EW. The few cases given are quite exceptional, *chew* chow B S, chau C, *skewer* skivver B C, *Matthew* Matha B C.

ER is almost universally written *ar* in Mr. D. Patterson's orthography. Whether that means (aar, ar) or (ær) I do not know. The Scotch has generally (ær) in such words. B and C sometimes agree, and also often differ. The words given are as follows: *certain* sartin B C, S (æ), *clergy* clargy B C, S (æ), *commercial* C, commarcial B, *concern* consarn B, S (æ), *convert* convart B C, S (æ), *desert* desart B C, S (æ), *deserve* C, desarve B, S (æ), *determine* C, detarmine B, S (æ), *divert* divart B C, S (æ), *errand* arran B, errend C, *eternal* C, etarnal B, S (æ), *ferrule* C, farrel B, S (æ), *Hercules* Harklis B, *infernal* C, infarnal B, S (æ), *merchant* C, marchant B, *Mercury* Markery B, *mercy* C, marcy B, S (æ), *nerve* C, narve B, S (æ), *perch* C, parch B, *perjury* C, parjury B, S (æ), *perpendicular* C, parpendicular B, *person* C, parson B, S (æ), *serge* C, sarge B, S (æ), *sermon* C, sarmin B, S (æ), *serpent* sarpint B C, S (æ), *serve* C, sarve B, S (æ), *stern* starn B, S (æ), *terrible* C, tarrible B, S (æ), *terrier* tarrier B C, (tæ·rier) S, *vermin* varmin B C, S (æ), *verse* C, varse B.

I short when written *ee* by Mr. D. Patterson represents the Scotch short (i), and does not reach to C: *brick* C, breek B, *delicious* C, dileeshayis B S, *giggle* C, geegle B S (i), *idiot* eedyet B S, aijut C, *malicious* C, mileeshayis

B S, *militia* C, mileeshy B, *snivel* C, sneevel B, *ridiculous* rideekilis B S (i), ridikilis C, *wick* C, week B, (wik) S. Even the changes of *i* into (e, E) in *miracle* merricle B C, (me'r·ik'l) S, *milt* melt B C, (me'lt) S, *rid* C, red B, (re'd) S, which is only partially C, and into (ə, ɪ) in *brittle* C, bruckle B S, *whip* C, whup B S, are good Scotch. In *ruffian* ruffin B C the *i* seems merely a mark of the indistinct final syllable, as used so much by Buchanan, see example on p. 1053.

I long is exceptionally pronounced (ee, *ee*) in *diameter* C, dayameter B, *fatigue* fitaig B, fataig C, *intrigue* intthraig B C, *lilac* C, laylock B S, occ. C, *quiet* quate B WS, quite C, of which *fatigue*, *intrigue* are remarkable, since *oblige* C, obledge B, and obleedge C, does not follow suit. Notwithstanding the usual impeachment that Irish people say *oi* naturally, I am led to suppose that *giant* joyant B C, *riot* royet B, rīīt C, are also exceptional.

In Belfast there appear to be two regular sounds of long *i*, corresponding to the Scotch sounds, see § 2, No. 10 below, and similarly distributed, but not always affecting the same words, nor, as far as I can discover, pronounced exactly in the same manner. According to Mr. D. Patterson, the first sound is (ái), and the second (éi) or (E'i), or (é^e^i) with the first element slightly lengthened. The first occurs in almost all words where long *i* precedes *r*, *v*, *z*, *th*, and in a few where *y*, *ye*, *ie*, are final.

The following words are said to have (ái) and in Scotch (*ái*), and hence are both B and S: alive arrive blithe buy by client connive contrive cry deny deprive derive descry despise dive dry dye expire fie five fry hive my pie ply prior prize pry revise revive rye scythe shy sire size sly spy sty surmise thy tie tithe try vie wry.

The following six have (ái) in B, and (*ái*) in SE, but not in vernacular S: byre desire dire fire hire tire.

The following two have (ái) in B and (ii) in S: briar, friar.

Other cases have the second or (éi) sound in B, and generally also in S, but the following eight have (éi) in B and (*ái*) in S: choir idol idolize iron piracy pirate quire squire.

This double sound of long *i*, which is not in received English (but see Granville Sharpe, above p. 1053, *c'*), is very puzzling to an Englishman. Mr. D. Patterson gives the following sentences to illustrate the two sounds in B. The S distribution of the sounds does not always agree with the Irish.

B (ái) and S (*ái*).

I was hurt
My native country *I'll* disown
The *die* is cast
He will *dye* it red
He *dyed* his hair
He was *dyeing* it first
He *pried* into the secrets of all
They *tied* Rose fast
That gold is *mine*

B (éi).

His *eye* was hurt—S (éi)
I will my native *isle* disown—S (éi)
They *die* at last
He will *die* in bed
He *died* in despair
He was *dying* of thirst
—SE (*ái*), S (ii, éi)
His *pride* was the cause of his fall—S (éi)
The *tide* rose fast—S (éi)
That is a gold *mine*—S (éi)

This distinction is not appreciated by Mr. W. H. Patterson, who hears in Belfast, *a'm goin to Benger*, *a wouldn't if a was you*, and thinks that *eye* is called exactly (ái). But he adds, "a Cork man would say, *oi've hurt mee oi*." This Mr. Healy, being a Cork man, repudiates. He knows in general only *one* pronunciation of long *i*, which he considers to be (éi), and, after noticing the habitual pronunciation of *by*, *my*, as (bi, mi), adds, "Some of them also say *moi* for *my*, but these are very few; in fact, that word and *noine* for *nine* are the only ones I can speak of as having heard personally of the change of *ī* into *oi*." He had forgotten *giant* joyant, which he had already acknowledged. Rev. Jas. Graves "never remarked any difference [between *I* and *eye*] in the southern parts of Ireland," but adds, "*eye* is pronounced *ee* in the north." However, he writes *height* hoit. Now Sheridan and Knowles, both Irishmen, make the English sound of long *ī* = (A'i), see (108, *c*), and only differing from *oy*, made (AA'i), by the *length* of the first element. Now what caused this, and what makes English novelists write *poi* for the Irish sound of *pie?* I have had very little opportunity of observing genuine peasant Irish. But I am inclined to think that the effect is produced by 'gutturalising' (1107, *e*), whereby the lower part of the pharynx being widened more than the upper, an effect is produced similar to the *fourth* degree of rounding (1114, *d'*),

so that the sound (ə'i) becomes (ə'$_2$i) or very nearly (ə'^{4}i), see (1100, *d'*). At any rate, this produces the nearest approach to the effect I have noticed. Of course any such change would be entirely repudiated by the speaker. The following are a few of the words which take (éi, ɛ'i) in Belfast: *eye, idle, ice, Irish, pipe, pile, pike, pint, spite, spider, spice, bible, bite, bile, bind, fife, fight, fine, find, vice, vile, vine, wipe, wife, wise, wile, wire, wind, twice, swine, white, whine, quiet, tight, tide, tile, time, sigh, sight, side, silent, sign, shine, child, chime, high, lie, liar, life, light, like, lime, line, oblige, fly, flight, slight, slide, slice, glide, ripe, right, wright, write, ride, rice, rhyme, bribe, bright, bridal, brine, fright, Friday, thrive, tripe, trice, stripe, strife, drive, gripe, kite, kind, guide, guile, might, mice, miser, mild, smite, nigh, night, knight, knife, nice, snipe,* and their compounds. Of these *oblige* had been previously given as 'obledge,' so that probably both pronunciations occur, but the present is the one considered by Mr. D. P. to be 'correct.' "When *ī* precedes another vowel," says Mr. Healy, "the *ī* only is heard, as *Brian* brine, *lion* line, *diamond* dimond, *crying* crine."

O short seems to be made (*oo*) or (o') in *cord* coard B C, (*cúərd*) S, *sort* soart B C, (*súərt*) S.

In the following words, where the received dialect has (ə, ɜ), we find (ɔ) retained: *constable* constable B S C, *govern* C, govern B SE, *hover* hover B SE, *none* none B C SE, but *one* waun B SE, won C, *nothing* C, nothing B SE, *oven* C, oven B SE, but B and C shew different habits, and the contrary use of (ə, ɜ) for (ɔ) seems confined to B in *body* buddy, *for* fur, *hod* hud, *nor* nur, *or* ur.

That the (*u*)-sound after (w) should become (e, ɜ) is not strange, but Mr. Healy will not allow it in Cork. *wolf* C, wulf B, *woman* C, wumman B S, and even in the plural *women* C, wumen B WS.

The squeezing of (ɔ) into (œ) is more common, but although I have heard of its existence in Cork, Mr. Healy allows an approach to it only in one instance. *bobbin* C, babbin B, *bots* C, batts B, *chop* C, chap B WS, *crop* C, crap B, and occ. C. WS, *dobbin* C, dabbin B, *hob* C, hab B WS, *hop* C, hap B WS, *job* C, jab B, *knob* C, nab B, *lobby* C, labby B, *loft* C, laft B WS, *mop* C, map B, *off* C, aff B WS, *prop* C, prap B, *Robert* C, Rabert B, (Rab) S, *shop* C, shap B WS, *slop* C, slap B WS, *soft* saft B WS, sauft sahft C, *stop* C, stap B WS, *top* C, tap B WS.

The further gradation to (*i*) appears in *Donegal* Dinnegal B, Dunnegal C, *does* C, diz B S, *worsted* wistid B, wustid C, but is not universal. In B it seems fixed for *-tion* -shin B, rather -shöön, than -shïn or -shün C. For -ïn as indistinct (-un), see Buchanan (1054). It is possible, therefore, that this may be an old Scottish tendency, retained in Belfast.

O long, OA, OE, are generally the same as in the received dialect, but *board* boord B C, *coarse* coorse B S C, *sloat* slot B, are exceptions, though (slɔt) is the common technical word in England. Before *l* there is the usual old change into an (ə'u) diphthong, now very characteristic of Irish: *bold* boul B C, and bould C, *bolt* boult B, C gen., *cold* coul B, could C, *colt* coult B, C gen., *hold* houl B C, and hould C, *jolt* joult B, C gen., *mole* moul B, C gen., *old* oul B C, *pole* C, poul B, *roll* roul B C, *scold* scould B C, *sold* sowl B, sould C, *told* toul B C, and tould C, but *gold* goold B SS C. Exceptional changes occur in *osier* oisier B, *pony* C, pouny B S, *swore* C, sore B, *tobacco* tobecky B, tobacky C; but *phoenix* fainix B C belongs rather to long *e*.

OO, though generally remaining, even in *door* door B C, *floor* floor B C, (flɔər) S, becomes (ə, ɜ) in many words, but the usage varies, as *hood* C, hud B, *look* C, luck B WS, *shook* shuck B C WS, *stood* stud B C, *took* tuck B C WS, *wood* C, wud B S, *wool* C, wul B; but *loose* C, louse B S, which also is common in English dialects.

OI, OY. No examples given by Mr. D. P., but the usual (ə'i) sound in *boil, point, join,* etc., is I believe common.

OU, OW, in the following has an (ə'u) sound, contrary to received usage: *bowl* bowl B S C, *gouge* gouge B C, *pour* C, pour B, C also and more commonly, (puur) S, *route* rout B S, *shoulder* showldther B C, *soul* soul B C, *tour* tour B S. On the contrary, the received (ə'u) is (*oo*) in *devour* C, devoar B, and (uu) in *couch* cooch B S, *course* coorse B S C, *court* coort B S C, *crouch* crooch B S, *drought* drooth B S C, *pouch* pooch B C, *slouch* slooch B S.

This becomes (ə, ɜ) in *could* C, cud B, *courier* currier B S C, *mourn* murn

B S C, *should* C, shud B, *would* C, wud B, and (ə) in *nourish* C, norrish B.

Final *-ow* becomes regularly indistinct (-ə) in B S C, as *fellow* fella, and *-ough* fares the same in *borough* C, borra B, *thorough* C, thorra B. But we find the favourite *-i* in *window* windey B C, possibly etymologically founded.

U short is irregular in *puppet* C, pappet B, *turpentine* torpentine B C, torpentoine C, *supple* soople B S C, and where the received pronunciation retains the old (*u*), has adopted, but chiefly in B, the XVII th century (ə, ɜ) in *ambush* C, ambush B SE, *bull* C, bull B SE, *bullet* C, bullet B SE, *bulletin* C, bulletin B SE, *bullion* C, bullion B SE, *bullock* C, bullock B SE, *bully* C, bully B SE, *bulrush* C, bulrush B SE, *bulwark* C, bulwark B SE, *bush* C, bush B SE, *bushel* C, bushel B SE, *bushy* C, bushy B SE, *cushion* cushion B SE C, *full* C, full B SE, *pudding* C, pudding B SE, *pull* C, pull B SE, (pɜˈu) SS, *pullet* C, pullet B SE, *pulley* C, pulley B SE, *pulpit* pulpit B C SE, (puˈpət) S, *puss* C, puss B SE, *put* C, put B, (peˈt) S. There is the usual change to (*i*, e) in *bury* C, birry B, *just* jist B, and jis C, (dzheˈst) S, *such* sich B C, (seˈk) S. For the prefix *un-* we find on- B C, sometimes ŏŏn- C, never un-, as *unwell* onwell B C, etc.

U diphthongal, commonly called long *u*, becomes (*i*) or (*e*), or (ə) when unaccented, as *ague* aigay B, aigee C, (*iaˈ*gə) S, *argue* C, argay B, (*aˈ*rg*i*) S and C, *education* C, eddication B, *impudent* impident B C S, *manufacture* C, mannafectthir B, *value* C, valyea S. Also we find the usual *suite* shoot B, and *buoy* boy B C.

3. *Consonants.*

B is called (v) in *marble* marvel B C, S occ. B is omitted in Belfast and Scotch, but *not* in Cork between *m* and syllabic *l*, as *bramble* C, brammil B, *crumble* crummil B, *fumble* C, fummil B S, *gamble* C, gammil B S, *grumble* C, grummil B S, *jumble* C, jummil B S, *mumble* C, mummil B S, *ramble* C, rammil B S, *rumble* rummil B S, *scramble* C, scrammil B S, *stumble* C, stummil B S, *thimble* C, thimmel B S, *tumble* C, tummil B S, and between *m* and *er* in *timber* C, timmer, and even in Cork also in *cucumber* cucummer B S C, where the initial *cu-* for the natural XVII th century historical *cow-* is curious.

C functioning as (s) becomes (sh), as *s* often does, in *spancel* spenshil B S, spansil C; *guttapercha* guttaperka B C is a mere error of ignorance.

D and T in connection with R receive a peculiar dentality all over Ireland. This dentality is not noted in conjunction with any other letter but R, either immediately following, as in *dr-*, *tr-*, or separated by an unaccented vowel, as *-der*, *-ter*, the *r* being of course trilled. No notice is taken of the dentality of D, T, by Mr. D. Patterson in any other case, and he tells me that it does not otherwise occur in Belfast, but it is never omitted in these cases. Whether the word begins with the D, T or not, whether the D, T be preceded by S initially or by any long or short vowel, or any consonant in the accented syllable or not, whether the unaccented *-er*, *-ar*, etc., are followed by a vowel or another consonant, seems to make no difference. The dentality always occurs in relation to a following R, and not otherwise. No example is given of dentality being caused by preceding *r*—which is curious in connection with the apparent non-dentality of Sanscrit R under the same circumstances. The old Forth and Bargy dialect seems to shew an old dental *t*, *d*, even under other circumstances, as will be discussed in Chap. XII. In England, as has been pointed out at length, *t*, *d* are not generally dental (pp. 1095–6). We shall find that dental (ˌt, ˌd) occur frequently in English dialects, but always and only in connection with *r*, probably (ˌr), under precisely the same circumstances as the Irish dental. We shall even find that in England phases or varieties of dialect are distinguished by the presence and absence of this dentality. We have nothing in older English to lead us to a knowledge of the existence of dental (ˌt, ˌd), and their distinction from coronal (t, d). There is also no trace of it in Scotch. It commences further south in England, in Cumberland, Westmorland, Yorkshire, Lancashire, Peak of Derbyshire, etc. How did it get into Irish-English? It is believed to be Celtic, but I am not sufficiently acquainted with Celtic usages, or the English customs of Scotch and Welsh Celts in speaking English, to form any opinion. Another question rises: is the Irish dentality the same as the Indian, French, and dialectal English?

Mr. D. Patterson writes it *tth*, *dth*, and, in answer to my request that he would describe the action of the tongue in pronouncing it, wrote: "This vulgar pronunciation of *t* and *d* is caused by pressing the tip of the tongue against the teeth instead of the gums," shewing that his own (t, d) are gingival instead of coronal, and so far making his dentals the same as (ˌt, ˌd). But he goes on to say: "The explodent *t* is first sounded, but, on withdrawing the tongue from the teeth, the sound of *th* as in *thus* (dh) is unavoidably pronounced between the *t* and the *r*." That is, his *tthram*, *dthram* = (ˌtdhˌræm, ˌddhˌræm), which of course are quite possible, although it would thus be somewhat difficult to distinguish the first word from the second. The Rev. James Graves says: "The tongue is pressed firmly against the teeth and retracted, when the peculiar sound above described is pronounced, and before the succeeding vowel is vocalised." Here the (dh) disappears, and we have (ˌtræm, ˌdræm) simply. Mr. W. H. Patterson says: "The tip and sides of the tongue are jambed tightly against the teeth and palate, by the muscular action of the tongue, *assisted by the lower teeth*, which are brought against it, and no sound issues till the tongue is removed, which is not done till the pressure of air from within is considerable (at least as compared with the amount of pressure used in saying *thin* or *then*). I think that this 'coarse and thickened pronunciation' owes its existence to the important part played by the lower teeth, which keep the tongue from moving. In fact the word cannot issue till the tongue is drawn backwards and downwards out of the gap between the upper and lower teeth which it had been closing." It was to meet this case that I introduced the bi-dental (ˌˌt, ˌˌd) on (1120, *b*). If Mr. W. H. P. is correct, therefore, the sound is (ˌˌtˌræm, ˌˌdˌræm). Mr. Murray, who has been in Ulster, and knows the Westmorland (ˌtˌr, ˌdˌr), says: "I do not at all identify the *tth* of Ireland with the North of England dental. To my remembrance it was something distinct, with more (th) or aspiration and more moisture in it — a spluttering effect in perfervid oratory, as though the force of the explosion were carrying out the saliva with it. The northern English has a much finer [more delicate] and more simple-tonely effect." This would make the effect nearly (ˌtʰˌr-, ˌdʰˌr-), the windrush (ʰ) and the jerk (ʰ) carrying some saliva with them. Mr. Healy, in answer to the question: "is *t* or *d* pronounced *dentally* before *r*?" says: "Always, and to my Irish ears it would be a great improvement if they adopted or re-adopted it in England for some words. There cannot be a question as to the superior expressiveness of *Tthrash! Murdther!* heard from an Irishman, and the feeble *trash*, *murder*, heard here!" (dated Newcastle-on-Tyne). It might be possible to amalgamate Mr. W. H. P.'s and Mr. M.'s suggestions, and write (ˌˌtʰˌræm, ˌˌdʰˌræm). But merely English readers would be led to nearly the right sound, most probably, by endeavouring to say (tthʰræm, ddhʰræm). The following examples are selected from a long list, to shew the varying circumstances under which this dentality or bi-dental postaspiration occurs. All are found both in B and C, unless otherwise marked.

Dthr—drain dthrain, *draft* dthraft, *dram* dthram, *drill* dthrill, *droll* dthroll, *drop* C, dthrap B, and occ. C, (drɑp) WS, *drowned* dthrownded, *drunk* dthrunk, *foundry* foundthry, *hundred* hundthert B, hööndthert C.

-dther — spider spidther, *powder* powdther, *scoundrel* scoundthrel, *blunder* blundther, *tender* tendther B, tindther C, *thunder* thundther, *murder* murdther, *border* bordther.

Tthr—trade tthrade, *tract* tthreck B, tthrack C, *treble* tthreble, *trifle* tthrifle, *trim* tthrim, *trod* tthrod, *troop* tthroop, *trouble* tthrouble, *trousers* tthrousers, *truth* tthruth, *trudge* tthrudge, *try* tthry, *paltry* paltthry, *sultry* sultthry, *sentry* sentthry, *country* countthry, *partridge* patthridge.

Stthr—strange stthrange, *straight* stthraight, *straw* stthro B, stthrau C, *stretch* C, stthraitch B, *strive* stthrive, *strip* stthrip, *stroke* stthroke, *destroy* destthroy, *strong* stthrong, *struck* stthruck.

-tther — matter matther, *doctor* doctthir B, doctthur C, *rafter* raftther, *shelter* shiltther B, sheltther C, *winter* wintther, *chapter* chaptther, *porter* portther, *Ulster* Ulstther, *master* mastther, *sister* sistther, *battery* batthery, *bastard* bastthard, *Saturday* Satthirday B, Satthurday C, *lantern* lantthern.

Miscellaneous — children chiltther,

udder eldther B, udher D, *solder* sother B, saudther C, (sa·dər)S, *consider* consither B, considther C, *ladder* leather B S, ladther C, *bladder* blether B S, bladther C, *fodder* fother B S, fodther C, *splendour* splendyour B, splendthur C, *nearer* C, neardther B. In some of these latter cases most probably *th* B is an error for *tth* or *dth*.

D is omitted—

after R in *gardener* garner B C, *hardly* harly B S C, *lard* C, lar B S;

after L in *child* chile B C, *field* C, feel B WS, *held* C, hell B WS, *mould* moul B C, *scaffold* skeffil B, skaffil C, *wild* wile B C, *world* worl B C WS;

after N in *and* an B S C, *band* C, ban B, N and WS, *behind* C, behine B, *bind* C, bine B, (be¹n) S, *blind* bline B C, *bound* boun B C, (bɑn) S, *end* C, en B WS, *find* C, fine B, (fe¹n) S, *friend* C, fren B WS, *found* foun B C, (fɑn) S, *grand* gran, B C, N and WS, *grind* C, grine B, *ground* C, groun B, (gran) S, *hand* C, han B N and WS, *hound* houn B C, *kind* C, kine B S, *land* C, lan B N and WS, *lend* C, len B WS, *mind* mine B S C, *pound* poun B S C, *round* roun B C, *sand* C, san B N and WS, *send* C, sen B WS, *sound* soun B S C, *stand* C, stan B N and WS, *vagabond*, veggabone B S, vaggabone C, *wind* C, win B.

Hence of course D also disappears *between* N and L, as in *bundle* C, bunnil B, *candle* kennel B, kendle C, *chandler* chanler B C, *dandle* dannil B, *handle* C, hannil B S, *kindle* C, kennel B S (e¹) *spindle* C, spinnel B S, *windlass* winlass B C.

The participial *-ed* becomes *-it* or *-t*, contrary to received usage, at least in *crabbed* crabbit B S C, "in the sense of *'cute*, not *sour*, *morose*," C, *crooked* crookit B S C, *killed*, kilt B WS C, *naked* nakit B S C, *wicked* wickit B C.

The following are exceptional forms: *soldier* soger B S C, common dialectally in England, *necessity* C, needcessity B S, which looks like an attempt to make *necessity* intelligible, but occurring in America (1226, *ba*), may be an old form, although clearly erroneous etymologically, *breadth* brenth B, breth C, the last is not at all uncommon in England, especially among dressmakers.

F occasionally becomes voiced in B and S, but not in C apparently, as *calf* C, calve B S, *staff* C, stav B, (stav) S.

G in *blackguard* bleggayard B seems to be merely palatalised before (aa), as *k* usually is in B. In *drought* dthrooth B C, the (th) represents the lost guttural, but it was only (t) in the XVII th and XVIII th centuries.

K is not (as in received English) transposed in *ask* ex B, (aks) S, ax C, and disappears in *asked* ast B C, which must be considered a form of (æksk), and not of (æskt). It seems also to disappear in *lukewarm* C, luewarm B S, which may also be heard in England.

L is very variously treated in a few words. Its replacement by *n* in *April* Apron C, *flannel* flannen B S C, will be paralleled under N. In *corporal* C, corpolar B, we have almost a Spanish interchange of *l* and *r*. In *finch* C flinch B, *l* is inserted, and in *Walter* Watther B, Wautther C, omitted, as of old. In *sluice* C, sloosh B, *l* causes a *y* sound to vanish, and in *column* colyum B SE, occ. C, to be inserted!

M in *mushroom* musheroon B C has gone back to its historical *n*. After L it appears to be always vocal: *elm* ellim B S, ellüm C, *helm* hellim B, S occ., hellüm C, *realm* rellim B, S occ., rellüm C, *whelm* whellim B, S occ., whellüm C, where, as usual, *i* replaces the indistinct vowel.

N becomes *l* in *chimney* chimley B S, or chimbly C, *damson* demsel B, (de·mhs'l) S, *remnant* remlet B, and *m* in *brine* C, brime S C, *ransack* ramsack B C.

NG in participles and gerunds is regularly (n) in B S C, as *cunning* cunnin B S C, *evening* evenin B S C, *gnawing* gnawin B C, *herring* herrin B S C, *sitting* sittin B S C; in *blacking* blecknin B, S occ., blacknin C, there is an evident confusion with *blackening*. In *kingdom* C, keendom B, it would appear that the vowel also is lengthened as in the old Forth and Bargy dialect. Before *th* it becomes *n* in *strength* stthrenth B S C. *length* lenth B S C. In *dangle* C, dang'le B, and all similar words, C like E has ngg (qg), and S like B has ng (q) only, as in *ang-er*, *bung-le*, *fing-er*, *hung-er*, *jang-le*, *jing-le*, *mang-le*, *mong-er*, *ling-er*, *long-er*, *ming-le*, *sing-le*, *strong-er*, *strang-le*, *wrang-le*, *young-er*.

P becomes *b* in *baptism* C, babtism B, and often in England, *scrape* scrab B, scrap C.

QU is *k*, as often in England, in B and C, in *quoit*, *quorum*, *quote*, *quotient*.

R is often transposed, from before to after, in *afraid* afeard B C, (fiird) S,

bristle C, birse B S, *crib* C, kerb B, *grin* C, girn B C, *pretty* purty B C; and from after to before in *burst* brust B, bust C, *curb* C, crub B S, *curd* crud B S C, *scurf*, scroof B, scröof C, (scrɑf) S. It is also sometimes inserted after *p*, *th*, as in *poker* C, proker B, *potatoe* pratie B C, and also often pyaity, (tɑ·to) S, *thistle* C, thristle B S. The prior vocalisation of *r* occurs in *February* Fayberwary B, Febery C, *proprietor* properietor S, properietthor C, *propriety* properiety, B C, *library* liberary B S C, *sobriety* soberiety B C, *umbrella* umberella B S C, none of them uncommon in England, where also *curiosity* curossity B C is well known.

S is evidently mistakenly inserted in *molest* mislist B, mūlest C, and omitted in *corpse* C, corp B S, but in *sneeze* C, neeze B S, the omission, and in *quinsy* squinnisy B the insertion, is ancient. It is changed to (sh, zh), but chiefly in B, in *blunderbuss* blundtherbush B, blundtherbis C, *fleece* C, fleesh B, S occ., *grease* creesh B S, crees C, *harass* C, harrish B, *mince* C, minsh B S, *rinse* rensh B, rinsh C, rinzh S, *utensil* utenshil B S, utinsil C. On the contrary SHR evidently creates a difficulty, found also in Scotch, and in Salopian, and *sr* is used for it in B, not in C, in *shrub* srub, *shrine*, *shrewd*, *shrew*, *shriek*, *shrink*, *shrug*, *shrill*, *shrank*, *shred*, *shrivel*, *shroud*, *shrunk*. Is not *shrove* C, seraff B, a mere blunder? *Dictionary* dicksinary B, dickshinary C, is old, and *rubbish* rubbitch B, occ. C, is known in English as (rə·bidzh).

T becomes *d* in *protestant* proddisin B, proddistin C, *reticule* redicule B, (rɑ·dik'l) S, the latter very common as *ridicule* in England, when ladies' bandbags were so called. T is omitted in *crept* crep B C, *empty* C, empy B S, *fidget* C, fidge B S, *hoist* C, hoice B S, C occ., *instant* C, insant B, *joist* C, joice B, *kept* kep, B C, *slept* slep, B C, *swept* swep, B C, *tempt* C, temp B S. This would seem natural if it had not been added on in almost the same cases in *attack* attect B, attact C, *once* waunts B C, and wons-t C, *twice* twyste B, C occ., *sudden* suddent B C.

TH has its old form in *throne* trone C, and becomes *d* in *farthest* C, fardest B, *farthing* fardin B, (fɑ·rdin) S, *fathom* C, faddom B S, and *though* doe, C.

W is omitted in *athwart* athort B S.

Y appears as (dh) in *yon* C, thon (dhon) B S, a remarkable form, which admits of explanation, first on the theory of assimilation to *this* and *that*, being used for a second more distant *that;* on the theory of (dh) replacing (gh) from ags. geond, or as a mere orthographical mistake, *y* as often standing for *þ*, so that *yon* may have been in these the ags. þon, "(dhon) things," being a construction equivalent to "them things." Historical proofs are wanting. Mr. Murray takes the first view (*Dial. of S. S.* p. 186). It will be seen in § 2, No. 12, that the word *yon* is not very common in our dialects. The adverbial form *yonder* is more frequent.

Z is *s* in *lozenge* lossenger B S, lozenger C.

Although it is, strictly speaking, beyond the scope of this work, it seems advisable to supplement the above account by a notice of some other Belfast peculiarities given in Mr. D. Patterson's book, and their relation to Scotch.

Past Tense.—He *begun* to sing, he *sung* well, he *drunk* water, he *rid* home, he *ta'en* it away, I *seen* him, he *done* it himself. Mr. Murray says that this is quite opposed to Scotch. It is not uncommon in England. *Thriv*, *driv*, *striv*, *riz*, are used for *throve*, *drove*, *strove*, *rose*. I *giv* it him an hour ago, he *come* home this morning, he *run* down stairs. *Sut*, *sput*, *lot*, *brung*, are used for *sat*, *spat*, *let*, *brought*.

Scotch Words in Belfast—*Bing* heap, *boke* to retch, *brash* short and sudden illness, *cleek* hook, *clype* large piece, *coggle* to shake, to rock, *cowp* to upset, to barter S, *dunsh* knock against, jolt, butt, *dunt* knock, blow, *dwine* pine, *farl* cake of bread, *footy* mean, paltry, taking a mean advantage at play S, *fozy* spongy, *hoke* make holes, *jeuk* to dodge, *lappered* congealed, clotted, *oxtther* armpit, *prod* to stab, *scrunty* niggard, *scundther* to disgust, (skʌ·nər) S, *sheugh* a ditch (ʃɔkwh) S, *skelly* squint, *skelp* slap v. and n., *sleekit* sly, *slocken* slake, quench, *smudge* to smirk, *stoon* pang, ache, *speel* climb, *smush* refuse n. [*quasi* what is smashed], *stoor* dust, *stroop* pipe, sprout, *thole* endure, *thraw* twist, *thud* knock or

thump, *warsh* insipid, tasteless (wersh) S, *wheen* a quantity.

Unusual words not Scotch.—*Curnaptious* crabbed, captious, *dotther* to stagger, *floostther* wheedle, *footther* to bungle, a bungler, *jubious* suspicious, mistrustful [dubious?], *jundy* to jostle, *ramp* rank, rancid, *sapple* to soak, to wet thoroughly, *scam* to scorch, *scringe* to creak, *sevendible* thorough, sound, *skelf* a small splinter.

English words in un-English uses.—1. Scotch. *Even* to impute, to suppose capable of, or guilty of, *terrible* extremely, exceedingly ['terrible' common in Kent], *boast* hollow, (bu's) S, *clash* a tell tale or idle tale, *clod* to throw, *crack* talk gossip, *gaunt* yawn, *gutters* mire, *loss* to lose, *pang* cram, *scout* squirt v. and n.—*here there where* hither thither whither [almost universal in England], *a taste, a lock, a grain*, a very little.

2. Not Scotch.—*Bloodshed* bloodshot, *right* thorough, *them* those [very common dialectally], *welt* to flag, *a ha'p'orth* any thing at all, as "I don't know a ha'p'orth about it, he won't say a ha'p'orth about it, there wasn't a ha'p'orth wrong with him."

Scotch phrases.—*Whose owe* whose is [see Murray, *op. cit.* p. 193], *the t'other* the other, *throughother* confused, deranged [German *durch einander*], *a sore head* a head ache, *let on* let be known, pretend v., *carry on* misbehave, *put upon* ill used, imposed upon; *my, his, her, its, lone* alone.

VULGAR AND ILLITERATE ENGLISH

might be classed among educated English, if credit is to be given (as it should be given) to the following extract from *Punch* (6 Sept. 1873, vol. 65, p. 99):

Dialogue between Boy Nobleman and Governess at a Restaurant.

Lord Reginald. Ain't yer goin' to have some puddin', Miss Richards! It's so Jolly!

The Governess. *There* again, Reginald! '*Puddin'*'—'*goin'*'—'*Ain't yer'!!!* That's the way Jim Bates and Dolly Maple speak—and Jim's a *Stable-Boy*, and Dolly's a *Laundry-Maid!*

Lord Reginald. Ah! but that's the way Father and Mother speak, *too*—and Father's a *Duke*, and Mother's a *Duchess!!* So *there!*

But there is more in it than this. The so-called vulgarities of our Southern pronunciation are more frequently remnants of the polite usages of the last two centuries, which have descended, like cast-off clothes, to lower regions. Were there time and space, it would be interesting to compare them in this light. But the American and Irish usages just collected are sufficient for shewing the present state of these mummified forms, and we pass therefore at once to the more pressing investigation of the varieties of natural speech, as the only glimpse that we can get into the seething condition of the old pre-Chaucerian period, wherein our present language was concocted. Manuscripts transcribed by copyists who infused their own local habits into the orthography, and sometimes into the grammar, of their originals, afford at best but perplexing materials. We cannot hope to understand the ancient conditions but by examining their modern realisation.

§ 2. *Natural English Pronunciation.*

No. 1. NATURAL PRONUNCIATION.

By "natural," as distinguished from "educated," English pronunciation, is meant a pronunciation which has been handed down historically, or has changed organically, without the interference of orthoepists, classical theorists, literary fancies, fashionable heresies,

and so forth, in short "untamed" English everywhere, from the lowest vulgarity, which, as just stated, is often merely a cast-skin of fashion, to the mere provinciality, which is a genuine tradition of our infant language. An exhaustive or even an approximatively complete investigation of this subject is far too extensive to be taken up in this place. It will, I hope, be gradually carried out in detail by the English Dialect Society, for it is full of interest for the history of our language.

In the present section, which is all that I can devote to an investigation which must extend over many years and many volumes to be at all adequately conducted, and which has been never generally treated by preceding writers, so that it is not possible to state general views succinctly, I shall endeavour to present some work done at my request, and with my own steady co-operation, in several characteristic departments, confining myself strictly to pronunciation, which is the phase of dialect to which most inadequate attention has been hitherto paid. For brevity and convenience I dismiss all consideration of merely illiterate speech, beyond the short notice that I have appended to the last section. It requires, and as an important constituent of our language deserves, a very careful study; but time, space, and materials are alike wanting.

To myself individually the present section of my work appears meagre and unsatisfactory in a high degree. Instead of being, as it ought to be in such a work as the present, the result of mature study and long research, it is a mere hasty surface tillage of patches in a district not even surveyed, scarcely overlooked from some neighbouring height. I should have been ashamed to present it at all, had I not thought it incumbent on me to complete at least the conception of the investigations promised on my title-page, and to furnish the best which circumstances allowed me to scrape together. While I have been laying friends, and voluntary but hitherto unknown assistants under contribution, the fact that the conception of writing the sounds of dialects is altogether new has been gradually forced upon me, by hours and hours of wasted labour. From Orrmin and Dan Michel to Dr. Gill was a barren period. From Dr. Gill till Mr. Laing's transcription of Tam o' Shanter (1182, *d'*) was another. But with Mr. Melville Bell's Visible Speech Specimens an entirely new epoch was initiated. Mr. Murray's Scotch Dialects have worthily opened the real campaign. In this section I indicate, rather than exhibit, what is meant by *comparative dialectal phonology*, and I only hope that the results may suffice to call attention to the extreme importance of the subject, not merely to the history of the English language in particular, but to comparative philology in general. In our studies of language, we have too much neglected the constitution of its medium—sound. If language is but insonated thought, yet it *is* insonated, and the nature of this body must be far more accurately studied than hitherto, if we would understand the indications of its soul.

No. 2. PHONETIC DIALECTS.

A dialect considered phonetically is not a series of mispronunciations, as the supercilious pseud-orthoepist is too apt to believe. It is a system of pronunciation. We must distinguish between a grammatical and a phonetic phase of language. They are not necessarily co-extensive. Within the same grammatical region exist various phonetic regions. But still there is something of the same character pervading both. Varied as are the phases of South Eastern pronunciation, they have all a different character from either the Northern or the Western. Our older English is all dialectal. First Mr. Garnett[1] and afterwards Dr. Morris have done much to compare them with one another grammatically, and, so far as mere letters allow, phonetically.[2] In the present work an attempt has been made to determine approximatively the value of those letters. The determination can be at most approximative, for the writing even by careful writers, as Dan Michel and Orrmin, could have only been in itself approximative. The writers had no means at command to express, or training to appreciate, a variety of pronunciation even remotely approaching to that at the command of those who use palaeotype, and that is not itself sufficient perhaps to indicate the various shades of really unbridled natural pronunciation. Suppose we limited ourselves to the vowels (ii i, ee e, aa a, oo o, uu u, yy y), and the diphthongs to be made from them, and attempted to write received English from dictation, such as the passages given on pp. 1206-7, what would be the result? I will endeavour to carry out the program for my own pronunciation there given. The result would I think be something like this. The lines are arranged as on p. 1206, col. 1, to facilitate comparison.

Dhe rittn en printed
reprizenteeshen e dhe saunz
ev laqgwedzh bi miinz ev
karektez, whitsh er
insefishent booth in kaind
en nomber, en whitsh
mos dheafoa bi kembaind oa
modifaid if wi wed giv e
grafikel simbelizeeshen e
dhe fonettik ellements widh
oonli som digrii ev
egzaknes en kenviiniens,
ʜez biin frem oal taim, fe
neeshenz ez wel ez
individdiuelz,
liqgwistikel stiudents
not eksepted, won
e dhe moos neseseri
en won e dhe moos
difikelt ev problemz, en
ez konsikwentli skeasli
evve bin ʜappili solvd. Let
dhis tiitsh es dhet dhi
invenshen ev raitiq, dhe
greetest en moost
impoatent invenshen
whitsh dhe ʜiumen maind
ez evve meed, en whitsh,
az it indiid oalmoost
eksiidz its streqth,
ʜez bin ofn en
not ondzhosli etribbiuted
te dhe godz; laik dhi
oagenizm ev e steet et wons
simpl en kompleks, iz not
dhe weak ev individdiuelz,
bot ev sentiurez, pʜaps
ev thauzenz ev ʃiaz.

On comparing this with the original on p. 1206, it will be seen

For Footnotes 1 and 2 see next page.

that the absence of a mark for (ə), which no European language has yet accommodated with a fixed sign, has occasioned much trouble. In unaccented syllables (e) naturally presented itself, and in accented (o). The vocal *r* had of course to be omitted, but the diphthongs (ea, ia) replace (əə ee', *ii*') in accented syllables. The (AA) would be felt as something like (o) and as something like (a), so that (oa) would readily suggest itself. The distinction between long and short vowels is, properly speaking, an innovation, and it has given great power to the transcription. But the duplication of simple consonants after accented short vowels is almost inevitable. The net result, although really a burlesque on modern received pronunciation, would, if pronounced as written (with at most the usual German indistinctness or French obscuration of unemphatic *e*), be perfectly comprehensible, and would be only thought a little broad here and a little thin there, and rather peculiar in places, so that we might put it down to a foreigner who could pronounce English remarkably well—for a foreigner. I think that I have come much nearer than this to the pronunciation of Shakspere and his followers, and that I have even given a better representation of Chaucer's. But as to the various dialectal pronunciations, as determined by the present written specimens, I should be satisfied if I came as near, not only in the XIV th and XVII th centuries, but to-day in the XIX th, when reading English dialects written by contemporaries. What kind of an alphabet we now require for the representation of English dialects, I have two or three times attempted to shew (1174, *d*). The experience gathered by actual use has led me to modify and improve those attempts, and to select from the whole list of phonetic elements those which appear necessary for the special purpose of writing English dialects (see No. 5 below). And I shall later on select three verses from the various dialectal versions of the *Song of Solomon* executed for Prince Louis Lucien Bonaparte, and give them in their various original orthographies, contrasted with this Glossic system, so far at least as I am able to interpret the original. But otherwise I shall continue to use the palaeotypic method of writing, in order not to fatigue the reader with various systems of spelling.

Properly speaking, then, it would be necessary to group phonetic dialects according to the pronunciations of what are deemed the *same* words, or, more accurately, according to the phonetic dialectal forms which may be traced to a common ancestor. At present we have no means of doing so. It is as yet extremely difficult to ascertain the sounds used in our dialects, because those who possess the practical knowledge find themselves unable to communicate it

[1] The Philological Essays of the late Rev. Richard Garnett, of the British Museum, edited by his son, 1859, large 8vo. pp. 342. See especially the essay on English Dialects, pp. 41–77, and on the Languages and Dialects of the British Isles, pp. 147–195, in which, however, phonetics are as usual assumed, like Dogberry's reading and writing, to come by nature (MA 3, 3, 7).

[2] See suprà pp. 408–411, and especially footnote 3 to p. 409. See also Chap. VII. pp. 62-73, of Dr. Morris's *Historical Outlines of English Accidence* (2nd ed. 1872, small 8vo. pp. 378).

on paper with the accuracy required for the present purpose. In fact most of them have to learn the meaning and use of alphabetic writing. We have to class the dialects partly phonetically and partly grammatically; then, having got these classes, to make out as extensive a vocabulary of each as possible, and *ascertain the sound of each word* separately and in connection, as well as its descent. This is clearly a gigantic task, and must therefore be postponed. The admirable comparison of Scotch and English sounds in Mr. Murray's work (p. 144) suggested to me, however, that it might be possible to *select* some thousand words which were tolerably likely to be common to most dialects, and, being received words, had a received orthography by which they might be identified, and then to obtain the dialectal pronunciation of these words. The kindness of some friends has allowed me to do so to a moderate extent, and far enough at least to shew the meaning of the process. I have grouped these according to received spellings, so that the dialectal de-formations (in a geometrical, not anatomical sense) may be to some extent compared. But I have not been able to do more than give a sample of the work wanted to be done before we can properly grasp the notion of phonetic dialects. I have eked out this attempt with comparative indices which at any rate will shew how little the present haphazard or 'picturesque' writing of dialects effects in this direction.

But to condense the view of dialects still further, I bethought me of procuring comparative translations of a single short specimen containing many words very characteristically pronounced, and also many grammatical phrases which have distinct idiomatic equivalents.[1] Although I have not succeeded in getting a complete series of trustworthy versions of this specimen, and although possibly something very much better could be suggested by the experience thus gained, probably enough has been done to shew how much the comparative study of our dialects would be advanced by the simple process of getting one well selected set of phrases, instead of merely isolated words, or distinct and unconnected tales, printed in a careful phonetic version for every available phase of dialect. In glancing from page to page of these versions I seem to gather a new conception of the nature of our English language in form and construction, and to recognize the thoroughly artificial character of the modern literary language. We know nothing of the actual relations of the thoughts of a people, constituting their real logic and grammar, until we know how the illiterate express themselves. Of course it would be absurd for those possessing the higher instrument to descend to this lower one, and for the advance of our people, dialects must be extinguished—as Carthage for the advance of

[1] In putting this together I had the valuable assistance of Mr. Murray, who made many excellent suggestions and additions, and the *Athenæum* and *Notes and Queries* were good enough to draw attention to it in October, 1873. This has not been without some effect, as will be seen hereafter, though far less than I had hoped. Assistants thus attracted have, however, often brought others to the work, so that on the whole my volunteer staff has been practically large, and its zeal has been exemplary.

Rome. But for the advance of knowledge among the literate, let the dialects be at least first studied. We all know the value of fossils. The phonologic study is of course only the first round of the ladder, but it must be placed in position, and the sooner the better, because its material is the most difficult to recover. *One* very important, historically the most important of our English dialects (that of Forth and Bargy), has died out of the world of speech-sounds within the last fifty years! I have long entertained the opinion that a knowledge of our living dialects is the only foundation for a solid discrimination of our Anglo-Saxon varieties of speech. The actual existence of an English Dialect Society under the able inspiration of the Rev. W. W. Skeat will, I hope, do much to lift the veil which at present hangs over them, and to shew the new value which they will acquire by a comparative study.

No. 3. Arrangement of this Section.

The present section will consist of numerous "numbers," each of them very distinct. After giving, in No. 4, Dr. Gill's account of English Dialects, I shall consider the Dialectal Alphabet in No. 5, first as to the actual sounds used, and secondly as to their "glossic" representation for practical use. Then I shall consider the Dialectal Vowel Relations in No. 6, and afterwards those of the Consonants in No. 7. These numbers contain the principal philological considerations in this section. I regret that having been obliged to compose them before I could complete my collections, they are wanting in many points of detail; but they will I hope serve to give some general views on the very difficult subject of comparative dialectal phonology, which future observers may complete and rectify, and thus furnish the required thread for future crystallisations. Next, in No. 8, will be added an abstract of the Bavarian dialectal changes of vowels and consonants, which offer an important analogy to the English, and have been admirably investigated by Schmeller. After this, through the kindness of Prince Louis Lucien Bonaparte, I am able in No. 9 to present his classification of the English dialects, supplemented by Mr. Murray's classification of Lowland Scotch. To illustrate the Prince's work, and the orthographical systems or non-systems of dialectal writing hitherto employed, I shall in No. 10 extract the most noteworthy words, in the original orthography, from the versions of the Song of Solomon into various English dialects, which were made for him some years ago. These I do not attempt to transliterate into palaeotype, as I feel so much doubt on many points of pronunciation, while the general intention will be clear to any reader without interpretation. The Glossic rendering of three verses by way of example is given with much hesitation.

The following No. 11 presents a series of attempts to give something like an accurate rendering of dialectal pronunciation in the shape of the classified lists of words and examples already referred to, in which the sounds are given in palaeotype. Taking Mr. Murray's admirable list of Scotch words as a basis of comparison, it

will be given first entire, without his historical spelling, with each word rendered into palaeotype. This was really the first trustworthy representation of Scotch sounds that had been given. Mr. Murray himself will kindly revise the proof-sheets of this re-edition. The various other lists and examples have been furnished by many kind contributors, whose names and qualifications will be duly chronicled as each dialect comes under notice.

In No. 12 I shall place in juxtaposition the best renderings I have been able to obtain of the comparative specimen already referred to. The reader will thus be able to glance readily from one to another on consecutive pages, unincumbered by long explanations, as all such matter will have been given previously on a page duly cited, and hence immediately recoverable.

In all arrangements of dialectal varieties and specimens, the order of the classification given in No. 9 will be followed as much as possible, and its numbers will be invariably cited, so that one part will constantly illustrate the other.

In No. 13 I hope to give a comparative vocabulary of at least the principal words adduced in Nos. 11 and 12, arranged alphabetically for the words, and in order of classification for their sounds, so that their forms may be readily studied as they vary from one phase of pronunciation to another.

The general bearing of this investigation on Early English Pronunciation will be considered at No. 6, v., and may be reverted to in Chap. XII.

No. 4. Dr. Alexander Gill's Account of English Dialects.

The earliest phonetic account of English dialects is the short sketch by Dr. Gill, which, from its importance, I give at full length. Written 250 years ago, it is valuable as showing the comparative tenacity with which our dialects have held their own, as against the received pronunciation, which, under the influence of literature and fashion, has been and is still continually altering. And it is still more valuable as being the only real piece of phonetic writing of dialects between the early attempts of Orrmin and Dan Michel and those of the present day. The old scribes indeed wrote dialectally, but after a prescribed system of orthography, which recalls to me the modern Lancastrian spelling, an orthography so stereotyped that persons may write what looks like Lancastrian, but is merely disguised literary English, and may at the same time be quite unable to write Lancastrian pronunciation.

The following extract forms the whole of the sixth chapter of Dr. Gill's *Logonomia*, pp. 16–19. The palaeotype is a transliteration as usual.

Dialecti: vbi etiam de diphthongis improprijs.

Dialecti præcipuæ sunt sex: *Communis*, *Borealium*, *Australium*, *Orientalium*, *Occidentalium*, *Poetica*. Omnia earum idiomata nec noui, nec audiui; quæ tamen memini, vt potero dicam.

(Ai), pro (əi), *Borealium* est: vt in (fai·er), pro (fəi·er) ignis: Et (au) pro (ou), vt (gaun), aut etiam (geaun), pro (goun) toga: et pro

(uu), vt pro (wuund) WOUND vulnus, (waund). Illis etiam frequens est (ea) pro (e), vt (meat) pro (meet) cibus; et pro (o), vt (beadh) pro (both) ambo. Apud meos etiam *Lincolnienses* audies (toaz) et (HOAZ) pro (tooz) digiti pedum, et (HOOZ) HOSE caligæ.[1] Efferunt et (kest), aut etiam (kusn), pro (kast) iactus, a, um; (ful·a) pro (fol·oou);[2] (klooth) pro (kloth) pannus; et contra (spok·n), pro (spook·n) dictus: (duun) pro (dun) factus: et (tuum), pro (təim) tempus: (rəitsh) pro (rítsh) dives: (dhoor) pro (dheer) illic: (briiks), pro (brítsh·ez) bracceæ: (seln) pro (self): (HEZ), pro (HATH): (aus) pro (aal·soo); (sud) pro (shuuld): (əil, əist), aut[3] etiam (ail, aist), pro (əi wil), futuri signo: vt et in reliquis personis (dhoul), aut (dhoust); pro (dhou wilt, dhou shalt), et sic in reliquis: (HIIL), aut (HIIST); (wiil, JOUL) aut (JOUST); (dheil, dheist), aut (dhei sal). In (ai), abjiciunt (i), vt pro (pai) soluo (paa); pro (sai) dico (saa); et pro (said, sed). Pro (u) et (uu), substituunt (yy): vt, pro (gud kuuk, gyyd kyyk), bonus coquus. Voces etiam nonnullus pro vsitatis fingunt: ut (strunt) et (runt), pro (rump) cauda: (sark) pro (shirt) camisia; pro (go) ito, (gaq), et inde (gaq·grel) mendicus; pro (went, JED) aut (JOOD) ibam, ab antiquis etiamnum retinent.[4]

Australes vsurpant (uu) pro (ii), ut (HUU), pro (HII) ille: (v), pro (f); vt, (vil), pro (fil) impleo: (tu vetsh) pro (fetsh) affero: et contra (f) pro (v), vt (fín·eger) pro (vín·eger) acetum; (fík·ar) pro (vík·ar) vicarius. Habent et (o) pro (a), vt (roqk) pro (raqk) rancidus, aut luxurians, adiect; substantivum etiam significat ordines in acie, aut alios. Pro (s), substituunt (z), vt (zíq) pro (síq) cano; et (ítsh), pro (əi) ego: (tsham), pro (ei am) sum: (tshíl), pro (əi wíl) volo: (tshi voor JI), pro (əi war·ant JOU), certum do.[5] in (ai) etiam post diphthongi dialysin, (a), odiose producunt: vt, (to paai) solvo, (dhaai) illi.

Orientales contra pleraque attenuant; dicunt enim (fir) pro (fəi·er) ignis: (kív·er), pro (kuv·er) tegmen: (ea) pro (a), vt, (to deans),

[1] It is only this sentence which applies to Lincolnshire. The other parts refer to the northern area generally, and the words are apparently quite isolated, not even belonging to any particular locality. It was enough for Dr. Gill that they came from the north of his own county of Lincoln.

[2] In the original (fol·oon), but the n is probably a misprint for u; unfortunately Gill has forgotten to add the meaning.

[3] Misprinted *eut*.

[4] See a specimen of connected Northern pronunciation as given by Gill (854, *d*).

[5] See the quotation from Shakspere (293, *c*), which is written in the usual half phonetic style still prevalent in dialectal specimens. In an introductory note to Mr. Kite's Wiltshire Version of the Song of Solomon, referred to in No. 10, Wiltshire, Prince L. L. Bonaparte remarks: "In a very scarce pamphlet which I have been fortunate enough to find, the use of *ch* instead of *I* is to be remarked when Wiltshire men are speaking; as, for instance, *chave a million for her; chad not thought*, etc. This form is not to be found at present in the Wiltshire dialect, although it is still in existence in some parts of Somerset and of Devon, and was at one time current in Wiltshire. The title of the very rare and curious little work above mentioned is as follows:—'The | King | and Qveenes | Entertainement at | Richmond. | After | their Departure | from Oxford: In a Masque, | presented by the most Illustrious | Prince, | Prince | Charles | Sept. 12. 1636. | *Naturam imitare licèt facile nonnullis*, | *videatur haud est*. | *Oxford*. | Printed by Leonard Lichfield, | M.DC.XXXVI.' At page 5 of

pro (dans) saltare: (v), pro (f), vt (vel·oou), pro (fel·oou) socius: (z), pro (s), vt (zai), pro (sai), dicito.[1]

At inter omnes dialectos, nulla cum *Occidentali* æquam sapit, barbariem; et maximè si rusticos audias in agro *Somersettensi:* dubitare enim quis facilè possit vtrum Anglicè loquantur an peregrinum aliquod idioma. Quædam, enim antiquata etiamnum retinent; vt (saks) pro cultro, (nem) aut (nim) accipe; quædam,[2] sua pro Anglicis vocabulis intrudunt, vt (laks) pro parte; (toit) pro sedili; et alia. Sed et legitima corrumpunt, quædam vsu, quædam pronunciatu, vt (wiiz wai) pro freno; (wiitpot) pro farcimine: (HA vaq) huc projice, aut etiam arripe proiectum; item (HII vaqd tu mi at dhe vant). i. in baptisterio pro me suscepit: (zit am) i. sede; (zadraukh) pro (asai· dher·of) gusta; (HI[3] iz goon avisht·) pro (a fish·iq) abijt piscatum. Sic etiam protollunt (throt·iin) pro (thir·tin) 13. (nar·ger), pro (nar·oouer) angustior: (zorg·er), pro (moor sor·oouful) tristior. Præponunt etiam (i), participiis præteritis à consonanti incipientibus; vt (ifroor·) aut (ivroor·), pro (frooz·n) gelu concretus; (HAV JI iduu·), pro (dun); perfecisti? Hoc etiam peculiare habent, vt nomina anomala utriusque numeri in (z), per numerum vtrumque varient: vt (HOOZ) HOSE sing: et plur: caliga vel caligæ; apud illos singulariter manet (HOOZ) et pluraliter fit (HOOZ·n): sic (peez)[4] communiter pisum vel pisa, cum illis fit pluraliter (peez·n) pisa.

Communis dialectus aliquando est ambiguus. Audies enim (inuf·) et (inukh·) INOUGH, satis: (dhai) aut (dhei) THEY illi; (tu fliit), aut (tu floot) FLOATE aquæ innatare; (HAAL·berd, HAL·berd) aut (HOOL·berd) bipennis, sic (toil, tuuil; soil, suuil; bəild, bild, byyld), vt ante dictum.

Dialecti *poetis* solis ex scriptoribus concessæ;[5] quibus tamen, exceptâ communi, abstinent; nisi quod rythmi, aut iucunditatis causâ sæpiuscule vtuntur Boreali; quia suavissima, quia antiquissima, quia purissima, vtpote quæ maiorum nostrorum sermoni proxima. Sed quia dialectum suam Metaplasmi solâ licentiâ defendunt, de eâ satis dicetur vbi ad prosodiam peruenerimus.[6]

this small quarto volume of 31 pages, I find: 'and because most of the Interlocutors were *Wiltshire* men, that country dialect was chosen, etc.'" In the introduction to Dr. Spencer Baynes's Somersetshire Version, the Prince says: "In the Western parts of Somersetshire, according to Mr. Jennings, *Ise* is very generally used for *I*; and in the southern parts of the county *Utchy*, *Ichè*, *Ch* for *I* are still employed. *Ise* is also to be heard in some parts of Devonshire, particularly in those adjoining West-Somersetshire."

[1] The remainder of this paragraph is the passage about the *Mopsae*, already given at length (90, *d*. 91, *a*). The (v, z) for (f, s). so common in Dan Michel, have quite disappeared from Kent, and all the East. But a recognition of their existence somewhere in the East of England so late as 1621 is important, if it can be relied on.

[2] Misprinted *quadam* three times.

[3] Misprinted 'hj' = (HəI), for 'hi' = (HI). No (ə'i, êi) sound of *he* is known in the West.

[4] (Pez) in the original must be a misprint.

[5] In his preface he says: Quin etiam vbi dialectus variat, facilè patior vt ipsa scriptura sibi minimè constet: vt, (fardh·er, furdh·er), aut (furd er); (mur·dher) aut (mur·dher), (tu fləi) aut (tu fli), (tu fliit) aut (tu floot), &c. Dialectis autem (exceptâ Communi) in oratione solutâ nullus est locus nisi vbi materiæ necessitas postulat: Poetis metaplasmus omnis modestè conceditur."

[6] The passage referred to is quoted at full, suprà p. 936, No. 7.

Et quod hic de dialectis loquor, ad rusticos tantùm pertinere velim intelligas: nam mitioribus ingenijs, & cultiùs enutritis, unus est ubique sermo & sono, & significatu. De venenato illo & putidissimo ulcere nostræ reipub. pudet dicere. Habet enim & fæx illa spurcissima erronum mendicantium non propriam tantùm dialectum; sed & cantum[1] sive loquelam, quam nulla unquam legum vindicta coercebit, donec edicto publico cogantur Iustitiarii eius auctores in crucem tollere. sed quia tota hæc dialectus, unà cum nocentissimis huius amurcæ sordibus, peculiari libro[2] descripta est; quia exteris hominibus nil commodi allatura; ex oratione meâ circumscribam.

No. 5. Dialectal Alphabet.

The alphabet of received English pronunciation has been considered at length in § 1. Notwithstanding the differences of opinion respecting the precise sounds usually employed, it is clear that we can take no other starting-point or standard of comparison than these sounds,[3] though we have constantly to bear in mind the possible varieties. This alphabet has then to be increased by letters for the dialectal sounds. And both sets of sounds must be conveniently symbolised. For our present purpose the palaeotypic forms more than suffice. But for special studies on English dialects, symbols based on the present received pronunciation are required. Much of the best assistance I have received in collecting dialectal pronunciation is due to the adoption of glossic (1174, *b*), and in the course of my work the necessity of shewing how glossic can be applied to the representations of the sounds has been strongly impressed upon me. The adoption of glossic by Mr. Skeat for the English Dialect Society makes an accurate description still more necessary.[4] For precise purposes of comparison, such as here contemplated, no symbolisation can be too minute. But when such minuteness is studied, the recorder is too apt to fall into individualities, which he must afterwards eliminate.

The received alphabet may be considered as the following.[5] The *emphatic vowels* are (ii *ee* aa AA *oo* uu, *i* e æ ɔ ə *u*), with varieties in

[1] *Cant* must have been already a common term, therefore.

[2] Title not known.

[3] See the remarks on Vowel Quality, below No. 6, iii.

[4] The Society which is publishing the Lancashire Glossary finds the use of glossic 'too difficult,' and hence proposes a 'simple' mode of indicating the pronunciation. I have not had the advantage of seeing this 'simple' mode as yet. But any writers who find glossic too difficult have probably every thing to learn in the study of phonology, and it is very likely that any 'simple' plan they could suggest would owe its apparent simplicity to omissions and double uses, which, of little importance to those who do not thirst for accurate knowledge,—to the *dilettanti* of dialectal writing,—are excruciating to the accurate investigator of linguistic change. It is possible, however, for any particular dialect to have a much simpler form of expression than glossic, which should still be severe, but such simpler form would be worse than useless for *comparative* dialectal phonology of English, for which glossic is proposed. Glossic is simpler than palaeotype for the same reason—it is English, not cosmopolitan.

[5] The reader is referred generally to the discussions on pp. 1091–1171.

the case of (e, ə), which many pronounce (ɛ ɜ), without, however, making any difference in signification. I do not see much chance of having these pairs of signs kept apart by ordinary writers. The distinction (ɔ, ʌ) is also so fine that it is not generally felt, and the tendency is to write (ɔ) short and (ʌʌ) long, without much thought as to whether (ʌ) short and (ɔɔ) long would not be equally correct. The distinctions (i *i*, u *u*), although seldom known, are yet clearly made. Many persons vary also in the sound of (æ), using (ah) generally, and sometimes (a); but the distinctions (æ, a) are usually well felt by speakers, and, though hitherto almost unrecognized by writers, have a dialectal value.

Leaving out the diphthongs, then, the above 12 may be considered the emphatic English vowels. Each of them *may* be long or short, but the first six are seldom short in a closed syllable. The last six are seldom long, with the exception of (ə), which seems to be (əə) in places where *er*, *ur* are written, and no vowel follows. This is a disputed point (1156, *c*). Another vowel (œœ) is assumed to exist in that case. But the distinction (əə, œœ) is very fine, and is certainly not always made. The real point of difference depends perhaps on the fact that long vowels do not glide so firmly and audibly on to the following consonant, as do accented short vowels in closed syllables (1145, *c*). When therefore a writer puts (œ) in place of (ə), he wants to produce the effect of the short weak glide which follows long vowels (1161, *b*). Thus to write *iron* (ə'*i*·ɹən) would seem to make (ən) the same as in *shun* (shən). By putting (ə'*i*·ɹœn), this appearance is avoided; but still no *r* effect is produced, for the theoretical (ə'*i*·œɹn): hence refuge is taken in (œ), thus (ə'*i*·œn), the sound (œ) being only known in connection with *r*.

For *unemphatic vowels* (*y*, ʊ) are practically undistinguished from (*i*, ə). Those, however, who use (ɜ) emphatically, do not use it unemphatically, and employ either (ə) or (ʊ) in such cases (1160, *d*). What the precise differences are cannot be said to have been yet determined.

For the *Proper Diphthongs*, the long *i* varies as (ə'*i*, ɜ'*i*, áh*i*, á*i*, *ái*), and occasionally (æ'*i*, ɛ'*i*, é*i*). The length of the second element is fluctuating, and the laws which it follows are unknown. They seem not to be so much individual as emotional, varying according to feeling in the same individual. Consonantal action also interferes. The quality of the first element is partly local and partly individual. At least three forms (ə'*i*, áh*i*, á*i*) must be admitted as received, and of these *perhaps* (á*i*) is commonest, and (áh*i*) most delicate. But (ɜ'*i*) is also heard from educated speakers, though both (ɜ'*i*, *ái*) have a broadness which offends many ears. The form (æ'*i*) is distinctly "cockney," and (ɛ'*i*, é*i*) are mincing, to such a degree that they may be understood as long *a*. Hence I would regard only (ə'*i*, áh*i*, á*i*) as received.

The *ow* diphthong has similar, but more divergent, and more numerous, varieties, and only (ə'*i*, áh*u*, á*u*) can be considered as received; (ɛ'*u* é*u* é*u*) are cockney forms, and (ʌ'*u* ɔ'*u* ó*u* ŏ*u*, ɜ'*u* á*u*, æ'*u*) provincial, and often characteristic of particular dialects.

The *oy* diphthong has a much smaller range, at most (ʌ'*i*, ʌʌ'*i*, ɔ'*i*), of which the first and last are most generally received. From educated people the long *i* sounds for *oy* have disappeared, and (ói, ói, úi) are distinctly provincial.

The second element of these three classes of diphthongs is, at least occasionally, tightened into a consonant as (ə'*i*j, ə'*u*w, ɔ'*i*ɹ) or (ə'ɹ, ə'w, ɔ'ɹ). How far this practice extends, and whether the result ever degrades into being a pure consonantal syllable as just marked, is not yet determined. Practically we may leave this point out of consideration. Also instead of (*i*, *u*), the second elements may be always (i, u), thus (ə'i, ə'u, ɔ'i); but this does not seem to be the usual English habit. Mr. Murray assumes (i, u) in Scotch.

The long *u* has only one received sound (iú) or (*i*ú), varying in the length of the second element, and with its first element either falling entirely into (ɹ) as (ɹu), or using a (ɹ) as a fulcrum, thus (ɹiú). These variations are of no importance. But (íu, íiu) are distinctly non-received. They are known and ridiculed.

The *vanish diphthongs* generally recognized are (*ee*'j, *oo*'*w*) already described at length. To these may be added (áaə, ʌʌ'ə), although they are generally condemned, because they are supposed to consist in adding on an *r*, and often lead to the euphonic interposition of (r) when a vowel follows. But, when this (r) is avoided, there is no doubt that (áaə ʌʌ'ə) are very generally heard in the pause. There are, however, very few words to which they apply.

The *murmur diphthongs* generally arising from a suppressed (r) have all long first elements, and are hence of the same character as the last. They consist essentially in adding on the simple voice ('h), and if this is represented by (') , there is no occasion to use the acute accent to mark the element which has the stress. In received English these are (*ii*', ee', oo', *uu*'), where either a vowel usually short is lengthened, or a new vowel is introduced, (oo) for (*oo*), and to these we must add (aa', ʌʌ'), where there is no new first element. These are heard in *merely*, *fairly*, *sorely*, *poorly*, *marly*, *Morley*. The use of (ʌʌ') for (oo') is very common. The omission of the vanish in (aa', ʌʌ') is also quite common, and in (ee') the vanish is usually very brief. Besides these there is the simple "natural vowel" (əə), or else its substitute (ɐɐ), and these may go off into an indeterminate voice sound, as (əə', ɐɐ'), in which case the first element would be usually considered short, as (ə', ɐ'), although it is as long as in the other cases. When (ə) is used, it is difficult to feel any transition in saying (əə'), but (ɜɜ', ɐɐ') are quite marked. The sound of Mr. M. Bell's untrilled (r_o), in which the point of the tongue is simply raised without touching the palate, so that the passage of the voice is not more obstructed than for (l), if so much, is scarcely separable from (ə, 'h). Whether it is necessary to insist on this separation or not is a question. It is possible that (r_o) may be in practice, as it evidently is in theory, the transition from (r) to ('h), but its habitual existence has hardly been established, and observations on it are certainly difficult to make. I think that I have heard (r_o), but I am by no means prepared to say that I have a dis-

tinct consciousness of it, or that it may not have been a personal peculiarity with those in whom I have observed it. The position of the tongue for (ə) and (r_o) is almost identical. At most the point is a little more raised for the latter. Hence the results cannot be much different. The obstruction for (r_o) is not sufficient to create a buzz. The result is at most a murmur. But for the ('h) or (r_o), combined with a following *permissive* trill, I use (ɹ), as explained on (1099, *c*). The notation (*iiɹ*, eeɹ, aaɹ, ʌʌɹ, ooɹ, *uuɹ*, əəɹ, ɜɜɹ, œœɹ) is therefore ambiguous. But it is so far clear that the (ɹ) must not be employed unless a trill *may be* used. We must not write *really*, *idea*, as (riiɹ·l*i*, ə'*i*diiɹ·), because it is offensive, or unintelligible to say (rii'·rl*i*, ə'*i*dii'·r). But in common talk *merely*, *really* (mii'·l*i*, rii'·l*i*) are perfect rhymes. We *may*, however, say (mii'·rl*i*), and also (rii·əl*i*, rii·ɐl*i*), but *not* (rii·l*i*) or (rii'·rl*i*). There are also *murmur triphthongs* formed from the first set of diphthongs, as (ə'*i*', ə*u*', i*ú*'). The murmurs ('l, 'm, 'n) act as vowels, and may or may not have the prefixed ('), so that (ll, mm, nn), might be written, as Mr. Bell prefers, or simple (l, m, n) might be used, such cases as *stabl-ing* (st*ee*·b'l*i*q) being provided for as above, or as (st*ee*·bl-*i*q), or fully as (st*ee*·b'hling).

Hence we have the following list of received vowel-sounds simple and combined.

Long Vowels-	ii	*ee*	əə	aa	œœ	ɜɜ	ʌʌ	*oo*	uu	
Short Vowels	*i*	e	ɛ	æ	ə	ɜ	ɔ	*u*		
Proper Diphthongs	ə'*i*	áh*i*	á*i*,	ʌ'*i*	ɔ'*i*,	ə'*u*	áh*u*	á*u*,	*i*ú	*i*úu
Vanish Diphthongs	*ee*'j	áaə		ʌʌ'ə		*oo*'*w*				
Murmur Diphthongs	*ii*'	ee'	aa'	œœ'	ɜɜ'	ʌʌ'	oo'	*uu*'		
Murmur Triphthongs	ə'*i*'	áh*i*'	á*i*',	ə'*u*'	áh*u*'	á*u*',	*i*ú'	*i*úu'		

The list is a pretty long one, and far beyond the usual resources of orthography to note. But it has to be considerably augmented dialectally. In the provinces we certainly hear long (*ii* ee ɛɛ ææ oo *uu*), which are always professedly short in received speech, and short (i *e* a *o* u), which are only known as long in received pronunciation. And there are new long and short sounds (aah ah, *aa a*, yy_1 y_1), where (y_1) lies between (y, *ø*), and varies possibly with (y, *ø*, œ) short and long. There seems also to be a well-established broader sound of (*u*), which is possibly (u_o), or (*u*) with the lip aperture for (o), but which *may* be (*u*h), and may be a new sound altogether. My northern authorities are not satisfied with (*u*), which is too fine for them. As their dialects have usually no (ɜ, ə) in emphatic syllables, they confuse this (u_o), as I will write it for the moment, with (ɜ). The confusion thus arising between (ɜ, u_o), which is the same as that between (ə, *u*), is widely prevalent. But on carefully observing the sounds it is apparent that (ɜ) is *not* "rounded," and (u_o) *is* "rounded." This rounding can, however, be imitated by contracting the sides of the arch of which the uvula is the keystone, so that the *effect* of (*u*, u_o) can be given with an open mouth, thus (u^4), see (1114, *d*'). Now rounded (ɜ) is (*o*), and on p. 306 I consequently

represented the sound by (*o*). It is certainly more like (*o*) than (*u*) is. It may be (*u*h, u^4, u_0, o_u, u_1, u_{10}), but either one of the first three seems its best representative. As however (ə ʉ) and also (e ɛ) have seldom to be distinguished except in phonetic discussions, so (*u* u_0) may generally be confused. At any rate, the subject requires much attentive consideration. Mr. Hallam has observed in South Lancashire distinctive cases of "rounding" by excessive protrusion of the lips, which may be marked for labials by the same sign (†) as is used for protrusion of the tongue in dentals (11, *d*), or as a *fifth* mode of rounding, thus (u†) or (u^5). The fourth or internal rounding may be combined with any of the four others. In Scotch Mr. Murray has found it necessary to introduce additional vowels between (*i*) and (e), thus (*i*, e^1, e_1, e^1, e_1, ɛ), but these are hardly distinguishable by southern ears, to which (*i e* e ɛ) already present difficulties. See (1106, *a*).

The number of diphthongs must be much increased. Besides the received, and the non-received (ɑ'*i* *ái* æ'*i* ɛ'*i* *éi*; ɛ'*u* *éu*, *éu*, ʌ'*u* ɔ'*u* *óu* *óu*, ɑ'*u* *áu*), with either (*i* i) or (*u* u) final, there are varieties with (*e* e, *o* o) final, and also varieties of the form (*i*i íe ía íɔ íu, úi úe úa úo úo *ú*u), where the second element is quite distinct, and may be short, or glide on to a consonant in accented closed syllables, or may be long, and the first element may vary, as (e, o), thus (éa éo, óa óe). The stress also may fall on the second element, as (ié iá, uá uó), etc. But the diphthongs are by no means confined to (i, *i*, *e*, e; u, *u*, *o*, o) for one of their elements. Certainly (y_1) or (y, *ø*, œ) occurs as an element, and sometimes the whole diphthong may be made up of these elements. Thus (*é*y) was heard in Norfolk (135, *c*) as a variety of the (iú) form, and (œ'y_1) is said to occur in Devonshire as a variety of (á*u*).

There are also *murmur diphthongs*, not arising from a suppression of (r), consisting of any one of the vowels, but chiefly (i *i*, *e* e, *o* o u *u*), short and with the stress, followed more or less closely by the simple voice ('h). The closeness is sometimes so marked that the net result, as (*i*', *u*') in Scotch, is felt and conceived as one sound, which may be even short in a closed syllable, just as many people consider received long *i* to be a simple sound. But the closeness relaxes at times, so that the results resemble (*i*ə *i*ʉ, *u*ə *u*ʉ), which belong to those mentioned in the last paragraph. At other times the first element is lengthened, as (*ii*'), and then the received murmur diphthongs are reproduced in effect, but they have no longer necessarily a permissive (r).

The *received consonants* are (ʜh) and (p b, t d, k g, k*w* g*w*, wh w, f v, th dh, s z, sh zh, ɟh ɟ, r l m n q). These all occur dialectally, together with the glottids (ʜ ;). There are, however, *new consonants*; certainly (*k g*, *k*h kh k*w*h), and perhaps (*g*h gh g*w*h), but these are doubtful. (Nh, r*w*) seem to be known, among a few old people, but (lh) I have not heard of. The (ˌsh ˌzh) only occur in (tˌsh dˌzh), and practically need not be considered separately from these combinations, which may be written (tsh dzh). But there is altogether an unexpected occurrence of true dental (ˌt, ˌd) formed as

the real mutes of (th, dh) by placing the tongue as for these sounds, but making the obstruction complete. These are seldom found except before (r), or the syllable (ər), or (ə), or any other indistinct vowel representing (ər), although at least a trace of them has been found after (s), and probably, when attention has been drawn to the fact, they may be found elsewhere. But the main case to be considered is the dentality of *t*, *d*, before *r*, as already noticed in Ireland (1239, *a'* to 1241, *a*). The question arises whether (r) is also dental in this case, as (‸r). I have not noticed the dentality, but I am inclined to consider this due to my want of appreciation, for others do hear it as dental in such a case. See also the Sanscrit use (1138, *b*). The peculiar rolling Irish (‸r) in these cases (1232, *b*) must also be noted. Mr. C. C. Robinson thinks he recognizes a dental (‸r) in some other cases in Yorkshire, as will be pointed out hereafter. A nasal (b‸), as distinct from (m), is also found in Westmorland and Cumberland. The uvular (*r*) is well known as the Northumberland burr, and there are no doubt distinct varieties of this burr. There may be probably even a glottal (ɪ) in Shields, and in the Western dialects, though I am more disposed, from what I have been able to observe personally, to attribute the Western effect to the use of a peculiarly deep vowel (œ), gruffly uttered.

In Yorkshire and Cumberland a (t) occurs which is heard before a following (t, d, k, g), as *at t' time*, *at t' door*, *t' church*, *t' gentleman*, *t' cart*, *t' garden*, and is heard also as a distinct element before a vowel, as *t' 'ouse*, *t' abbey*, without coalescence. I think that in these cases there is a true, though very brief, *implosion* (1097, *c'*. 1113, *a'*), and that the result is (at ''t táim, ''t,uus), and at least three of my kind helpers, to whom this *t* is native, recognize the correctness of this analysis. The effect is quite different from (at táim, tuus), and in the first case does not seem to be sufficiently represented by a held consonant, as (att táim).

These are our dialectal elementary and diphthongal sounds, so far as I have yet learned them. The question is how to represent them. The ordinary spelling will not do. Ordinary dialectal writers help themselves over local difficulties in various manners, which render comparison extremely difficult. We have, in fact, reproduced on a smaller scale, and with more exaggerated features, the European differences in the use of Roman letters, crossed by our insular usages. No system of notation extends beyond a single author. The same author seldom pursues the same plan in two consecutive books, often varies on the same page, and is supremely indifferent to any dialect but his own. Just as an Englishman, accustomed from his birth to received sounds, reads them off from the received orthography, or any conceivable mis-spellings, without hesitation, while a foreigner, after years of training, constantly stumbles; so the man native-born to a dialect, or having the sounds constantly in his ears, reads off his own dialectal spelling without difficulty, but this same spelling put before a stranger, as myself, becomes a series of riddles, nay worse, continual suggestions of false

sounds. Even after acquiring a tolerable conception of the dialectal pronunciation of a given locality, I have been constantly "floored" —I can't find a more elegant phrase to express my utter defeat—by some dialectal spelling of the same variety sent me by a new hand. Of course comparative study remains impossible when the things to be compared are unknown. Conclusions hitherto drawn are merely arrows drawn at a venture—they may hit the mark, but who knows? My Glossic was contrived for the purpose of overcoming these difficulties, and my recent experience has led me to the conclusion that it is really adapted to overcome them, by extremely simple means, which enables the received and any dialectal pronunciation to be written with almost the same correctness as by palaeotype, without any typographical troubles, such as varied roman and italic letters, turned letters, or, except very rarely, accented letters. Having shewn how Glossic can be used for the received pronunciation (1174, *b*), I proceed to shew how the dialects may be written, because I hope that, through the influence of the English Dialect Society, it may be extensively used for this purpose. But I would especially guard against the error that, because a person can pronounce a dialect, and because Glossic gives a means of writing it, and Glossic merely uses ordinary letters, generally, at least as a basis, in their received meanings, therefore it is only necessary to put the key to Glossic before one's eyes in order to be able to write a known pronunciation straight off. You might as well expect that when a key to the relation of the notes in music to the keyboard of a piano has been given—say by pasting on each finger key the written name of the sound it will give—to any grown girl of average intellect, she will be instantly able to play off a piece of music presented to her. We know that she must learn and *practice* her scales first. Glossic writing is an art which also requires care and practice. To one who can already read and write, it is comparatively easy *for the sounds he knows*, not by any means easy for others, as when a stranger would write from dictation—my own case, when I am fortunate enough to find one who *can* dictate. But if a thing is is *worth doing at all*, it is worth doing well. At present dialectal writing is not done even ill: it is literally *not done at all*. The present arrangements supersede those above given, pp. 606–618, as they are founded on a much wider experience, but the basis of the system is the same. Glossic symbols are here inclosed in square brackets [ ], the palaeotypic being placed in a parenthesis ( ).

Quantity and Accent.

Each vowel-sign represents either a short or a long vowel. *When no mark is added, the letter always represents a short vowel.* It is very important to bear this rule in mind.

In *unaccented* syllables vowels are generally short. If it is considered necessary to mark length without accent in such syllables, *two* turned periods are added, thus [ee··].

When a *long* vowel occurs in an *accented* syllable, a *single* turned period is written immediately after it, as [ee·, ee·t, ee·n, i·t, i·n].

When a *short* vowel occurs in an *accented* syllable, it is generally followed by a consonant, and a turned period is placed immediately after the first following consonant, as [eet·, een·, it·, in·], but if, as occasionally happens, a short accented vowel occurs without

a following consonant, two *direct* periods, a usual sign of unfinished utterance, must be written, as [ee.., i..], and [guo..in] for *going*.

It is rarely necessary to mark a middle length, but when it is, (:) may be placed *before* the vowel in unaccented syllables, as [:ee] = (i^{l}); it will thus not interfere with the use of the colon as a point. The combination of this with the turned period, as [:ee·] = (i$^{l\cdot}$), marks medial length in accented syllables.

Secondary accent is not distinguished from the primary in Glossic; if it is strong enough to be marked, put two marks of accent, as [tu·npei·kmu'n], and leave the actual stress doubtful, as in fact it often is. The preceding use of (:) for medial length renders its accentual use as in palaeotype impossible.

Emphasis is conveniently marked by the turned period before the whole word, thus *to two* [too ·too].

These rules for quantity are *very* important, because they enable quantity to be exactly expressed in every case, thus (aa· a·) = [aa· aa..], (kaa·t ka·t) = [kaa·t kaat·], (kaat) = [kaa··t]. Of course words of one syllable cited independently of context may be considered as always accented, and hence we may distinguish [too·, too..] = (tuu, tu).

The rule for marking the quantity of the first element in diphthongs is precisely the same, the second element being considered as a consonant, as will appear presently. It is not usually necessary to mark the quantity of the second element.

The accent should be written in every polysyllabic word or emphatic monosyllable when writing dialectally, because its omission leaves the quantity uncertain, as any sound may occur either long or short. Dialectal writers, who begin to use Glossic, are extremely remiss on this point, and fall into many errors in consequence, probably because in *received* pronunciation the short and long vowels are known from their qualities. But this is emphatically *not* the case dialectally. Of course, ease to the writer, without much obscurity to a *native* reader (1252, *d*), may be attained by omitting all these troublesome marks of accent and quantity, which necessitate a little unusual thought on the part of the writer. But the difficulties thus occasioned to non-native readers by the ordinary orthography of Latin and Italian, as contrasted with Greek and Spanish, shew how mercilessly the reader is then sacrificed to the writer. Witness those who have been punished at school, or laughed at in after-life, for "false quantities" in Latin, due entirely to the defects of the Latin orthography itself. *Sīc vōs nōn vōbīs 'vulnera' fertis, ovēs!*

All *consonants* may be considered *short*, and doubled for length if desired, as [stai·bll, ree·znn], or have the long [··] added, as [stai·bl··, ree·zn··]. When then a long consonant ends an accented syllable, it must either be doubled and followed by a turned period, or three turned periods are required, as [lett· let···].

Signs.

The use of short unaccented [ee], medial unaccented [:ee], long unaccented [ee··], short accented [ee., eet·], medial accented [:ee·], long accented [ee·], should be clearly understood. This notation gets over all difficulties of quantity, and accent.

The *apostrophe* (') is used to *modify a preceding* letter, and should *never* be used to shew *the omission* of a letter. If that is thought necessary, the hyphen should be employed, as [dhai doa·n-t]. But it is best not to indicate so-called *omissions*, for they distinctly belong to the false theory that the word is a mispronunciation, and their object is to lead the reader to guess the proper word. When the reader cannot do so, he requires a gloss or a dictionary, and should consult it. Besides, it is not possible to treat so-called *insertions* in this way.

The *hyphen* has sometimes to be used to shew how letters have to be grouped, as [t-h, d-h, n-g], distinct from [th, dh, ng]. As a rule, when two letters come together which can form a digraph, they should be so read; if the middle of three letters can form a digraph with either the first or third, it must be taken with the first. Any transgression of this rule must be marked by a *hyphen*, or an interposed turned period, when it can be used. Thus [toaud] = [toa-ud], not [to-aud], and may be written [toa·ud], distinct from [to-au·d, to..au··d].

When several words are written together, they may be distinguished to the eye by the *divider*), thus—[t)wuod·)nt)doo·, dhat·)l)doo]. This) has no phonetic significance whatever.

Received Vowels and Diphthongs.

The 12 received *emphatic vowels* (ii *ee* aa AA *oo* uu *i* e æ ɔ ə *u*) = [ee· ai· aa· au· oa· oo· i e a o u uo].

The alternative vowels (E EE, Æ ÆÆ) = [ae ae·, ɯ ɯɯ·], and assumed vowel (œ, œœ) = [e', e·'].

The *unemphatic vowels* (*y*, *ɯ*) always *short* are [i', u'], but need not generally be distinguished from [i, u].

Any one of the *diphthongs* for long ī is represented in an unanalysed form by [ei]. It constantly happens that the writers know it to be one of these diphthongs, but cannot tell which; and it is then very convenient to be able to give the information that one of these [ei] diphthongs was heard. Similar unanalysed forms are used for the other diphthongs for the same reason. It is rather an inconvenience of palaeotype that it does not possess such forms. The three received forms are (ə'*i*, áh*i*, áɪ) = [uy·, a'y·, aay·] in accented syllables, first element short. If the first element is long, as (əə'*i*, áah*i*, áaɪ), write [u·y, a·'y, aa·y]. This rule applies generally. These forms with [y], however, leave unsettled the point whether the diphthong end with a vowel or a consonant, because it has not much practical importance. But when it is desirable to shew that the final element *is* a vowel, and to distinguish which vowel, another contrivance is used, which will be explained presently.

Any unanalysed *ow* diphthong is [ou]. The received forms (ə'*u*, áh*u*, áu) = [uw·, a'w·, aaw·], and if the first element is long, [u·w, a·'w, aa·w] as before.

Any unanalysed *oy* diphthong is [oi]. The received forms (A'*i*, AA'*i*, ɔ'*i*) = [auy·, au·y, oy·].

Any unanalysed *ū* diphthong is [eu]. The received (*iú*, JU, JÚ) are all written [yoo]. It is not considered necessary to mark these distinctions. But, if required, the short [ĕĕ] or [ĭ] may now be used, thus [ĕĕoo, yoo, yĕĕoo] or [ĭoo, yoo, yĭoo]. On account of the systematic way of representing quantity, the short and long marks need not and should not be used for other purposes, as I formerly proposed.

It is seen that the forms (áɪ, ái, áɪ) are all confused as [aay·]. But if a systematic way of expressing these is required, we may again have recourse to short marks, thus [aaĭ·, aaĕĕ·, aay·]. And if the *second* element is long, we must use long marks, thus (áa*i*, áai, á*ii*, áii) = [aa·ĭ, aa·ĕĕ, aaī·, aaēē·]. These long and short marks always point out the unaccented element of a diphthong, so that [aa·ĕĕ] is a monosyllable, but [aa·ee] a dissyllable. These distinctions are, however, too fine for ordinary use.

The *vanish diphthongs* (*ee*'j, *oo*'*w*) are written [ai·y, oa·w], or the same as [*éei*, *óou*], with which they are usually confounded. It would be possible to write [ai·y', oa·w'], but this is scarcely worth while. On the other hand, (áaə, AA'ə) are written [aaŭ, auŭ], when they must be distinguished from (aa', AA'), to be presently symbolised.

The murmur diphthongs with *permissive trill* are written with a simple [r], which is always considered to be a diphthongising [ŭ] *followed by a permissive trill*, and hence must never be used when a trill is not allowable. Thus (*iù*, eeɪ, aaɪ, AAɪ, ooɪ, *uù*ɪ) = [i·r, e·r, aa·r, au·r, ao·r, uo·r], and since the change of vowel is instinctively made in received pronunciation, [ee·r, ai·r, aa·r, au·r, oa·r, oo·r] might be written as more generally intelligible in popular Glossic, such as that on p. 1178. For all accurate dialectal purposes, however, the vowels should be distinguished, and [ee·r] should never be confused with [i·h'r], and so on.

Then for (əə, œœ) we should, of course, use [u·, e·'], but, if there is a permissive trill, (əəɪ, œœɪ) = [u·r, e·'r], *manner* = [man·ur man·e'r], *earnest* = [e·'rnest]. An *obligatory* trill is written [r'], which may be added to the former, as *earring* = (ii'rɪq) = [i·rr'ing] or [ee·rr*i*q]. Mr. Bell's untrilled ($r_{\circ}$) may, when desired, continue to be so written, the ($_{\circ}$) being the turned (°) used to mark degrees.

Dialectal Vowels and Diphthongs.

We have thus exhausted the received vowels and diphthongs. For the dialectal additions we have first:

(*ii* ee ææ oo *uu*, i *e* a o *o* u) = [i· e· a· ao· uo·, ee ai aa ao oa oo]

and (ah aah, *a aa*, y yy, *ə əə*, œ œœ) = [a' a·', ah ah·, ue ue·, eo eo·, oe· oe·]

with perhaps a West$^{n.}$ (ɒ ɒɒ) = [ua ua·]

It is not considered necessary to distinguish (y_1) from (y) = [ue], with which it is generally confused, on the

one hand, or (*ə*) = [eo], with which Mr. Murray identifies it, on the other; but, if required, we may write [ùe] for (y_1), and similarly [é, è] for (e^1, e_1). The four degrees of rounding (1116, *b'*) may be marked by superiors, so that ([1]) denotes the [au] degree, ([2]) the [oa] degree, ([3]) the [oo] degree, and ([4]) the inner rounding, to which we must add ([5]) for the pouting (1256, *a*). Thus ($ʌ_o$, u_o, o_u) = [au^2, uo^2, oa^3], all of which may occur dialectally. It is advisable, however, to avoid the use of such delicate distinctions as much as possible, or, at most, to allude to them in notes and preliminary discussions. If the peculiar sound thought to be (u_o) = (uo^2), is identified rather with (*u*h), write it [uo'].

The new *y*, *w*, diphthongs represented on the same principle will be

(ɑ'*i* *di* ɯ'*i* ɛ'*i* *éi*)
=[uuy· ahy· ay· aey· ey·]
(ɛ'*u* *éu* *éu*, ʌ'*u* ɔ'*u* *ou*
=[aew· ew· aiw·, auw· ow· aow·
ou, ɑ'*u* *du*)
oaw· uuw· ahw·]

with short first element, which would be sufficiently indicated without the accent mark as [aaw], and this form is used in unaccented syllables. A long first element requires the mark, as (*dai*, *dau*) = [ah·y, ah·w], or unaccented [ah··y, ah··w]. If (i, u) in place of (*i*, *u*) occur in the second element, as (*di*, *du*), write [ahěě, ahŏŏ]. The same contrivance is necessary in such cases as (*ii* ie ia io iu) = [iěě eeě eeăă eeŏ eeŏŏ], and (éa éo óa óe) = [eăă eăŏ aoăă aoě], which are of very rare occurrence. Even when the second element is [ĭ, ěě], we may write [y], and when it is [ŭŏ, ŏŏ], we may write [w], with quite sufficient exactness, as [iy, uow] = (*ii*, *iu*). When the stress falls on the second element, as (ié iá uá uó), we may either write fully [ěěe ěěaa ŏŏaa ŏŏoa], or concisely [ye yaa waa woa], as quite near enough for every dialectal purpose.

When the last element is [ŭě], we may write it thus or by [‚w], because the effect is a variant of [w], thus (*éy œ'y*) = [aiŭě oeŭě] or [ai‚w oe‚w].

The *murmur diphthongs without permissive trill*, when ending in (e ɐ), will be written with [ŭ ŭ'], but when ending in (') with [h'], which represents the simple voice, thus

(*iə* *iɐ* *i'* — *uə* *uɐ* *u'*)
=[iŭ iŭ' ih' — uoŭ uoŭ' uoh'],

of which (ih' uoh') are the usual forms. Of course if the first element is long, we have [i·h' uo·h'] = (*ii'* *uu'*), and this gives us a means of distinguishing [i·r] with a permissive trill, into [i·h'] with no trill, and [i·h'r'] with a certain trill, while [i·r'] has no murmur. Compare English *deary me* with French *dire à moi* = (*dii'ri* mii, diir a muâ) = [di·h'r'i mee·, dee··r' aa mwaa].

Received Consonants.

The received consonants (p b, t d, k g, wh w, f v, th dh, s z, sh zh, l m n) are the same in glossic as in palaeotype.

But glossic [ch, j] are used as abbreviations for (t‚sh, d‚zh), which are of constant occurrence; [tch, dj] ought not to be written, in *clutch*, *judge* [kluch, juj], unless we desire to shew that the [t, d] are held, as [klutch judj] = [kluttsh juddzh].

For (*ɟh*, *ɟ*) use [yh, y], and for (*r*), the trilled *r*, employ [r']; but, as in received glossic, simple [r] is sufficient before vowels, unless great emphasis is given to the trill.

For (q) use [ng], taking care to write [n-g] when this group is to be read as two letters, thus *engross* = (engro·s) = [en-gr'oa·s].

Similarly as [h] must be used for (ʜh), and also as a part of the combinations [th, dh, sh, zh], etc., we must always distinguish [t-h, d-h, s-h, z-h]. The mere accent mark, however, is often enough, as in *pothook* [pot·huok] *pother* [pudh·u].

The mere jerk (ʜ), which sometimes occurs dialectally where (ʜh) could not be pronounced, is written (‚h) thus *get up* = [g‚hae·r' uop], in Leeds.

The catch (;), which occasionally occurs in place of an aspirate, and sometimes in place of (t), will continue to be so written.

Dialectal Consonants.

The new consonants (*k g ḱh* kh *kɯh*) = [ky' gy' ky'h kh kw'h], where the apostrophised [y', w'] answer to the diacritics (j, *w*), and are thus distinguished from [y, w] = (*ɟ*, w). Properly (*kw*, *gw*) should be [kw', gw'], though few persons may care to distinguish these from [kw, gw]. The (nh, *rw*) are [nh, rw']. The French *ll* and *gn* mouillé (lj, nj), would be [ly', ny'], if they occurred in our dialects.

The dental (‚sh, ‚zh) are not required, on account of (ch, j).

But the dental (‚t, ‚d) are indispensable, and are written (t', d'], as *water* = Yorkshire [waat'·ur].

Dental (‚r), if found, must be [‚r], as [r'] is the common trill. There is no need to mark it after [t', d'], except in phonetic discussions, but where it occurs independently, it should be noted.

The uvular (r) or burr is ['r]. Irish rolled trill (‚r) may be ['r']. Glottal (ɪ) is [‚r], with prefixed comma.

Nasal (b‚) is [‚b], the sign [‚] preceding, instead of following. The same mark [‚] will nasalise vowels, when they occur, as [‚aa·y]. French nasality is indicated by adding [n'].

Implosion may have its palaeotypic sign ('‘), but it will generally be enough to write (at ''t táim) as [aat)t)taay·m] or [aat t taaym], or even [aatt taaym], in place of the full [aat)''t)taay·m].

We have thus probably a complete alphabet for all English dialects. If new signs are required, they will generally be found in the Universal Glossic furnished in the notice prefixed to Part III. of this book. The following is an alphabetical list of the Glossic signs just explained, with their palaeotypic equivalents; for convenience *italics* are used for glossic, and the parentheses of palaeotype are omitted, unless it is also entirely in italic.

Palaeotypic Key to Dialectal Glossic.

a æ, *a·* ææ, *a'* ah, *a·'* aah.
aa a, *aa·* aa, ‚*aa* a‚, *aaĕĕ* ái, *aa·ĕĕ* ái, *aa·ĕĕ* áii, *aa·h'* áa', *aaĭ* ái, *aa·ī* áii, *aa·r* aaɹ, *aaŭ* áɔ, *aaw·* áu, *aa·w* áau, *aay* ái, *aa·y* ái.
ae E, *ae·* EE, *aey·* E'*i*, *aew·* E'*u*.
ah (*a*), *ah·* (*aa*), *ahĕĕ* (*dí*), *ahŏŏ* (*dú*), *ahy·* (*dī*), *ah·y* (*dai*), *ahw·* (*du*), *ah·w* (*dau*).
ai (*e*), *ai·* (*ee*), *ái* (*e*¹), *ài* (*e*₁), *aiy* (*éi*), *ai·y* (*éei*), *ai·y'* (*ee'*j), *aiw·* (*éu*).
ao o, *ao·* oo, *aoh'* o', *ao·h'* oo', *aoăă* óa, *aoĕ* óe, *ao·r* ooɹ, *aow·* óu, *ao·w* óou.
au A, *au·* AA, *au*² A₀, *au·h'* AA', *au·r* AAɹ, *auŭ* A'ɔ, *auw·* A'*u*, *auy·* A'*i*, *au·y* AA'*i*.
aw· æ'*u*, *a'w·* áh*u*.
ay· æ'*i*, *a·y* ææ'*i*, *a'y·* áh*i*, *a·'y* áah*i*.
b b, ‚*b* b‚.
ch t‚sh.
d d, *d̄* ‚d, *dh* dh.
e e, *e·* ee, *e'* œ, *e·'* œœ, *é* e¹, *è* e₁, *eăă* éa, *eŏŏ* éo.
ee i, *ee·* ii, *eeăă* ía, *ĕĕaa* iá, *eeĕ* íe, *ĕĕe* ié, *eeĭ* íi, *eeŏ* ío, *eeŏŏ* íu, *ĕĕoo* iú, *eew* íu, *éey* íi.
ei [unanalysed diphthong of the (ái) class, no palaeotypic equivalent].
eo (*ə*), *eo·* (*əə*).
e·r eoɹ', *e·'r* œœɹ.
eu [unanalysed diphthong of the (iú) class, no palaeotypic equivalent].
ew éu.
ey éi.
f f.
g g, *gw'* gw, *gy'* gj.
h H, ‚*h* H, *h'* 'h.
í (*i*), *í·* (*ii*), *í'* (*y*), ĭĕĕ íi, *íh'* (*í'*), *í·h'* (*ii'*), *ĭoo* iú, *íu* (*iə*), *íŭ'* íɔ, *íw* íu.
j d‚zh.
k k, *kh* kh, *kw'* kw, *kw'h* kwh, *ky'* kj, *ky'h* kjh.
l l, *ll* 'l, *ly'* lj.
m m, *mm* 'm.
n n, *n'* ʌ, *ng* q, *n-g* ng, *ngg* qg, *ngk* qk, *nn* 'n, *ny'* nj.
o ɔ, *o·* ɔɔ, *ow* ɔ'*u*.
oa (*o*), *oa·* (*oo*), *oa*³ (*o*₀), *oaw·* (*óu*), *oa·w* (*óou*), *oa·w'* (*oo'w*), *oay·* (*ói*), *oa·y* (*óoi*).
oe œ, *oe·* œœ, *oe*‚*w* œ'y.
oi [unanalysed diphthong of the (ɔ'í) class, no palaeotypic equivalent].
oo u, *oo·* uu, *ŏŏaa* uá, *ŏŏoa* uó.
ou [unanalysed diphthong of the (áu) class, no palaeotypic equivalent].
oy ɔ'*i*.
p p.
r ɹ, *r'* r, *'r* (*r*), ‚*r* ‚r, *'r'* ‚r, ‚*r* ɹ, *rr'* ɹr, *rw'* rw.
s s.
sh sh.
t t, *t'* ‚t, ''*t* ''t.
th th.
u ə, *u·* əə, *u'* u, *u·r* əəɹ.
ue y, *ue·* yy, *ùe* y₁.
uo (*u*), *uo·* (*uu*), *uo*² (*u*₀), *uo'* (*uh*), *uoh'* (*u'*), *uo·h'* (*uu'*), *uo·r* (*uuɹ*), *uoŭ* (*úə*), *uoŭ'* (*úu*).
uu ʌ, *uu·* ʌʌ, *uuw·* ʌ'*u*, *uuy* ʌ'*i*.
uw ə'*u*, *u·w* əə'*u*, *u*‚*w* əə'y.
uy ə'*i*, *u·y* əə'*i*.
v v.
w w, *w'* (*w*), *wh* wh, *waa* wa uá, *woa* wo· uó.
y ɪ, *y'* j, *yh* ɪh, yaa *ɪa id*, *ye* ɪe ié, *yĕĕoo* ɪiú, *yĭoo* ɪiú, *yoo* ɪu iú.
z z, *zh* zh.

Examples of the use of this alphabet, which for any particular dialect is simple and convenient, will be given in No. 10. A learner ought always to begin with reading received pronunciation as written in glossic, with the conventions of p. 1175, as shewn on p. 1178. He should then gradually attempt to express the diphthongs [ei, oi, ou, eu] in their analysed forms, say as [aay, auy, aaw, yoo]. Next he should endeavour to appreciate the varieties [aay, a'y, ay, aey, ey, aiy], and [aay, uuy, uy, e'y], etc. Then he should turn to the unaccented syllables, and endeavour to express them unconventionally. He should constantly check his results to see that he has not allowed old habits of spelling to mislead him, as *in using silent letters*, or *ay*, *aw* for [ai, au], or *y* final as a vowel, etc. The encroachments of mute *e* will be found very difficult to resist. There will also be a tendency to write *s* for either [s] or [z], to use *th* for [dh], *ng* for [ngg], *nk* for [ngk]; and especially to introduce an *r* where it may never be trilled, as *brort arter*, for [brau·t aa·tu']. The difficulty experienced by northerners, who have always read *a*, *u* as (a, *u*)=[aa, uo] in their dialect, to refrain from writing *a bad nut* instead of (u' baad nuot) is very great indeed. It has been a source of very great trouble to myself in deciphering dialectal writing sent to me. Yet it is absolutely necessary to use [a, u] in the senses familiar in the middle, west, and south of England, and in received speech. Since also only one of the two vowel-sounds [u, uu] usually occurs in the accented syllables of any speaker (though both may often be heard, if properly sought for, in the same locality), there is a constant tendency in beginners to use [u] for their own sound, whatever it may be, and to consider [uu] as some mysterious sound which they have not fully grasped. Thus northern writers have constantly confused [uu uo²], occasioning terrible confusion and tediously evolved rectifications. Again, there is a very strong tendency to consider [ee, ai, aa, au, oa, oo] as necessarily long, instead of being in dialectal writing necessarily short, unless marked as long. It is this which renders the use of [maan] objected to, because it would be read [maa·n] at first. There is the same difficulty in reading [i·, e·, a·, o·, u·, uo·] as long, as in [ti·h', te·h', ba·th, o·d, bu·n, shuo·h'], representing regular sounds of *tear* n., *tear* v., *burn*, *sure*, and provincial sounds of *Bath*, *old*. Great care must be taken with these quantities. Scotch [meet] is not English [mee·t], and [ee] short and [i·] long occur in Dorset. Another difficulty arises from the constant tendency to write initial *h* where the dialectal speaker is totally unconscious of its existence, and similarly *wh* when only [w] is said. Nay, many persons will dialectally insert *h*, *wh*, where there was not even the excuse of old spelling, as *hurn* for *run* in Somersetshire, where simple [u·n]=(əən) is often, if not always, uttered without the least trace of either *h* or *r*.

These are some of the rocks on which beginners founder. There is another to which I would draw particular attention. A beginner is apt to vary the glossic signs, to introduce new ones, either new combinations, or accented varieties, or even to give new meanings

to combinations already employed for sounds which he has not considered. This mutilation of a system which it has taken years of thought and practice to perfect, by one who just begins to use it, has I trust only to be deprecated, in order to be prevented. Writers may of course use any system of spelling of their own invention which they please, but when one has been elaborated with great care to meet an immense number of difficulties, so that even a single change involves many changes, and perhaps deranges the whole plan of construction, writers should *either use it as presented, or not at all.* I feel that I have a right to insist on this, and I should not have done so, had not occasion been given.

There is one point which causes great difficulty, and for which no provision has yet been made. I allude to *dialectal intonation.* The principal elements of this are *length, force, and pitch.*

The vowel and consonant *quantity* has been provided for.

Syllabic quantity is made up of a number of vowel and consonant quantities of marked differences. To go into this minutely requires a scale of *length*, and those who choose may employ the numerical system already given (1131, *d*). But for rapid writing, an underlined series like . : | — 0 = + ∓ ± will be most useful, to be reduced to figures afterwards. This may also apply to syllables generally. Here the medium length is 0, or is left unmarked, the four shorter degrees are . : | —, and the four longer are = + ∓ +|. This is abundant for most purposes.

Force also requires a series or scale, as already suggested (1130, *a'*), but the musical terms and signs there adduced are more generally known.

Pitch cannot be accurately given. The simplest mode that suggests itself to me is to draw a straight line———— above the line of writing, to represent the medium pitch, and then a wavy line proceeding above and below it, more or less, as the pitch rises or falls. This, for printing, might readily be interpreted as a scale, 5 being the middle line, 1, 2, 3, 4 distances below, and 6, 7, 8, 9 distances above it.

All these additional marks should either be in pencil or differently coloured ink, and should in print form different lines of figures above and below the writing, commencing with the letters L, F, P, to shew that length, force, and pitch are respectively used, and for each the scale of 9, of which 5 is the mean, should be used.

No writer should attempt to use these fine indications without considerable practice upon his own pronunciation, putting by his writing for some days, and then seeing whether it is sufficient to recall the facts to his own consciousness. Of course till he is able to do this, he cannot hope to convey them to others.

Lastly, quality of tone is of importance. The dialectal writer remembers how the Johnny or Betty who spoke the words used them at the time, but they were mixed up with personal as well as local peculiarities of quality of tone, and he can't convey this, or convey the tone unqualified. It is like the despair of the engraver at not conveying colour. The nature of quality of tone has only recently been discovered, and it would be impossible to use the necessary technical language, because it would not be understood. We are, therefore, reduced to explanatory words, such as hoarse, trembling, whining, drawling, straining, and the like. If there is a character for any district, those who care to convey it should study it carefully, and spend, not five minutes, but many hours and days, at different intervals, in noting its characteristics and endeavouring to describe them in writing. All kinds of description are difficult to write, but descriptions of quality of tone are extremely difficult.

Mr. Melville Bell, in his "New Elucidation of the Principles of Speech and Elocution," (first edition, Edinburgh, 1849, p. 299), a book full of thoughtful and practical suggestions, gives the following summary of points to be borne in mind when representations of individual utterance are given. The symbols are here omitted.

Inflexion. Simple, separately rising or falling from middle tone; compound, wavingly rising and falling, or falling and rising from middle tone.

Modulation. Conversational or middle key, with a high and higher, and a low and lower; and progressive elevation and depression.

Force. Vehement, energetic, moderate, feeble, piano; and progressive increase and diminution of force.

Time. Rapid, quick, moderate, slow, adagio; with progressive acceleration and retardation.

Expression. Whisper, hoarseness, falsetto, orotund, plaintive, tremor, prolongation, sudden break, laughter, chuckling, joy, weeping, sobbing, effect of distance, straining or effect of strong effort, staccato, sostenuto, sympathetic, imitative, expressive pause, sadness, panting respiration, audible inspiration, sighing or sudden audible expiration.

No. 6. DIALECTAL VOWEL RELATIONS.

i. *J. Grimm's Views of the Vowel Relations in the Teutonic Languages.*

Jacob Grimm, after having passed in review the *literary* vowel systems of the Teutonic languages, proceeds (D.G.I[3], 527) with freer breath (*freieres athems*) to review the relations of quantity (*quantität*), quality (*qualität*), weakening (*schwächung*), breaking (*brechung*), transmutation (*umlaut*), promutation (*ablaut*), and pronunciation (*aussprache*). On the relations of sound and writing he says (*ib.* p. 579):—

"Writing, coarser than sound, can neither completely come up to it at any standing point, nor, from its want of flexibility, at all times even follow up the trail of fluent speech. The very fact that all European nations received an historical alphabet, capable of expressing the peculiarities of their sounds with more or less exactness, threw difficulties in the way of symbolisation. An attempt was gradually made to supply deficiencies by modifying letters. As long as this supplement was neglected or failed, writing appeared defective. But while thus yielding to sound, writing in return acts beneficially on its preservation. Writing fixes sound in its essence, and preserves it from rapid decay. It is easily seen that purity and certainty of pronunciation are closely connected with the advance of civilisation and the propagation of writing. In popular dialects there is more oscillation, and deviations of dialects and language generally are chiefly due to want of cultivation among the people. The principle of writing by sound is too natural not to have been applied by every people when first reducing its language to writing. But it would be improper (*ungerecht*) to repeat it constantly, because writing would then alter in every century, and the connection of literature with history and antiquity would be lost. If modern Greek, French, and English orthography were regulated by their present pronunciation, how insupportable and unintelligible they would appear to the eye! My view is that the various German languages had means of representing all essential vowel-sounds, and employed them by no means helplessly. But it would be absurd (*thöricht*) to measure the old pronunciation by the present standard,

and unreasonable (*unbillig*) to throw the whole acuteness of grammatical analysis on to the practical aim of orthography."

It is not pleasant to differ from a man who has done such good work for language, and especially for the branch of languages to which our own belongs, that it would be difficult to conceive the state of our philology without his labours. But Grimm was essentially a man of letters. Language to him was a written crystallisation, not a living growing organism. Its stages as already recognized by writing, he could and did appreciate in a manner for which we are all deeply grateful, but having reached his own stage, he conceived that the *new* languages were to remain in their present form, for the *eye* of future generations. The very languages which he cites to shew the insupportability of reinstalling the old principle, "write by sound," are the most glaring European instances of its necessity. It is only by much study that we acquire a conception of what living Greek, French, and English actually are, below the thick mask of antique orthography which hides their real features. If we had not an opportunity of acquiring their sounds, we should make the absurdest deductions respecting them. We have no occasion to go further than Grimm's own investigations of the relations of English vowels (*ibid.* pp. 379–401) for this purpose. Having nothing to bridge over the gap between Anglosaxon and the English of modern pronouncing dictionaries, which shew only the net result respecting the literary form of a single dialect, he was entirely unable to see the relations of the different vowel-sounds. Notwithstanding even all the previous investigations in the present work, the relations cannot yet be securely traced, and nothing more than indications can here be attempted.

So far from a crystallised orthography fixing pronunciation, it disguises it, and permits all manner of sounds to be fitted to the same signs, as the various nations of China use the same literary language with mutually unintelligible varieties of speech. It is not orthography, but intercommunication, the schoolmaster, and social pressure to which we owe our apparent uniformity of pronunciation. Our medieval spelling was contrived by ecclesiastics familiar with Latin, who tried to use Romance letters to express Teutonic sounds, of course only approximatively, and were able to indicate native variety but vaguely. I have already attempted to shew what would be the effect of trying even a more complete alphabet for representing received pronunciation (1245, *c*), and I have propounded the list of sounds which are apparently required for dialectal writing (1262, *b*). If we were to confine ourselves to a mere Latin alphabet, the result would be altogether insufficient. The orthography used by local writers of the present day, founded on the received pronunciation as they conceive it, still confuses many vowel-sounds, and makes perfect havoc of the diphthongs. For the older state of our language, and in the same way for the other Teutonic languages, we have to work up through a similar slough of despond. Hence the vowel relations on which Grimm dwells in the chapter just cited are comparatively insecurely based, and must be accepted as the very

best result that could then be reached, but not as the best attainable as phonology advances.

But coming from the dead to the living,—from the letters adapted by learned priests from Latin to Anglosaxon and old English, and more or less rudely followed by paid and unlearned scriveners (249, *d.* 490, *c*), to the language as actually spoken by and among our peasantry,—the problem is very different. Our crystallised orthography has not affected the pronunciation of these men at all. They feel that they have nothing in common with it, that they cannot use it to write their own language, but that it represents a way of speech they have to employ for "the gentry," as well as they can. This imitation of "quality talk" is not dialectal, and is really mispronunciation, of the same character as a foreigner's.[1] The dialectal speakers are in fact foreigners in relation to book-speakers. Although we are obliged to refer their sounds to those of received speech present or past, yet this is only as a help to our own ignorance. No proper classification is possible without a knowledge of the individuals, and that has, in this case, yet to be collected. The results gathered in Mr. Murray's book on Scotch, and in the present chapter, are quite unexampled for English. They are far too few and too uncertain for scientific results. They can only lead up to theories which will guide future research; but they serve to open out a method which, when generally applied, cannot but prove of the highest philological value. The pronunciation of each district has to be separately appreciated, in connection with a well-chosen and well-arranged system of words. Of course grammatical and other considerations will also have to be weighed, but, from the nature of my subject, I confine myself strictly to phonology. Yet the formation of such a test vocabulary is, in fact, the smallest portion of the task. The discovery of the dialectal sounds of the words it contains for any one district, is a work of very great time and labour, even when the collector has much phonetic knowledge and practice. He must be a person long accustomed to the sounds, one before whom the dialect people speak freely; and he must be able to write them down when heard. There are numerous country clergymen, country attorneys, country surgeons, country schoolmasters, who are in a position to hear the sounds freely, but they seldom note them. They have seldom the philological education which leads them to consider these "rude" sounds and phrases of any value; and when they take them up as a local curiosity, they are generally unaware of their comparative value, and waste time over etymological considerations of frequently the crudest kind. But they are most supremely ignorant of phonology, and have not the least conception of how to write sounds consistently, or of how

[1] We shall have occasion to see how the desire of "talking fine" produces certain modes of speech in towns, and examples of three kinds used in Yorkshire will be furnished, through the kindness of Mr. C. C. Robinson. The Scottish pronunciation of *English*, as distinguished from the vernacular, of which Mr. Murray gives an account (*op. cit.* p. 138), is an instance of a similar kind. But none of these belong to natural pronunciation proper.

to use a consistent alphabet when presented to them. Even those who have been partially educated by the use of Mr. I. Pitman's phonetic shorthand and phonetic printing,[1] are not up to the vagaries of dialectal speech, and make curious blunders, though happy am I to find such workers in the field. If I am fortunate enough, however, to discover any who have advanced as far as Bell's Visible Speech, or Murray's South Scottish Dialects, I begin to have great confidence. But even then the *habit* of strict writing is so slowly acquired, that slips frequently occur, and I have in no case been able to obtain information without considerable correspondence about it, raising points of difficulty and explaining differences, and worrying myself and my friends with questions of detail.[2]

The present considerations have been suggested by an examination of the dialectal specimens which follow. Those which are couched in the ordinary orthography, and which I could not get natives to read to me, are such uncertain sources of information, that I have been able to make them available only by guessing at sounds through information otherwise obtained, and from a general sense of what the writers must have meant. But, of course, I was at first liable to the same sources of error as a Frenchman reading English, with not quite so much information on the sounds as is given in an ordinary grammar. I feel considerable confidence in those specimens which I print at once in palaeotype. I could not have interpreted them into this form, if the information I had received had not been rendered tolerably precise. Of course there will be many errors left, but I hope that the specimens are, as a whole, so far correct as to form something like firm footing for scientific theory. The names of each of the kind friends who have helped me in this work will be given in due order. But I wish generally to express my great obligations to them for their assistance, without which this chapter would have entirely collapsed. It was a work of great labour to all of them, and was sometimes rendered under very trying conditions.

Grimm specifies quantity, quality, weakening, breaking, transmutation, and promutation.

Of these *promutation*—such as the grammatical vowel change in (*si*q, sæq, səq), or (*si*q, saq, *su*q)—has no phonological interest in this work, and will therefore be passed over.

Transmutation in German is *prospective*, and consists in the change of vowel-sound in a word, when a syllable is added containing a vowel of another character. It may also be *retrospective*, when a sound is reduced to conformity with one that precedes. In one form or the other, this remarkable phenomenon runs through many

[1] See suprà, pp. 1182–5.

[2] In the case of the comparative example given below, I have often had to send a paper of 50 or 60 (in one case 117) questions before I could make use of the information given. And even then it was difficult to frame them intelligibly, so as to lead to a reply which should really give me information. And my first "examination paper" had frequently to be supplemented by a second one on the answers to the first. I can only be thankful to the patience of correspondents, mostly personally unknown to me, who submitted to this tedious infliction.

languages; it is marked in Polish and Hungarian, more than in German, and is the basis of the Gaelic vowel rule (52, *d*). The essence of prospective transmutation consists in the consciousness of the speaker that a vowel of a certain kind is going to follow, so that his preparation for that vowel, while his organs are arranged for a different one, produces a third sound, more or less different from both.[1] This consciousness crystallises afterwards into pedantic rules, which remain after all action of the consciousness has long disappeared. Not having observations on the English dialects in reference to this phenomenon sufficient to reduce it to rule, I pass it over.

Quality refers to the difference of vowels, and, in Grimm especially, to their generation, as it were, from three original short vowels (a, i, u). This generation is, I fear, a theory principally due to the imperfection of old alphabetic usages. My experience of uncultured man does not lead me to the adoption of any such simple theory, although, as already observed (51, *a*), like the theory of the four elements, it is of course based upon real phenomena, and still possesses some value. It is singular that Grimm compares this vowel triad to a colour triad of a curious description, and the means, (e, o), inserted between the extremes (i, a) and (a, u), to other colours, after an analogy which I find it difficult to follow, thus (*op. cit.* p. 33):

(	i	e	a	o	u)
	red	*yellow*	*white*	*blue*	*black*
(	éi	ái	áu	íu)	
	orange	*rose*	*azure*	*violet*	

These are mere fancies, unfounded in physics,[2] based upon nothing but subjective feeling, and yielding no result. The qualitative theory which we now possess is entirely physical, depending upon pitch and resonance.

[1] See the remarkable instances from modern Sanscrit pronunciation (1138, *b'*. 1139, *b*). Grimm curiously enough starts the conception that this transmutation (*umlaut*) had some analogy with the change of old S into later R (*op. cit.* p. 34, note).

[2] If we adopt the vibrational or undulatory theory of light, then there is this analogy between colour and pitch, that both depend upon the number of vibrations of the corresponding medium (luminous ether and atmospheric air) performed in one second. In this case *red* is the lowest, *blue* (of some kind) highest in pitch, *green* being medial. Now vowels, as explained on (1278, *c*), may be to a certain degree arranged according to natural pitch; and in this case (i) is the highest, (a) medium, and (u) lowest. Hence the physical analogies of vowel and light are (i) blue, (a) green, (u) red, and I believe that these are even subjectively more correct than Grimm's, where *white* (presence of all colours) and *black* (absence of all colours) actually form part of the scale. But physically *white* would be analogous to an attempt to utter (i, a, u) at once, producing utter obliteration of vowel effect; and the sole analogue of *black* would be—silence! Again, even his diphthongs, considered as mixtures of pigments, are singular. With mixtures of colours he was of course unacquainted. The *orange* from red and yellow will pass, but *rose* from red and white (pale red), *azure* from white and black (grey), *violet* from red and black (dirty brown), are remarkable failures. Could Jacob Grimm have been colour-blind? Dugald Stewart, who rested much of his theory of beauty on colour, was himself colour-blind!

Weakening consists, according to Grimm, in "an unaccountable diminishing of vowel content" (*dass zuweilen ohne allen anlass der gehalt der vocale gemindert wird*, ibid. p. 541). The expression is entirely metaphorical, and is unintelligible without explanation. To Grimm, vowels have weight, (i) being the lightest, (u) the heaviest, and (a) intermediate, so that (a) may be regarded as a diminished (u), and (i) as a weakened (u) and (a). This, however, belongs to promutation, and he dwells chiefly on a vowel being "obscured" *(getrübt)* into some nearly related one, comparing ags. stäf, bäc, cräft; engl. staff, back, craft; fries. stef, bek, kreft, where there is no transmutation. He finds a similar change of *a* to *o*. He seems to confine the term weakening to these changes.

Breaking is introduced thus (*ib.* p. 32): "A long vowel grows out of two short vowels, but the confluence of two short vowels does not always produce a long one. For if the two short ones combine without doubling their length, but leave it single, they give up a part of their full natural short quantity, and, on addition, only make up the length of the single short quantity. These may be called *broken* vowels (*gebrochene vocale*), without particularizing the nature of the fraction. Assuming the *full* short vowel to be $=1$, the long would be $=1+1=2$; the broken $=\frac{1}{2}+\frac{1}{2}$ or $\frac{1}{4}+\frac{3}{4}$ or $\frac{3}{4}+\frac{1}{4}$ $=1$." And then in a note he has the extraordinary statement, quite upsetting all physical notions, and shewing the mere literary character of his investigations: "This breaking of vowels is like the aspiration of consonants"! (*ibid.* p. 33.) Grimm considers breaking mainly due to the action of a following *r*, *h*; his classical instances are Gothic baíran faúra, and, which are for us the most important, the ags. ea, eo, ie, from which he entirely separates ags. eá, eó, ié, considering the latter to be diphthongs having more than the unit length, and hence different from his broken vowels.

There remains *quantity*. "Vowels are either *short* or *long*: a difference depending on the time within which they are pronounced. The long vowel has double the measure of the short." (*ibid.* p. 32.) We are evidently here on the old, old footing, the study of books—not speakers.

ii. *On Vowel Quantity in Living Speech.*

The late Prof. Hadley very properly blamed me, in reviewing the first and second parts of this work (down to p. 632), for not having paid sufficient attention to quantity as marked in Anglosaxon works, and especially in Orrmin.[1] With this it is not now the proper place

[1] His critique, which appeared in the *North American Review* for April, 1870, pp. 420–437, has been reprinted in a volume of "Essays Philological and Critical, selected from the papers of James Hadley, LL.D. New York, 1873," pp. 240–262. It was the earliest notice of my work in the English language, and contains the judgment of a profound scholar, who had fairly studied the first four chapters, and cursorily looked over the next two. He begins by giving an account of palaeotype. He disputes some of my conclusions from my own data, and considers that long *a* could not have been broader than (ǽ), "at the opening of the sixteenth century," (p. 247), nor that long *u* was substantially different from its present sound (p. 250). He confesses to "some feeling of doubt, if not skepticism," as to my "whole

to deal, but I would remark on the essential difference between the letter-length and the speech-length of vowels, consonants, and syllables. The sound of what is recognized as the same syllable lasts a longer or shorter time, according to the wish or feeling of the speaker. The difference of length does not change its dictionary significance, but occasionally (much less, however, than alterations of pitch and quality of tone, which usually accompany the various degrees of length), practically modifies its meaning considerably to the listener. And this syllabic length may be analysed, as already partly explained (1131, *d*. 1146, *b*), into the lengths of the several vowels, the several consonants, and the several glides between these parts two and two. The length of the glides is usually thrown out of consideration. But it is often a question to me how much is due to one and how much to the other. In received speech the so-called long vowels are all different in quality from the so-called short vowels; and hence when a Scotchman, for example, gives a short pronunciation to any of the so-called long vowels, in places where the southerner uses his corresponding short vowel, which is altogether different in quality, the latter blames the former for pronouncing the southern short vowel long!

This connection of quality with quantity makes it difficult for a speaker of received pronunciation to determine the real length of vowel-sounds used by dialectal speakers. I find my own ear constantly at fault, and I have no doubt that many of my correspondents are not to be implicitly trusted in matters of quantity. But the length of the glides, the different action of voiced and voiceless consonants on preceding vowels, the holding and not holding of those consonants, and Mr. Sweet's rule for final consonants (1145, *d'*), also materially interfere, not merely with practical observation, but with theoretical determination. In many cases, no doubt, our crude, rough way of indicating the quantity of a vowel as (a, aa), must often be considered as marking merely a temporary feeling due rather to the consonant than to the vowel. We have no standard of length, no means even of measuring the actual duration of the extremely brief sounds uttered. A long vowel in one word means something very different from a long vowel in another. In the case of diphthongs the lengths of the elements are entirely comparative among one another, and bear no assignable relation to the lengths of adjoining consonants or of vowels in adjoining syllables.

theory of labialised consonants," (p. 253). And he dwells on my shortcomings with respect to quantity on pp. 259–262. Thus (412, *e'*) *ase* is (aa·se), but (ase)—he should have said (as)—occurs (413, *a'*). Of course the first should also be (a·se). On (442, *d'*) we have (don) compared with (doon) below. The latter is correct, of course, and (miis·doon·) on (442, *d'*) should, I think, be (mí·sdoo·n). The (laa·vird, lav·erd, ded, forgiiv·, forgiv·eth, forgifness), suprà, p. 443, should probably be (laa·verd, deed, forgii·v, forgii·veth, forgii·vnes). I am sorry to see that (dead·litshe) for (déad·liitshe) occurs on (503, *cd*). Prof. Hadley subsequently did better than criticise; he supplemented my shortcomings, in a paper on *Quantity*, read before the American Philological Association in 1871, reprinted in the same volume, pp. 263–295, of which I hope to give an account in Chap. XII.

With Englishmen diphthongs may be extremely brief,[1] and short vowels may be pronounced at great length (as in singing) without altering the character and signification of the word.[2]

The length of vowels in received English is very uncertain. How far it is dialectally fixed I will not pretend to say. At times vowels are unmistakably lengthened, but this is not frequent. The two most careful observers on this point among my kind helpers are Mr. Murray for Scotch, and Mr. Hallam for Derbyshire, both of whom are acquainted with Mr. Bell's Visible Speech. Mr. Murray makes the Scotch sounds generally short, and occasionally long. But he remarks (Dialect of S. S., p. 97): "Absolutely *short*, or, as it might better be called, *ordinary* or *natural*, quantity in Scotch is longer than English short quantity, though not quite so long as English long quantity; but long quantity in Scotch is much longer than long quantity in English. Even in English, quantity differs greatly in absolute length; for though the vowel-sounds in *thief*, *thieves*, *cease*, *sees*, are considered all alike long *e* (ii), *thieves* and *sees* are certainly pronounced with a longer vowel than *thief* and *cease*. It would, perhaps, be most correct to say that Scotch long quantity is like that in *sees*, short quantity nearly like that in *cease*." Much here depends on the consonant; see also Prof. Haldeman's remarks (1191, *a*. 1192, *b'*). Mr. Murray also observes that something depends in Scotch on the *quality* of the vowel itself; thus: "With (æ) and (*a*), and to a less degree with (*e*) and (o), there is a great tendency to lengthen the short vowel before the mutes, and to pronounce *egg*, *skep*, *yett*, *beg*, *bag*, *rag*, *bad*, *bog*, *dog*, as (ææg, skææp, jææt, bææg, b*aa*g, r*aa*g, b*aa*d, boog, doog)" (*ibid.* p. 98). Mr. Hallam, it will be seen, constantly takes refuge in medial quantities, lengths decidedly longer than the usual English short, and yet not decidedly long. Mr. C. C. Robinson occasionally does the same, and all dialectal writers who wish to represent quantity with accuracy meet with similar

[1] The old theory made diphthongs essentially long, as made up of two short vowels, yet they did not always "scan" as long, or influence the position of the accent as long, in ancient Greek. And Merkel, a German, says: that "syllables with true diphthongs have always a medial quantity, that is, not fully short, but *not capable of prolongation*, as otherwise they would lose their monosyllabic character," (Silben mit wahren Diphthongen sind stets mittelzeitig, d.h. nicht völlig kurz, aber auch nicht producibel, sonst geht die Einsilbigkeit verloren. Phys. Laletik, p. 322). His true diphthongs are (ái, áu, áy, ói, óu, óy, úi, y'i). He considers combinations like (ɛi, ɛu, œi) to be "altogether and under all circumstances dissyllabic, and to have no claim at all to be considered diphthongs" (*ib.* p. 125), which shews the effect of native habits of speech on even theoreticians.

[2] Since beginning to write these remarks, I heard a man cry "Saturday," while speaking to a mate on the other side of the street. I was not able to determine the quality or quantity of the first vowel, though the word was repeated, and I thought it over for some time afterwards. Most persons would have written (sæ·tərdee) without hesitation, but this is merely the effect of old education, which tells them that the first vowel is short and the last long, and that (r) is heard. I took refuge finally in (sah^{ah}ˌtɛdɛ), making the first vowel medial, and the two next short and indistinct, though I could not determine their relative lengths, the (ˌt) decidedly dental, the (d) not certain, the quality of the first vowel (ah) not satisfactorily fixed.

difficulties, which do not fail to occur in other languages also (518, *a*). We are not properly in a condition to appreciate a pronunciation, which, like the ancient Sanscrit, Greek, and Latin, marked length so distinctly as to make it the basis of verse-rhythm, to the exclusion of alterations of pitch and force.[1] At any rate, our own spoken quantities are very different from musical length, and the extreme variety of musical length which composers will assign to the parts of the same word at different times serves to shew to what a small extent fixed length is now appreciated. As regards myself, although I often instinctively assign long and short vowels in writing to different words, yet when I come to question myself carefully as to the reasons why I do so, I find the answers in general very difficult to give, and the more I study, the less certainty I feel.

That there *are* differences of length, no one can doubt. That those lengths are constant, either relatively or absolutely, cannot be affirmed.[2] There is naturally a great difficulty in prolonging a sound at the same pitch and with the same quality of tone. Are vowel qualities ever purely prolonged? Does not the quality, as well as confessedly the pitch of spoken vowels, alter on an attempt to produce them? Are not all appreciably longer vowel qualities really gliding, that is, insensibly altering qualities, so that the commencing and ending qualities are sensibly different? Such combinations as Mr. Hallam's Derbyshire (*ii*, *úu*) may possibly rather belong to this category than to that of intentional diphthongs. If we were to examine carefully what is really said, we should, I think, have to augment the number of such phenomena considerably. The London (*ee*'j, *oo*'*w*) are cases of a similar kind.[3] To retain the vowel quality for a sensible time requires an unnatural fixity of muscle, and consequently relaxations constantly occur, which alter the

[1] My short experience of Mr. Gupta's quantitative pronunciation of Sanscrit (1139, *a*) makes me feel it highly desirable that the reading of Sanscrit, Arabic, and Persian quantitative verse, by learned natives, should be accurately studied. Italian and Modern Greek reading of classics leads to no result, because the true feeling for quantity has there died out. But it really prevails in the East. In France, some writers dwell much on quantity; others, like M. Féline, drop almost all expression of quantity, as in the example, suprà p. 327. We have nothing in ordinary Southern English at all answering to the prolongations made by Mr. Gupta in Sanscrit, or Mr. Murray in Scotch. If persons really observe the relative time they employ in uttering Greek and Latin syllables, and especially unaccented long syllables, they will, I think, be struck by the great difficulty of constantly and appreciably exhibiting the effects of quantity, so as to make them a guide to rhythm. This is more especially felt when numerous long syllables come in close succession, as in the following lines from the beginning of the first Satire of Horace:

Quī fit *M*æcēnās, u*t* nēmō, qua*m* *s*ibi sor*t*em—
Co*nten*tus vīvat? *l*aude*t* *d*īver*s*a seque*nt*ēs—
O! for*t*ūnātī mer*c*ātōrēs, gravis a*nn*īs—
Co*ntr*ā mercātor, *n*āvi*m* *j*acta*nt*ibus austrīs—

where the long vowel is marked as usual, the short vowel is left unmarked, and position is indicated by italicising the determining consonants.

[2] Not in such living languages as I have had an opportunity of examining, not even in Magyar, as I heard it, although its poets profess to write quantitative metres occasionally.

[3] See the remarks on *suffractures* in iv. below.

vowel quality. Again, the preparation for the following consonant acts so strongly upon the nerves which are directing the formation of the vowel, that they cease to persist in the action, and insensibly modify it, producing other changes of quality, in a manner with which we are familiar as the action of a consonant on the preceding vowel. But it may be said, although these alter the quality as it proceeds, the ear recognises the intention to continue the original quality, and gives credit for its continuance. The credit is freely given in received speech, as judged by a received orthography. But in dialectal speech we have no such assistance. We have to treat the dialect as an unwritten language, and discover what is said without reference to orthography, that is, without reference to what learned men in olden time thought would be the most practical way of approaching to the representation of sounds of *other* dialects by means of symbols whose signification had been fixed by still older writers in totally different languages. This drives us at once from books to nature, which is very hard for literary men, but is, I believe, the only way of giving reality to our investigations. As long as we do not check literature by observation, as long as we continue to take the results of old attempts at representing observations,[1] as absolutely correct, as starting-points for all subsequent theory, we lay ourselves open to risks of error sufficient to entirely vitiate our conclusions. Much harm has already been done in theoretically restoring the marks for long and short vowels in Anglo-saxon, in printing diplomatically with theoretic insertions, in systematising an orthography which was not yet understood.[2] Our real knowledge of the ancient lengths of these vowels consists in the analogies of other languages and the present changes. And these seem to be much affected by the already-mentioned difficulties of retaining the same quality of tone while endeavouring to prolong the sound. But to obtain a real knowledge of long and short vowels, we shall have to study languages in which difference of length, independently of difference of quality, is significant, and in which quantity forms the basis of rhythms.

[1] This is apt to be forgotten. At some early time, when phonetic knowledge was comparatively small, or the necessity of discriminating sounds was not strongly felt, alphabetic writing was comparatively vague, and, moreover, it so happens that alphabets invented for languages with one set of vowels have been used for languages with a totally different set. How much languages thus differ will be seen at the end of the next sub-number iii. But still the writing *was* based on observation, such as it was.

[2] "All alteration in the text of a MS., however plausible and clever, is nothing else but a sophistication of the evidence at its fountain-head: however imperfect the information conveyed by the old scribe may be, it is still the only information we have, and, as such, ought to be made generally accessible in a reliable form." Preface to King Alfred's West-Saxon Version of Gregory's Pastoral Care, by *H. Sweet*, p. viii, an edition in which the new method required for Anglo-Saxon study is well initiated. When a young man like Mr. Sweet is capable of doing such work as this, what may we not hope from his maturer years. His accurate knowledge of phonetics, and his careful powers of observation, to which frequent allusion has been made in these pages, lead us to expect the best results hereafter, if he only have opportunity to do the work he is so well qualified to produce.

The net result for our present investigations on English dialects is that all quantities here marked must be taken as provisional, that too much weight must not be attributed to the separation of long and short, and that in general a certain medial length may be assumed, which, when marked short, must not be much prolonged, and when marked long, must not be much shortened. But allowances must always be made for habit of speech, for intonation and drawling, for the grammatical collocation of the word,[1] for emphasis and accent or force of utterance, for "broadness" and "thinness" of pronunciation,—all of which materially influence quantity,—as well as for those other points of difficulty already dwelt upon, and many of which are characteristic of speech in different districts. But for the practical writing of dialects, we must continue to make a separation of short and long, if for nothing else, at any rate as an indication of glides (1146, *b*). When we write [meet·]=(mit), we seem to shut up the vowel too tightly, owing to the action of the consonant. This is not usual to the Scot, who says [m:eet]=(mi^{i}t). Hence we hear the Scot say [mee·t]=(miit), and when he really lengthens, as in *thieves* (thiivz)=[thee·vz], we almost seem to want an extra sign, as [th:·eevz]=(thii^{i}vz). For dialectal writing we do much if we keep *two* degrees, and use the long vowel really to mark a want of tightness in the glide on to the following consonant. The real value of our longs and shorts must not be taken too accurately. The writer had better give his *first* impression than his last, for the last has been subjected to all manner of modifying influences. We have simply nothing left like the quantity of quantitative languages.

iii. *On Vowel Quality and its Gradations.*

The *quality* of a tone is that which distinguishes notes of the same pitch, when played on different musical instruments. It is by quality of tone that we know a flute from a fiddle, organ, piano, harp, trombone, guitar, human voice. Prof. Helmholtz discovered that there exist simple tones, easily producible,[2] but not usually heard in nature, and that the tones which generally strike the ear are *compound*, made up of several simple tones heard or produced at the

[1] Many English dialects, like Hebrew, lengthen vowels "in the pause," *i.e.* at the close of a phrase or sentence.

[2] A tuning fork gives nearly a simple tone; when held over a box of proper length, it produces a really simple tone. A *c* tuning fork, struck and held over the opening of any cylindrical vessel, tumbler, jar, wide-mouthed bottle, about six inches deep, will produce the required tone. The vessel may be *tuned* to the fork, by adding water to shorten it, and thus sharpen the tone, and by partly covering the aperture to flatten it. A jar thus tuned to *c* may be easily tuned to the *a* tuning fork below it, by still further covering the mouth. It is interesting to observe how suddenly the resonance changes from dull to bright. Every one who wishes to understand the vowel theory should study the first and second parts of Prof. Helmholtz's (161, *d*) Die Lehre von den Tonempfindungen, 3rd ed., Braunschweig, 1870, pp. 639. A translation of this work into English is at present engaging a large portion of my time, and I hope that it will be published at the close of 1874 by Messrs. Longman, for whom I am writing it, under the title: *On the Sensations of Tone as a physiological basis for the theory of music.* It is one of the most beautiful treatises on modern science, and is written purposely in a generally intelligible style.

same time. The relative pitches of those tones, that is, the relative numbers of complete vibrations of the particles of air necessary to produce them, made within the same time, are always those of the numbers 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, and so on, 1 representing the pitch of the lowest simple tone, which the ear receives practically as that of the whole compound tone. The *quality* of the *compound* tone depends on the *relative force* or loudness of its *component* simple tones, and this relative force is dependent on the mode of production. Now, in the case of the vowels, the mode of production resembles that of the French horn. In that instrument a hemispherical cup is pressed tight on the lips, which are closed. Wind is forced from the chest, opening the lips, which immediately close by their elasticity, assisted by the pressure of the rim of the cup, and this action being repeated with great rapidity, puffs of air come in regular succession into the cup or mouth-piece, and are transmitted through a small hole at the opposite extremity into a long tube (27 feet long nearly), the contents of which form a *resonance chamber*, which is naturally only able to resound to certain simple and compound tones. The puffs of the lips are not sufficiently rapid generally, on account of their want of elasticity, to produce the tones of the long tube itself, but they are able to set the air within it in motion, and the action of this confined air is powerful enough to make the lips vibrate properly. The tube can only give certain tones, dependent on the force of the impulse given by the lips; but by introducing the hand and arm at the bell-like opening of the tube, the shape of the resonance chamber is altered, and new tones can be produced, not however so bright and distinct as the others. Now, in the human voice, a pair of elastic bands or chords, pressed closely together in the larynx, serve the purpose of the lips, and produce the puffs of air, which pass through the upper part of the cartilaginous box (often nearly closed by its lid, the epiglottis) into a resonance chamber answering to the tube of the horn,[1] which can have its shape marvellously altered by means of the muscles contracting the first part or pharynx, the action of the uvula in closing or opening the passages through the nose, and the action of the tongue and lips, which last much resembles that of the introduced hand and arm in the French horn.

There are, however, some essential points of dissimilarity between the two cases. Thus the resonant chambers in speech are small, and the resonance is not powerful enough to affect the vibrations of the vocal chords, so that the rapidity of the vibrations of these chords themselves determines the pitch and the full force of tone, while the resonant chambers can only vary the relative force of the different simple tones which compose the actual musical tone produced. It is entirely upon this variation of force that the different vowel effects depend, and, at the risk of being somewhat tedious, I shall venture to give some of the acoustical results, because they

[1] It is almost impossible in such a work as the present to avoid repetitions. Some of the present matter was anticipated on p. 161, where the shape of the resonance tube is more fully described. It was found, however, insufficient for our present purpose merely to refer to that passage.

have not yet found their way into philological treatises, and are of the highest philological interest.

Suppose that the puffs of air produced by the vibrations of the vocal chords produce a musical note of the pitch known as B flat, on the second line of the bass staff. Then (in a way explained by Prof. Helmholtz by means of some of the most recent anatomical discoveries of the construction of the internal ear, and numerous experiments on so-called sympathetic vibration), the ear really hears not merely 1. that simple B flat, but the following among other tones in addition to it, namely, 2. the *b* flat next above it, 3. the *f'* above that, 4. the next *b'* flat, 5. the *d''* above that, 6. the octave *f''* above the former *f'*, 7. a note a little flatter than the next *a''* flat, 8. the *b''* flat above, 9. the next tone above *c'''*, 10. the octave *d''''* of No. 5, 11. a tone not in the scale, a good deal sharper than *e''''* flat, 12. the octave *f''''* of No. 6, 13. a tone not in the scale, somewhat flatter than *g''''*, 14. the octave of No. 7, a little flatter than *a''''* flat, 15. the major third *a''''* above *f''''*, 16. *b''''* flat, the octave of No. 8, and so on, up to 24 or more, sometimes, in the human voice, especially when strained, where the numbers of vibrations in a second necessary to produce the notes written, are in proportion to the simple numbers 1, 2, 3, etc., of their order. These are the tones naturally produced on the B flat French horn. The mode of marking musical pitch just used is adopted pretty generally. The capitals C, D, E, F, G, A, B, denote the octave from the lowest note of the violoncello upwards. The small letters *c*, *d*, *e*, *f*, *g*, *a*, *b*, the next higher octave, beginning on the second space of the bass staff. The once-accented letters *c'*, *d'*, *e'*, *f'*, *g'*, *a'*, *b'*, the next higher octave, beginning at the note on the first leger line above the bass and below the treble staff. The other higher octaves begin at *c''* on the third space of the treble staff; *c'''* on the second leger line above the treble; and then *c''''* is the octave to that again. The reader will therefore easily be able to write out the notes here referred to in ordinary musical notation. These are, in fact, the simple tones out of which the compound tone heard may be conceived as formed. But in ordinary speaking the vocal chords do not act so perfectly as in singing, and many very high and dissonant simple tones are also produced.

Now the effect of the differently-shaped resonance chambers formed by placing the organs in the proper positions for the different vowels is to make some of these louder and some weaker, and the joint result gives us the vowel sensation. The shape or materials of the resonance chamber are quite indifferent. Hence it may happen that two or three different positions of the mouth may produce the same resonance. If so, they will give the same vowel. This is extremely important, because it shews that a prescribed position for a vowel is not necessarily the *only* position, but merely a *known* position, which will produce the required effect. It may also happen, that if a notation indicates a vowel by giving the form of its resonance chamber, two different symbols, though shewing different forms of that chamber, may denote the same vowel, because these different resonance chambers have the same resonance.

The resonance of a mass of air depends upon many conditions which are ill understood, and can be calculated only in a few cases. Generally it is determined by experiment. Prof. Helmholtz, Dr. Donders, and Dr. Merkel, with others, have thus endeavoured to determine the resonance of the air in the mouth for the vowels which they themselves utter. If we really knew those resonances accurately, the vowels would be determined. But this is far from being the case. We must indeed consider that these gentlemen pronounce the vowels which they write with the same letters, in appreciably different manners, as the results at which they have arrived are materially different. Prof. Helmholtz, however, has practically applied his result to the artificial generation of vowels. By holding a reed pipe tuned to the *b* flat just mentioned against a resonance box tuned to the same pitch, the result was a very fair (uu); changing the resonance box to one tuned an octave higher, to *b'* flat, the result was (oo); changing to a box tuned another octave higher, to *b''* flat, the result was "a close A," perhaps (aah), while a box tuned a major third higher, to *d''*, gave "a clear A," perhaps (aa). He also obtained various grades of (EE, œœ, ee, ii), by using as resonance boxes glass spheres, into whose external opening glass tubes, from two to four inches long, were inserted, thus

giving a "double resonance." This is a rough imitation of what really takes place in speaking. His previous experiments lead him to believe that, for his own North German pronunciation of the vowels, there are single resonances, namely *f* for (uu), *b'* flat for (oo), *b''* flat for (aa), and double resonances (the lower for the back part of the mouth and the throat, and the higher for the narrow passage between the tongue and hard palate), namely, *d''* and *g'''* for (EE), *f'* and *b'''* flat for (*ee*), *f* and *d''''* for (ii), *f'* and *c''* sharp for (œœ), and *f* and *g'''* for (yy).

But Prof. Helmholtz went further, and producing the series of tones just described on a series of tuning forks, which were kept in motion by electricity, and placed before resonance boxes in such a way that he had complete command over the intensity of the resonance, he actually made them utter vowels. Let *p*, *mf*, *f*, *ff*, have their usual musical sense of *piano*, *mezzoforte*, *forte*, *fortissimo*, and indicate the loudness of the notes under which they are placed. The notes are exactly one octave higher than those formerly described. The vowels corresponded to the different intensities of the tones of the forks thus:

FORKS	*b* flat	*b'* flat	*f''*	*b''* flat	*d'''*	*f''''*	*a'''* flat	*b'''* flat
VOWELS								
(uu)	*f*							
(oo)	*mf*	*f*	*p*					
(aa)	*mf*	*mf*	*mf*	*f*	*f*			
(EE)	*mf*	*f*	*f*	*p*	*ff*	*ff*		
(*ee*)	*mf*	*mf*				*ff*	*ff*	*ff*

The vowel (*ee*) was not well produced, because it was not possible to make the small forks corresponding to the very high notes *f''''*, *a'''* flat, *b'''* flat, sound strongly enough, and still higher forks were wanted. For the same reason (ii) could not be got out at all. It would have required a much higher series of forks. The table shews at once that (uu) belongs to the low, (aa) to the middle, and (ii) to the high parts of the scale. The reader should, however, carefully remember that this table gives the relative loudness of the component simple tones *only* when the vowels are sung to the pitch *b* flat, and that if this pitch is altered the distribution of the loudness would be changed, the resonance chamber remaining unaltered. It is merely by the *natural recognition* of the effects of resonant chambers of nearly the same pitch, reinforcing the component simple tones of the sound which lie in their neighbourhood, that vowels are really characterised. We need not, therefore, be surprised at the vagueness with which they are habitually distinguished.

If this reinforcement of certain tones by the vowels exists in nature, the reinforced tones will excite some of the strings of a piano more than others. Hence the following striking and fundamental experiment, which every one should try, as it not only artificially generates vowels, but actually exhibits the process by which vowels are heard in the labyrinth of the ear, where an apparatus exists wonderfully resembling a microscopical pianoforte, with two or three thousand wires. Raise the dampers of a piano, and call out a vowel sharply and clearly on to the sounding-board or wires, pause a moment, and, after a slight silence giving the effect of "hanging fire," the vowel will be re-echoed. Re-damp, raise dampers, call another vowel, pause, and hear the echo. Change the vowel at pleasure, the echo changes. The experiment succeeds best when the pitch of one of the notes of the piano is taken, but the pitch may be the same for all the vowels. The echo is distinct enough for a room full of people to hear at once. The vowel is unmistakable; but, on account of the method of tuning pianos, not quite true.

A vowel then is a *quality of tone*, that is, the effect of increasing certain of the partial simple tones of which the compound tone uttered consists; and this augmentation depends on the pitch of the

note or notes to which the air inclosed in the mouth when the vowel is spoken will best resound. We cannot therefore be surprised at finding that vowel quality alters sensibly with the pitch or height at which the vowel is uttered. Thus on singing (ii) first to a high and then to a low pitch, the vowel quality will be found to alter considerably in the direction of (*ii*), and as we descend very low, it assumes a peculiarly gruff character, which only habit would make us still recognise as (ii). In fact, the vowel differs sensibly from pitch to pitch of the speaker's voice, which also varies with age and sex, and other causes, so that what we call our vowels are not individuals, scarcely species, but rather genera, existing roughly in the speaker's intention, but at present mainly artificially constituted by the habits of writing and reading. When, therefore, these habits are of no avail, as in scientifically examining unknown languages and dialects, the listener fails to detect the genus which probably the speaker feels, and hence introduces distinctions which the latter repudiates. Also the habits of different sets of speakers become so fixed and are so different in themselves, that those of one set have possibly many vowels not corresponding to those of the other, and hence they either cannot appreciate them at all, or merely introduce approximations which are misleading. This is one secret of "foreign accents." We have agreed to consider certain vowel qualities as standards from which to reckon departures. But we are really not able to reproduce those standards, except by such an apparatus as Helmholtz contrived, and even then so much depends upon subjective appreciation, which is materially influenced by the non-human method of production, that real standards may be said not to exist. And we are still worse off in ability to measure the departures from the standard as shewn by the metaphorical terms we employ to express our feelings. Practically in each country we fall back upon "received pronunciation," and how much that differs from person to person, how little therefore it approaches to an accurate standard, has already been shewn in § 1 of this chapter.

A careful description of the positions of the tongue and lips in producing vowels is of great assistance (25, *a*), and practically is sufficient, when reduced to a diagrammatic form (p. 14), to teach deaf and dumb children to pronounce with perfect intelligibility, as I have witnessed in children taught by Mr. Graham Bell and Miss Hull (1121, *c*). Hence the real importance of basing the description of vowels upon the positions of the organ most generally used in producing them. This is Mr. Bell's plan. The diagrams on p. 14 are rough, and curiously enough do not shew the closure of the nasal passage by the action of the uvula, so that the figures really represent nasalised vowels. They give only 9 positions, manifestly inadequate. But each can be much varied. Thus, taking (*e*) as a basis, the tongue may be a little higher (e^1), or lower (e_1), and in any of the three cases the point of least passage may be advanced ($_{,}e$), or retracted ($_{.}e$), thus giving 9 (e, e^1, e_1, $_{,}e$, $_{,}e^1$, $_{,}e_1$, $_{.}e$, $_{.}e^1$, $_{.}e_1$) forms to each position. Again, the cavity behind the least passage may be entirely widened (e), or widened only in front of the arches of the soft palate (e^2), or only behind it (e_2), or more in front than behind (e^2), or more behind than in front (e_2). Supposing then that the cavity had not been particularly widened before or in the primary positions, each *one* of the preceding 9 forms gives *six* (e, e^2, e_2, e, e^2, e_2), produced 6 times 9,

or 54 forms for each one of the original 9, and hence 9 times 54 or 486 forms altogether. Now on each of these, 5 different kinds of "rounding" may act, that is, contractions of the aperture of the mouth as for (ʌ, o, u), or contraction of the arches of the palate, thus ($e_ʌ$, e_o, e_u, e^4), for some of which distinct signs are provided, thus ($e_o = ə$, $e_o = œ$), or pouting the lips. This adds 5 times as many forms, giving 6 times 486 or 2916 shapes of the resonance cavity for the nine original positions, and these are far from all the different shapes of the resonance cavity producible without the aid of the nose. For example, the contraction of the arches of the palate may be itself of various degrees, and may be combined with each of the contractions of the aperture of the mouth, which may or may not be pouted. But if we merely add two kinds of nasality, the French and Gaelic, as ($e_ʌ$, $e_ɔ$), we get twice as many additional forms, or, including the unnasalised, 3 times 2916, or 8748 forms, and these, as we have seen, are by no means all; but all these are easily written in palaeotype by the methods already described.

Of course these positions do not tell the result, but they tell how to get at the result, and in this way, as Mr. Bell expresses it, they produce *Visible Speech*, and his is the only system which does this systematically, — in the forms, as well as the conventional meanings, of his symbols. To discover the results, we must make experiments on ourselves —taking care to be out of earshot of others, because of the unearthly sounds we shall produce. It is best to take a good breath, and hold a familiar vowel, such as (ii, aa, uu) at the most comfortable pitch as long as possible unchanged. Begin with (ii), keeping lips very wide open. Next, keeping the position unchanged, *try* to change the vowel-sound by intention, and try to detect that you have not preserved your position when the vowel changes. Next begin (ii), and gradually, during one breath, alter the tongue, keeping the lips open. Next begin (ii), keep tongue fixed, and alter lips gradually, closing to perfect closure, reopening with side openings, pouted lips, varying lips. The variations of vowel are wonderful. Do the same with (aa), and produce (oo) by rounding lips only. Next take (uu), observe the great difference of effect by moving the tongue only, and the effect of keeping the tongue still and opening the lips. Steady practice of the nature indicated will give not only great command of sounds, but great appreciation of those *dialectal changes* and *affections* of vowel-sounds with which we have to deal. These are things impossible to appreciate on paper only. But it is a great advantage to the investigator that he has his own vocal organs always ready for experiment, and if he does not take advantage of this, he has no one but himself to blame for want of understanding. If children, actually deaf from birth, can be got to produce excellent imitations of the peculiar English vowels, distinguishing readily (i) from (í), and (a) from (æ), as I have myself heard, there is no reason why those who can hear should not by similar training obtain much better results. *All* children should be *taught* to speak.

Now (ii) represents the effect produced with open lips,[1] the middle of the tongue high, the pharynx narrow. It is a thin bad quality of tone for the singer, impossible on low notes, that is, its natural pitch, or the pitch mostly favoured by the shape of its resonance chamber, is so antagonistic to low notes, that its character is disguised, its purity "muddied," as it were, by lowering the pitch. This "muddying" is literally the German "trübung," and may be termed "obscuration."

[1] Lepsius (*Standard Alphabet*, 2nd ed. p. 54) says with "broad lips," meaning with a long transverse aperture. This is not necessary. The corners of the lips should be kept apart, and the middle of the lips may be as widely separated as we please, and the wider the separation the clearer the (i). Still, in quietly uttering the series of vowels (i, e, a, o, u) before a glass, it will be seen that for (i) the lips form a narrowish horizontal slit, which opens wider for (e), and becomes comparatively vertical for (a), the corners being apart in all; then the corners come together for (o) and most for (u).

Again (uu) represents the effect produced with lips so nearly closed as to leave only a small central aperture, the back (not middle) of the tongue high, nearly as high as for (k), and the pharynx narrow. It is a hollow round sound, extremely simple in character, that is, being almost a simple tone, and hence penetrating, but its pitch is naturally low, and it is impossible to sing without "muddiness" at high pitches.

These are evidently extreme positions. But (aa) is produced with lips moderately open, distinctly *not* rounded by closing the outer corners of the lips, a tolerably flat tongue, with the back not nearly so high as for (uu), and the pharynx open. It has a very complicated composition out of partial tones, and a pitch of moderate height, so that it accommodates itself even to high or low notes without much "muddying." Obscuration is most felt on the low tones which err on the side of (uu); the upper ones err on the side of (ii), and make the vowel too "thin."[1]

These three vowels (i, a, u) exist in perfection in the Italian, and possibly Castillian. They do not exist in great perfection in English. There, (ii) is frequently obscured, or has its quality deteriorated, by widening of the pharynx, descending to (*ii*), or, by slightly lowering the tongue, to (*ee*[1], ee[1]). The (uu) is better, but also inclines often to (*uu*), not, however, reaching (*uu*h). The (aa) rises to (aah), which is a bright sound, though inclining to the roughness of (EE), or else sinks to (*aq*), which is much duller, and has almost the effect of rounding. These are the tendencies in the cultivated received pronunciation. In the dialects we shall find both (ii) sinking and (aa) rising to (ee), and (aa) also sinking to (*aa*, AA), and even (oo, *oo*); while (uu) approaches (*oo*) by a peculiar alteration of the lips, or arches of the palate, without the tongue, giving (uu_0) or (*uu*[4]). These alterations correspond to the effects of Grimm's *weakening*, but weakening is hardly an appropriate term. If we consider the nature of the alterations, they are found to consist in modifying the resonance chamber, and hence changing its vowel effect, by raising or lowering parts of the tongue, by opening or still further closing and "rounding" the lips, and by widening the pharynx. To none of these can the term "weakening" well apply. But the (ii) sounds have a thin whistling effect, the (ee) sounds a rattling reediness, the (aa) sounds an open sonorousness, the (oo) sounds a round fullness, the (uu) sounds a hollow roundness, and we may consider that (ii) or (aa) *degrades* in passing to (ee), and (oo) in passing to (uu). The sounds (aa, oo), which differ only in the position of the lips, are the best sounds we have, and the passage of one into the other is on a level. It has been very frequently made in our dialects.

A slight alteration, however, materially affects the quality of the resonance. The qualities of the vowels (æ ɜ œ ə) are rough.

[1] To understand the effect of vowel quality in music, sing a simple stave, as the first part of *God save the Queen*, first with the vowel (i) only, then with (a) only, then with (u) only, and first at an easy pitch, then as high, and lastly as low as the voice will permit, with long sustained tones.

When one of the former is replaced by one of the latter in (a, ah, æ, E), it is said to be *thinned* or *narrowed;* and when one of the latter is replaced by one of the former, it is said to be *broadened, widened, thickened, flattened*, etc. And the same terms are used when one of the former falls into one of the latter in (a, *a*, A) or (a, o, ɔ). The effect of the "rounding" or shading by the lips is always to produce a sensation of *thickness*, because it disqualifies the mass of air within the mouth from resounding to the component simple tones of a higher pitch, and hence removes the brightness and fullness of the tone, and gives it a dull hollow character, which this term is meant to express.

The passage in the direction (o, *o*, *u*) is also one of thickening, and (u_o) or (u^4) is felt to be very thick indeed. When we come to (u), the tone feels lighter again. This arises from the disappearance of most of the component simple tones. The sound (A_u), or a vowel produced by keeping the lips in the (u) position, and lowering the tongue to the (A) position, is the dullest possible (u). It is recognised by Helmholtz as the true type of (u), because it leaves the mouth nearly like a sphere with a very small external aperture, and is the real extreme vowel. It possibly occurs dialectally, as do also, I think, (o_u, u_1), and various other modifications of (u).

Any approach to (u, ʉ, œ, ə ɷ) from any quarter is recognised as obscuration. This, as already mentioned, apparently depends on a want of adaptation of the resonance chamber to qualities of tone which are free from beats.

It is thus seen that the effects described by all manner of theoretical terms depend upon the physiological action of the relative loudness of component simple tones, and the scientific study of the relations of vowel qualities is, like music in general, reduced to an investigation of the effects of altering the intensities of these same components. This it is beyond our present purpose to do more than indicate. But we see generally that thinness or hollowness depends upon a bad filling up of the compound tone; the thin tones wanting force in the lower, and the hollow tones in the higher components. Thick tones seem to have several lower components strongly developed (as in the sesquialtera stop on the organ), and the upper comparatively weak. The obscure rough tones arise from beating components due to imperfection of resonance.

In (u_o) and (A_u) we seemed to have reached the acme of thickness, in (u) the components were almost reduced to the lowest simple tone, but, in consequence, the tone was not thin. If, however, the position of the tongue be slightly changed, so that it glides from the (u) to the (i) position, the lips remaining unchanged, a peculiar mixture of the hollowness of (u) and thinness of (i) results, the German (ɪ), or, with wider pharynx, the French (y). Whether these sounds occur in our dialects or not is disputed. Prince Louis Lucien Bonaparte inclines to (y_1) or ($ə^1$), which has not quite so high a position of the tongue as (y). In either case the result is that of *weakening* (u), although, for reasons which will appear in the next sub-number iv, I feel doubtful as to whether the replacing of (u)

by (y) or (y_1), which occurs in Devonshire, Norfolk, and Scotland, is really due to this desire of thinning or weakening. In precisely the same way (*o*), by a still slighter alteration of the tongue to the (*e*) position, produces (*ø*), which, on widening the pharynx, gives (œ). As (e) replaces (*i*) in Scotch, one is not surprised to hear (*ø*) in place of (y) or (y_1), and Mr. Murray recognises (*ø*), or the French *eu* in *peu*, in his own dialect, rather than (y_1), which lies between *eu* in *peu* and *u* in *pu*. In point of fact this (*ø*) is a "weakened" (u) reduced to (*o*). The lips are opener, and the middle of the tongue is higher; but the quality of the tone is not only thinner, it is obscurer. That is, it approaches to that of (ə). When we get to (œ), this approach is still nearer, and few Englishmen, without study, distinguish (ə, *ø*) and (ɜ, œ), and many mix them all up together. In precisely the same way, Frenchmen and Germans hear (ə, ɜ) as (*ø*, œ). The (ɞ) is a still nearer approach. Yet in (*ø*, ɜ, ɞ) there is no rounding of the lips. This is an example of how very closely approximating sounds can be produced by very different forms of the resonance chamber. The (œ) is supposed by Mr. Baird to occur in Devonshire, where it appears in the diphthong (œ′y_1), an alteration of (*óu*), where first the (*u*) is "thinned" into (y_1), and then (*o*) is by "attraction"—in fact by transmutation, owing to the preparation for (y_1)—thinned or obscured, in fact palatalised, into (œ). It is possible that some speakers say (əə′y) or (ɞɞ′y), rather than (œ′y_1). The diphthongs are probably due to different appreciations of intentionally the same sounds, as heard from different individuals and by different observers.

Finding such hovering sounds, we can no longer be surprised at an original distribution into three (i, a, u), in Sanscrit, at a subsequent development into five (i, e, a, o, u) in the same language, which became *eight* in Greek (i, *e*, e, a, o, *o*, u, y). The separation of (*e*, e) and (o, *o*) is, however, too fine for this stage, which practically reduces to *six*, (i, e, a, o, u, y), and this becomes *seven* by the addition of (œ), which must be held to include (*ø*) on the one hand, and (ə) on the other. The vowel scale (I, E, A, O, U, Y, Œ) practically includes all the "classes" of unnasalised sounds which are recognised, each clearly distinct from the other, and indicated, for convenience, by capitals. They form the "natural" classification, as distinct from any artificial one. But on going into details, we find many sounds which we cannot satisfactorily fit into any class, and other "transitional" sounds which lead the way from class to class. Thus let (*i*) be developed and distinguished from (i). These two stages are by no means coexistent; for example, (*i*) has long been developed in English, but phonologists have only quite recently distinguished it from (i), Dr. Thomas Young having been one of the first to do so (106, *d*). Then (*i*) at once leads on to (e), and the passage is rendered easier by the development and distinction of (*e*), thus (i, *i*, *e*, e). By a similar process (ɛ) generated from (e), and first (ah) and then (æ) generated from (a), give the transition (e, ɛ, æ, ah, a). Again, (a) developes first (*a*), and then (ʌ), in the direction of (o); for although the change from (a) to (o) is most

easy and rapid, yet when we come to hear the intermediate sounds, we recognise the bridge as being (ə, *a*, ʌ, ɔ, o), the (ɔ) being on the one hand confused with (ʌ), which is again confused with (*a*), and on the other with (o). The next bridge is (o, *o*, *u*, u). Then begins the shift of the tongue through the first series (i, e, a), and we have the bridge (y, *ø*, œ, æh). We have here very nearly reached (ɐ), whence (œ, ə, *y*) lead up again to (i) through (*i*). Thus we obtain a much extended vowel-scale, which may be grouped under the former seven heads, thus:

I E A O U Y Œ

i *i* *y*, *e* e E, æ ah a *a*, ʌ ɔ o *o*, *u* u, y *ø*, œ æh ɐ œ ə e

This only gives 24 vowels out of our 36. The peculiar (u_o) or (u^5), which would lie thus (*o* u_o *u*) or (*o* u^5 *u*), and (y_1) lying thus (y y_1 *ø*), with several un-English varieties, are also omitted. Many of the rest cannot be placed exactly linearly.

No linear form of expressing relationships of natural phenomena ever succeeds. The above line does not shew the relation of (I) to (Y), or of (Œ) to (E) and (O), and in fact, if (ə) belongs to the family (Œ), of (Œ) to (A). This is partially accomplished by a triangular arrangement, much used, and very attractive, thus:

A
E Œ O
I Y U

We must remember, however, that the (A, E, I) and (A, O, U) limbs of this triangle are essentially distinct in mode of formation and effect, that the "means" (E, O) are really not on a level in respect either of quality or physiological position, and that the "extremes" (I, U) are still more diverse. Also the central stem, (Œ, Y), although necessarily attractive to Germans on account of their *umlaut*, is not a real mean between the limbs, as its situation would imply. Generally (Y) has the tongue position of (I) and lip position of (U), and (Œ) the tongue position of (E) and the lip position of (O), but (U, O) have tongue positions, and (I, U) lip positions, of their own; and, taking resonance, we do not find the resonances of (Y, Œ) compounded of the resonances of (I, U) and (E, O) respectively. Hence such an arrangement as

I E A O U Y Œ
Y Œ

has even more significance.

The triangle has been greatly developed by various writers. Lepsius begins by comparing the vowel families to colours, but does not hit on exactly the same relations as Grimm (1269, *c*), for, like the blind man who imagined *scarlet* to be like the sound of a trumpet, he makes (*Standard Alphabet*, p. 47)

A
E Œ O analogous *red*
I Y U to *yellow* *orange* *brown* *violet* *green* *blue*

which, as before, misses the actual analogies between musical pitch and optical colour. The "indistinct vowel-sound from which, according to the opinion of some scholars, the other vowels, as it

were, issued and grew into individuality," which should be the undifferentiated voice ('h), he compares to *grey*, "which also does not belong to the series of individual colours;" does *brown?*

This triangle Lepsius developes by separating (E) into (*e*, e, æ), (O) into (*o*, o, ʌ), and (Œ) into (*ø*, œ, ɜ), as I presume I may interpret his examples, because he distinguishes the last (ɜ) from the "indistinct vowel," in which he seems to mix up ('h, ʊ, ə). He thus gives, as "the complete pyramid of the European vowels,"

a
æ ɜ ʌ
e œ o
e *ø* *o*
i y u

but he is very anxious to omit "the second row," and consequently proposes to identify the vowels in 1) English *past*, *heart* (aa), French *mâle* (*aa*), German *that* (aa, *aa*); 2) English *hat* (æ), French *mal* (a, ah), German *hat* (a, *a*); 3) English *hut*, *fur* (ə, ɜ), French *heurter* (œ, æh), German *hörner* (œ); 4) English *naught*, *war* (ʌ), French *cor* (o), *what*, *hot* (ɔ), French *vote* (o, o_1, oh), German *sonde* (o, *o*). Of course such identifications do not represent national habits. Lepsius's English vowels are given by the words 1 *past*, 2 *heart*, 3 *hat*, 4 *head*, 5 *hate*, 6 *swear*, 7 *heat*, 8 *hit*, 9 *year*, 10 *hut*, 11 *fur*, 12 *naught*, 13 *hot*, 14 *war*, 15 *note*, 16 *borne*, 17 *hoot*, 18 *hood*, 19 *moor*, which, judging from the values assigned to his symbols by German examples, and using ('r) for 'vocal *r*,' seem to be considered as, 1 aa, *aa*, 2 a'r, 3 æ, 4 e, E, 5 *ee*, 6 *e*'r, 7 ii, 8 i, 9 i'r, 10 ɜ, 11 œ'r, 12 ʌʌ, 13 ʌ, 14 ʌ'r, 15 *oo*, 16 *o*'r, 17 uu, 18 u, 19 u'r. Hence omitting the ('r), and disregarding quantity, and the confusions (a *a*, e E), Lepsius admits only (a æ e *e* i, ɜ œ, ʌ *o* u) as English vowels, disregarding (*i*, ɔ, *u*), and recognising (œ).

But even this triangle does not suffice for the Slavonic and Wallachian relations, where two vowels are met with which Lepsius describes thus, in our notation for *tongue* and *lip* position, taking the lip positions of (i, e, a) as three unrounded degrees of opening (1280, *d'*). In the first place his *u* is ($ʌ_u$), "the tongue drawn back in itself, so that in the forepart of the mouth a cavity is left," which agrees with Helmholtz's *u* (1283, *b*), and may perhaps be considered as the German *u*, related to (bh) in the same way as the English *u*, with the *back of the tongue raised*, is related to (w). The *tongue*-position for Lepsius's *u* is therefore that for our (ʌ),[1] the *lip*-position being the same as for our (u), and this is the meaning of

[1] This retraction of the tongue for (ʌ) I frequently found useful when desiring to examine the throat of a child, who, when he opens his mouth, usually stuffs his tongue uncomfortably in the way, from not knowing what to do with it, and is always annoyed by having it held down by a spoon or paper knife, which he naturally struggles against. I used to say, "Open your mouth, and say (ʌʌ) as long as you can." The tongue disappeared immediately, and the examination was conducted without difficulty. "Parents and guardians will please to notice"!! and also to notice that they must shade their own mouth and nose when examining, so as to avoid the dangerous miasma almost always exhaled from a diseased throat.

(ʌ_u). Then he makes (y) = (i_u), but makes the Russian ы or Polish *y* = (ʌ_i), or = (u_i) taking the *u* he describes,[1] and (œ) = (e_o), but the Wallachian *ă*, etc. = (o_e). He would therefore arrange his triangle thus:

a

e e_o o_e o

i i_u u_i u

which is very pretty, if correct. But Prince L. L. Bonaparte, as will be presently seen, identifies the Wallachian sound with (œ) = (ʌ_a), being delabialised (ʌ), which would have the tongue lower and the lips opener than (o_e), the real representative of (ɜ). Between (ɜ, œ) the difference is not really very great, yet, if I am right in my appreciation of the Forest of Dean sound of *ur* as (œɜ), it is very sensible. The Russian sound has been hitherto treated in this work as (ʏ), and the Prince, being familiar with this sound before he heard the Welsh *u*, which seems to = (*y*), felt the connection to be so great, that he at first confused them, and afterwards connected them, as Bell did (*y*, ʏ). But he recognises a *guttural* character about the Russian sound, which is absent in the Welsh. For a long time I have entertained the same opinion, and hence, on the principle of (1100, *d'*. 1107, *e*), I represent it by (ʏ_2), thereby maintaining an elevation of the flat tongue and a widening of the pharynx behind the arches of the palate, which gives my sensations when attempting to reproduce the sound. In this case, however, the prettiness of Lepsius's triangle is somewhat deteriorated, and it becomes:

a

e œ œ o

i y ʏ_2 u

Brücke,[2] unable to accommodate all the vowels which he recognises in one triangle, or as he, with most Germans, terms it "pyramid," constructs *four* such. The first seems to be:

a

E *a*

e æh o

e *ø* œ *o*

i ɪ y u

in which, instead of a central stem, there is a central triangle. These are considered to be all the "perfectly formed" vowels, and Englishmen will notice that some of their most familiar vowels (*i* æ ə ʌ ɔ *u*) are absent. These are partly provided for in another scheme of "imperfectly formed" vowels, — the "imperfection" existing, of course, only physiologically in Dr. Brücke's own at-

[1] Lepsius gives *two* accounts, first, "the *lips* take the broad," meaning horizontally transverse, "position of the *i*, and the *tongue* is withdrawn as in the *u*," this, with his value of *u*, gives (ʌ_i), as in the text. But he afterwards says that in forming this vowel "the middle tongue is lifted up to the palatal [coronal] point in the middle of the hard roof of the palate; from this point it slopes down almost perpendicularly, so as to leave a cavity between this point and the teeth." This is not quite the same, because for (ʌ) the tongue is simply laid down and back in the lower jaw, but the second description implies some connection between the tip of the tongue and the coronal point of the palate.

[2] See p. 16 of his tract: Ueber eine new Methode der phonetischen Transscription, Wien, 1863, pp. 65.

tempts at pronouncing them. Each one of the above vowels has its "imperfect" form, giving the following pyramid, where (?) represents a sign used by Dr. Brücke, of which he gives no explanation beyond such as is furnished by its locality:

?
æ ?
? ə ?
ʉ ? ? ɔ
i ? ? u

The other two pyramids are merely the nasals formed by adding (ʌ) to these signs. The relations between the ordinary vowels, where all nasal resonance is cut off by closing the entrance to the nose with the uvula, and the nasal vowels, where this entrance is opened, are not so completely understood as could be desired. The forms (a_{ι}, aʌ) indicate that the tongue and lips are in the position for (a), but that the uvula is very differently situate, and this, even if the entrance to the nose were cut off by other means, would essentially modify (a) by the opening out of the upper portion of the pharynx, introducing a new resonance chamber, and by the flapping about of the soft uvula. How far the resonance can be affected by stiffening the uvula, or making the entrance to the upper part of the pharynx more or less open, or by some internal action on the membranes of the nasal passages, is not known, has in fact scarcely been studied at all. The two kinds of "nasality" indicated by affixing ($_{\iota}$) or (ʌ) to an ordinary vowel-symbol, and the choice of that vowel, are altogether uncertain, as indeed is shewn by the various opinions expressed regarding such well-known sounds as the French nasals.

Prof. Haldeman (*op. cit.* 1186, *d.*, art. 369) endeavours to combine all these vowel-sounds in a single triangle with a central core. See his English vowels, suprà pp. 1189–93. The ? in this triangle marks doubtful identification with his vowel-symbols, but a brief key is added.

A

Fr. âme *a* ə *u*rn
awe ʌ a Suabian?
*o*dd ɔ æ *a*dd
Italian o e_1 Coptic?
Fr. o_1 ? œ Fr. e_1 Suabian?
owe o ɛ th*e*re
*o*bey o^1 ? ø Fr. e *e*bb
e^1 Gudjarat'hi?
Italian *u*h ɪ Germ. *e* *e*ight
'*w* ? Alsatian 'j
Swedish ʊ, ʊ Swedish *u* e^1 Fr. *é*?
*fo*ol u $ɪ_2$ Russian *i* p*i*n
p*u*ll *u* y Fr. *u* i m*a*chine
y Welsh *u*

Prof. Whitney, as will be seen in the latter part of No. 7, makes the

triangular arrangement with central stem an instrument for shewing the relations between vowels and consonants.

The conception of a *double* triangle has been united with that of a central stem by Prince Louis Lucien Bonaparte. Omitting the nasals, and some other signs, such as (oh *o*h u_1 'w 'j *i*'), which tend somewhat to obscure the general symmetry, as the complete form will be given on p. 1298, the following is in principle the Prince's double triangle, in palaeotypic characters.

a
ɜ
A
ˌa *æ* ˌɐ
ah ə əh ɔo
æ œ *a*

						E₁		E		æh		øh				A		ɔ
				e₁		**E**	e₁				**Œ**						o₁	**O**	o₁
		e				*e*				œ		*ø*					*o*		o
	e¹			e¹						œ¹		*ø*¹						*o*¹		*u*h
y	**I**	ɤ₂			*i*		i			ɪ	**Y**		y	ʊ		u¹	*u*¹	u	**U**	*u*

On comparing these arrangements with Bell's (p. 15), it will be seen that the inner triangle corresponds generally to 'primary' and the outer to 'wide' forms, and that in the central stem, the right-hand column is 'primary,' and the left-hand 'wide,' while the only 'rounded' forms are all those in the classes (O, U, Y, Œ). But to carry out this last restriction, apparently, the forms (ə, *æ*, ɜ, ɐ, əh, ɔo, œ), which have to me all more or less a tinge of the (Œ) quality, and which are practically constantly confounded together and with those here assigned to the (Œ) family, are given to the (A) family. The great peculiarity of this triangle, however, consists in not terminating the (A E I) and (A O U) limbs by the typically closest positions of the series. It will be seen that the first terminates with (*y* ɤ₂), and that the series then extends along the base, through (*i* i), where the closest position is reached, to the labialised central core (ɪ), where the palato-labial series commences. And the second limb terminates with (u *u*), which again are not so close as (u¹ *u*¹), and these go on to (ʊ), which is almost *on* the central core, and leads up to (y), where the labial series is palatalised, and the palato-labial series commences on this side, and so on to (ɪ). Hence the base of the triangle would probably be best represented by two curves sweeping from **I** to **Y**, and from **U** to **Y**, where they unite, and proceed in a vertical line through **Œ** to **A**, and then (*i*, *u*¹) would be outside, and (i, u¹, ʊ) just inside, so that the 'wide' and 'primary' vowels would be kept distinct. By drawing these lines on the printed scheme, together with the limbs **A E I**, **A O U**, a better conception of this extremely ingenious arrangement will be obtained.

This double triangle, with central stem and curved base, exhibits the relation of vowel gradations in a very convenient form, and may help many readers to a better conception of certain "intermediate" forms, than any long physiological description of the forms of resonance chamber by which they are produced. The

identifications of the Prince's symbols with palaeotype are practically his own, with the exception of (E_1), which is a theoretical intermediate form, for which he has given no key-word, but see (1108, *a*). That the forms with ($^1{}_1$) precisely represent the same as are produced by the physiological actions these signs were introduced to symbolise (1107, *a'*), may be sometimes doubtful. Nevertheless, for a study of vowel relations, this triangle, here printed from the Prince's unpublished papers, is of more material value than any of the other triangular arrangements which have been cited above, though they all serve more or less accurately to shew the subjective relations of the vowels by which the changes have been generally estimated. But the real causes of the changes are certainly to be sought in the relations of position of tongue, lips and pharynx, and the more or less careless habits of speakers in assuming definite relations, dependent upon the ease with which approximations to definite position, and hence quality of tone, are appreciated. This readiness of appreciation, or perhaps of confusion under one conceived genus, is due, probably, to the necessarily wide varieties in the qualities of tone usually identified by the speaker himself, which arise from difference of pitch, already mentioned, and emotional modifications. It must be remembered, however, in this connection, that what one nation, or tribe, or clique, is in the habit of confusing, another is in the habit of distinguishing. To an Englishman it is indifferent how he modifies his pitch in speaking, to a Chinese such modifications are all important.

All such changes from a vowel in one part of the scale, to another not far remote on either side, may be called *gradations* (1281, *d*), and we may say that a vowel thus replaced is *gradated*, a general term, avoiding the usual metaphors of weakening, strengthening, etc., or even *de*gradation.

It must not, however, be supposed that dialectal speakers are indifferent to their vowel qualities. Each speaker is tolerably clear about the matter, till he is questioned, and then, like the educated speaker, he becomes bewildered or doubtful. Also, in using his words in different collocations, he unconsciously uses different sounds. Also, when the listener attempts to give him back his sound, almost certainly incorrectly, the native speaker is apt to acknowledge as identical what are really different, or to find immense differences where the listener felt hardly an appreciable distinction. Again, dialectal speakers vary greatly from one another, when the finer forms of elements are considered. The investigator generally knows but few. Hence he is apt to be deceived. Are we to suppose that the great varieties of Early English spelling are due simply and always to carelessness or ignorance? My dialectal experience leads me to think that much may be due to difficulties of appreciation and varieties of pronunciation, and that some of the best spelling, by the most careful men, such as Orrmin and Dan Michel, even when consistent (which, as we know, is not always the case), may give sharp *subjective* distinctions, and may contain *accommodations* to alphabetic resources, which are not correct as real representatives of the language spoken. My own personal experience of phonetic

writers, during many years, leads me to a similar conclusion. For older hired scribes, who wrote before the inauguration of a mechanical system of spelling, to settle all questions by an iron rule, and while letters really represented sounds to an appreciable extent, another cause may have acted. They wrote much from dictation, or when they wrote from 'copy,' they transferred the word into sound in their heads, and they were so slow in forming the letters that they laboured an analysis of the sound as they went on. This naturally varied as they used the word after intervals or in different connections. It does so with every one; this is the mere outcome of experience. But with the old scribe the result was a corresponding alteration of spelling. The word was considered in isolation, hence its rhythmical or rhyming qualities did not enter into consideration. The analysis was uncertain, hence it altered. It was tinctured by the local habits of the scribe, with whom, therefore, the spelling changed also in generic character. The point least thought of was the general habit of pronunciation, because it was really unknown, and there was no early standard. It seems to me that very much of the varieties of our early MSS. can be thus accounted for, and some puzzling, but not frequent, groups of letters satisfactorily explained.

The net result then for our dialectal examples is that only class changes can be tolerably well ascertained, such as (I) into (E), (A) into (E), (A) into (O), (E) into (A), (O) into (A) or (U), (U) into (O) or (Y), and all into (Œ), including (ə). Unmistakable instances of all these will be found, but whether they are due to the feelings of weakening, thickening, narrowing, broadening, obscuration, or to physiological relations of the parts of speech, or, as I am often inclined to think, to hereditary and imperfect imitations of fashions for some unknown reasons assumed as models, does not seem to be determinable with our present very limited stock of knowledge. Alterations stated to occur *within* classes, orthoepical distinctions of (i, *i*), of (*e*, e) or (e, ɛ), of (ah, a, *a*), of (ʌ, ɔ, o), of (o, *o*), of (u_o, *u*, u), of (y, *ə*), of (*ə*, œ), of (ɜ, œ, ʊ, ə), are all extremely doubtful. When exhibited in phonetic writing, they must be taken on the word of the investigator as the best distinctions he was able to make at the time, to be corrected when his "personal equation" is known. Experience, gathered from myself and others, has convinced me that opinions alter *widely*, and within short intervals, while listening to repeated utterances of the same speaker, as to the precise shade of sound heard. Hence I consider that it would be premature to draw absolute conclusions from them. We know in France and Germany that much confusion as to (*ə*, œ) prevails. The French distinguish (ɛ, *e*) sharply, and so do the Italians. The French also distinguish (o, *o*), but the Italians have (o, *u*h) in their place.[1] All this is easy when we have written documents and much

[1] Prince L. L. Bonaparte does not make precisely these distinctions. He gives what is here marked (ɛ, *e*) in French as (e_1, *e*), and what is marked (o, *o*) in French and (o, *u*h) in Italian as (o_1, *o*) in both. It is certainly sufficient for intelligibility to make the distinctions (e, *e*; o, *o*) in both, and

discussion. Both fail for our dialects, where a strict consideration of sound is quite in its infancy.

most probably individuals in different localities, even of the highest education, differ materially as to the precise distinction they make, and believe most firmly that their own habits are universally adopted by received speakers.

Since the above note was in type, I have had a curious confirmation of the correctness of this conjecture. Mr. Henry Sweet informed me (6th Feb., 1874), on his return from Holland, where he had had an opportunity of examining the pronunciation of Dr. Donders, Prof. Land, and Prof. Kern, to whom I have had occasion to allude at length (1102, *c'*. 1109, *d'* to 1110, *c'*. 1114, *b*), that they have each different pronunciations, and that each considers his own not only the *correct*, but the *general* pronunciation. The following notes, with which he has furnished me, are interesting, not only in this respect, but in reference to the passages just cited. The letters D, L, denote Donders and Land, and when they are not used, the pronunciation is general.

a = (œ, a); (œ) [or, as Mr. Sweet's pronunciation sounded to me, (*a*)] before (l), otherwise (a).

aa = (ˌaa), as in Danish, *maan* (mˌaan).

e = (ɛ), *bed* (bɛt), sometimes (æ), *gebed* (ghəbæ·t), D only.

ee = (*ee*) L, (*éei*) D; *been* (been) L, (beein) D, the diphthong quite distinct.

-eer = (eer) L, (*eer*) D; *meer* (meer) L, (m*eer*) D, so that L follows English use.

e unaccented = (ə), *de goede man* (də ghu·ɹə man). The *d* between two vowels often becomes (w) or (ɹ); *Leyden* is (Lɛɹ·ə), the first (ɛ) running on to the (ɹ) as a diphthong, the final *n* being dropped as usual. This final *-e* is always pronounced when written, except in *een*, *één*, *een man*, *eene vrouw*, *éene vrouw*, (ən-man·, ən-vróu, *een* vróu).

i = (e¹) or (*e*¹), Scotch ĭ, unaccented often (ə), *twintig* (tbhe¹n·təkh).

ie = (i) short, except before *r*, *niet* (nit), *bier* (biir).

o, from original *o*, = (ɔ) L, (o) D; *slot* (slɔt) L, (slot) D.

o, from original *u*, = (ʌo) L, Danish *aa*, (*o*) D; *bok* (bʌok) L, (bok) D.

oo = (*oo*) L, (*óou*) D, *boom* (boom) L, (bó*o*um) D.

oor = (oor) L, (*oor*) D, *boor* (boor) L, (b*oor*) D.

u = (ə, œ, əh), *dun* = (dən, dœn, dəhn).

uu = (ɪ), *minuut* (minɪ·t), *zuur* (zɪɪr).

eu = (*əə*) L, (*əə'*ɪ) D, *neus* = (nəəs) L, (nəə'ɪs) D.

eur = (œœr) L, (*əər*) D, *deur* = (dœœr) L, (d*əə*r) D.

aai = (ái).

ei, *ij* = (ɛ'i). Prof. Kern, a Gelderlander, makes *ei* = (ɛ'i) and *ij* = (ah'i) [see Dr. Gehle's pronunciation (295, *c*)]. L artificially distinguishes (ei) as (ɛ'i) and *ij* as (e¹'i), probably learned in Friesland; in ordinary speech he makes both (ɛ'i).

aau, *ou* = (ɔ'u) L, (óu) D, *blaauw* (blɔ'u) L, (blóu) D, *koud* (kɔ'ut) L, (kóut) D.

ui = (əh'*w*, əh'i), *huis* (ɦəh'*w*js), *lui* (ləh'i), final. The (əh) is slightly more guttural than in the English *erv*. [Dr. Gehle said (ɦœ'ys), at least such was his intention, compare the Devonshire diphthong below, No. 10, subdialect 41; Mr. Hoets, from the Cape of Good Hope, was satisfied with (œ'i), as in French *œil*.]

w = (bh), *v* = (v), *f* = (f), *wat vat fat* (bhat vat fat); *w* and *v* are always distinct, *v* is often whispered ('v), and appears sometimes to be made voiceless (f), so that it is confused with *f* (in Amsterdam). Land's *slagconsonant* or explosive (p) [at which Donders was equally surprised with myself (1103, *b*)] is made by drawing the under lip over the upper teeth so as to cover the interstices without touching the upper lip at all; if the upper lip is touched, the effect is too near to (b). It is peculiar to Land, who, however, hears it always both in Dutch and German. [Neither L nor D hear North German *w* as (v), although identified with (v) by Lepsius and Brücke. Neither Mr. Sweet nor myself have heard (v) from any German. Prince L. L. Bonaparte has recently heard an old Dutch retainer call *v* ('v) and *w* (bh*w*).]

z is often whispered ('z).

r is strongly trilled, either with point of tongue (.r) or uvula (.*r*).

g is pronounced quite soft (ˌgh) by good speakers, the trilled (grh) is vulgar.

l is more guttural than palatal, like the English and Scotch *l* [i.e. more near to (l*w*) than (lj), or rather (ˌl) than (.l)].

The kindness of Prince Louis Lucien Bonaparte enables me to furnish one of the most remarkable examples of vowel appreciation and classification which has ever been published. The Prince, during last winter, as the outcome of his phonetic studies pursued during many years, with unprecedented facilities for hearing varieties of pronunciation, drew up a scheme of vowel and consonant classification. To the vowel scheme he appended a list of all the vowel-sounds which, so far as he could appreciate, existed in each of forty-five European languages. At my request, and purposely for the present work, he verified his appreciation by giving in each language a word containing that vowel-sound, together with its meaning, serving to identify it. He has thus constructed the most extensive series of *key-words* ever attempted, and has furnished a means of arriving within comparatively narrow limits at the meaning of the palaeotypic symbols. Of course there will be no absolute identity. First there is his own personal equation in observing, next there is that of another observer, and these may cause so great a divarication that the identification may be disputed in many cases. I have found several in which I do not appreciate the distinctions of sound in precisely the same way as he does. Still the limits of difference are in no case very great, and their very existence is important in relation to the gradation of vowels when appreciated qualitatively.

In order to make this remarkable work more valuable for philological purposes, I have arranged it as follows. First, on p. 1298, I give the Prince's complete triangle, of which there is an extract on p. 1289. As it was impossible to use the Prince's own symbols, many of which have never been cut as types, I have confined myself to giving the *numbers* in his list. Hence, whatever may be thought of the palaeotypic equivalents afterwards added, each vowel can be immediately identified as B 1, B 2, etc., B indicating *Bonapartean*, and thus referred to in any English or foreign treatise. For typographical reasons I have, as before, omitted the sloping lines of his triangle. These may be readily supplied thus: by drawing lines from **A** at the top, through **E** to **I**, through **O** to **U**, and through **Œ** to **Y**. The first two lines separate the primary and wide vowels. The two uprights between the two horizontal lines should be parallel to the other two, and point to 35 on the left, and 62 on the right. The vertical lines inclosing 67, **Y**, (65, 66) and the horizontal lines, are correct. The capital letters **I, E, A, O, U, Y, Œ**, indicate the classes, the limits of which are clearly marked by these lines.

Next follows a linear list of the 75 sounds entered as vowels in the above triangle, in order of their numbers, with their palaeotypic equivalents. Except for 5, 9, 12, 22, 26, 30, 36, 38, 39, 47, 52, 56, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 66, 73, 74, 75, these equivalents were furnished by the Prince himself, and hence indicate his own appreciation of my characters. Of these 5 is determined by the Danish example after Mr. Sweet to be (ˌa). Then 22 is the (E_1) already mentioned (1290, *a*). Number 36 is only exemplified by an indeterminate unaccented Scotch vowel, scarcely distinguishable from (*i*); but, as

Mr. Murray considers it nearer to (i), the Prince has made it intermediate to (*i*, i), and I have used (i^1) as the symbol, where the greater closeness (1107, *b*), indicated by (^{1}), refers rather to the width of the opening of the pharynx than to the height of the tongue. Number 56 is identified by a Swedish sound, which seems to be best indicated by (u_1). The English and Icelandic examples of 61 sufficiently identify it with ('*w*). Perhaps 62, which is only identified in Swedish, is not quite properly represented by (u^1), but its position in the triangle leads me to that symbol. A similar doubt hangs over 63, (u^1), identified only in Lap and Norwegian. As to 74 and 75, the systematic character of the Prince's symbols leads me to think that ($œ^1$, $ø^1$) are probably correct, especially as the latter is also identified with the Scotch *ui* in *guid*. Here ($ø^1$) is the sound I have hitherto written (y_1). With regard to the other numbers not identified with palaeotype by the Prince himself, they are all nasals or semi-nasals, formed on bases already identified, and hence have been written by adding (ʌ) or ($_i$) to the palaeotypic equivalents of those bases. These additional symbols have been all approved by the Prince, but some doubt necessarily remains as to the correctness of the physiological identification, in which, however, he is not much interested, and very probably some will have to be altered hereafter. Thus (25 e_1, 46 o_1, 55 o^1) were identified by the Prince with sounds which Mr. Sweet writes (E, A_o, o_u) respectively; see the Danish vowels, language 40, below. It is almost impossible that ears attuned naturally to English and foreign sounds respectively should agree on such minute points.

The numbers in the first column in this list refer to the numbers of languages in the list beginning on p. 1300, in which the sound has been identified with that used in a given word. Taking the identifications to be tolerably correct, these numbers give a very remarkable result. At the end is given after the sign (=) the number of the languages in which each vowel-sound has been identified. Collecting these results, and considering 'l, 'r, as two additional vowels, we find in

Languages.	the vowels
0	15 ɹ, 17 ᵉh, 19 əh, 22 E_1, 24 e_1, 42 oh, 44 *a*h, 45 o_1, 53 *o*h, 73 *ø*A = 10 vowels.
1	2 $a_{,}$, 5 $_{,}$a, 6 ah, 9 æA, 10 *v*, 11 *œ*, 12 *œ*$_{,}$, 13 ɯ, 14 ɹ, 21 œ, 36 i^1, 38 $i_{,}$, 59 $u_{,}$, 62 u^1, 64 *v*, 68 æh, 70 *ø*hA, 'l = 18 vowels.
2	4 ɯ, 26 $e_{1,}$, 30 *e*A, 33 *y*, 40 'j, 41 ɔ, 52 *o*A, 56 u_1, 61 '*w*, 63 u^1, 66yA = 11 vowels.
3	47 $o_{1,}$, 50 oh, 67 ɪ, 74 $œ^1$, 'r = 5 vowels.
4	20 *ø*, 39 iA, 60 uA, 75 $ø^1$ = 4 vowels.
5	3 aA, 23 E, 48 o_1A, 54 *u*h = 4 vowels.
6	27 e_1A, 55 o^1, 57 *u* = 2 vowels.
7	7 ɔ, 31 e^1, 32e^1, 34 Y_2 = 4 vowels.
8	69 *ø*h = 1 vowel.
10	8 æ = 1 vowel.
11	35 *i*, 43 A = 2 vowels.
12	72 *ø* = 1 vowel.
13	71 œ = 1 vowel.
14	16 'h = 1 vowel.
15	49 o = 1 vowel.
20	65 y = 1 vowel.
21	51 *o* = 1 vowel.
24	29 *e* = 1 vowel.
25	28 e = 1 vowel.
27	46 o_1 = 1 vowel.
33	25 e_1 = 1 vowel.
41	18 'h = 1 vowel.
42	58 u = 1 vowel.
43	1 a = 1 vowel.
44	37 i = 1 vowel.

It appears then that 60 out of the 77 vowels, including ('l, 'r), recognised by the Prince, occur each in less than 9 languages, and only each of 17 occur in 10 or more languages. These 17 are consequently those to which attention must be chiefly directed. In order of the number of languages in which they occur, shewn by the figures placed after the letters, they are—

37 i, 44	28 e, 25	71 œ, 13
1 a, 43	29 *e*, 24	72 *ə*, 12
58 u, 42	51 *o*, 21	35 *i*, } 11
18 'h, 41	65 y, 20	43 ʌ, } 11
25 e_1, 33	49 o, 15	8 æ, 10
46 o_1, 27	16 'h 14	

From these we may reject (18 'h) as not being generally considered a vowel at all, because not "voiced,"[1] and (16 'h) as undifferentiated voice, which is therefore not usually put among the vowels. It would be in accordance with the habits of many phonologists to consider (4 ɜ, 7 ə, 10 ʊ, 11 *æ*, 13 ɔ) and (16 'h) as all forms of the same vowel, which, to agree with Rapp and English phonologists, may be looked upon as (ə). Giving then to (ə) all the different languages now credited with those vowels just named, it occurs, under some more or less distinct form, in 20 languages. The appreciation of so many vowel-sounds as (e_1) instead of (E) has put (E) out of and (e_1) into this series. The Prince has not found (E, e_1) simultaneously, except in 12. Ostiac, and 26. Rhetian; in the first he has not given an example, but in the second he tells me that he has heard the extraordinary series (8 æ, 23 E, 25 e_1, 28 e, 29 *e*, 35 *i*), where 4 means are interposed between (æ, *i*).[2] It is of course possible that other observers might note the sounds rather as (8 æ, 22 E_1, 23 E, 28 e, 29 *e*, 35 *i*), or even as (8 æ, 23 E, 28 e, 29 *e*, 31 e^1, 35 *i*), or might consider the sounds here separated as (23 E, 25 e_1) to be the same. The recognition of all the terms in such a series is so difficult, that (e_1) may be considered as the Prince's appreciation of what other observers class as (E); thus in 40. Danish, he appreciates Mr. Sweet's (E) as (e_1). If we do not count these two languages twice, (E, e_1) together appear in 35 languages. Again, as regards (o, o_1), it will be seen that the Prince has not found them both in any language but 21. Italian, and (39). Norwegian after Aasen. As regards Italian, it is only quite recently that the Prince has considered the sounds (28 e, 49 o) to have been used in unaccented syllables, having formerly supposed the sounds to be

[1] The Russians reckon their ъ as a vowel, and the Prince identifies this with (18 'h). He also considers a peculiar kind of after-sound in the Wallachian final (n, m) to be the same, see language 27, below. To me it sounded, when he pronounced it, more like (;'h̩), coming immediately after a nasal, and very short, as (vin;'h̩). The (16 'h) when final, he usually pronounces more strongly than is customary with careful English speakers.

[2] See also *Ascoli's* Archivio Glottologico Italico, Rome, 1873, which, in a remarkable paper on these dialects, also recognises four means.

(29 *e*, 51 *o*) in such cases, and he has also quite recently considered the 'open' Italian *e*, *o*, in accented syllables to be (e_1, o_1), instead of (E, o) as he formerly thought them to be (1180, *b*), that is, he did not formerly consider the difference sufficiently marked to require independent symbols. The separation of (o_1, o) under these circumstances is somewhat doubtful. In the Norwegian, the example for (o_1) is *maane*, which is (A_o), according to Mr. Sweet. Altogether, therefore, we may consider that (o_1, o) are fine distinctions of sounds usually confused as (o), and for our present purpose so confuse them. Hence, adding together the numbers of languages for (o_1 and o), taking care not to count these two twice over, and crediting them all to 49 o, its number becomes 42.

The scale of importance of the 15 vowels thus distinguished above all others, where (18 'h) is omitted, (4 ɜ, 7 ə, 10 ʊ, 11 *æ*, 13 æ̃, 16 'h) are all confounded as (ə), (e_1, E) as (E), and (o_1, o) as (o), is therefore as follows, the numbers before the vowel being the Bonapartean, and those after the vowel the numbers of European languages out of 45 in which they occur, which are slightly different from those in the last table (1295, *a*).

37 i 44	28 e 25	71 œ 13
1 a 43	29 *e* 24	72 *ø* 12
58 u 42	51 *o* 21	35 *i* 11
49 o 42	7 ə 20	43 A 11
23 E 35	65 y 20	8 æ 10

and there is little doubt that with these 15 vowels, forming the series

I E A O U Y Œ
i *i*, *e* e E, æ a, A o *o*, u, y *ø*, œ ə

and supplemented by their nasal forms where necessary, all the principal languages of the world could be written with an accuracy far surpassing any that has yet been exhibited. Different nations would necessarily demand varieties for their peculiar differentiations, and phonetic inquiries into gradations of sound would require the minutest symbolisation; but no foreigner is likely to appreciate a language with more real accuracy, until he has undergone severe phonetic discipline. The 7 classes of vowels are thus divided into 15 genera, of which the numerous species are exhibited in the list of Vowel Identifications, pp. 1300–1307.

In this last list the languages are arranged according to the Prince's own systematic classification, the whole of the vowel-sounds known to occur in any language are given in the order of the Bonapartean vowels, with the corresponding palaeotype, and an example is given to each, in the ordinary orthography of the language, with a translation. After the name of each language is given the number of vowels with which it is thus accredited, assuming (16 'h, 18 'h) and ('r, 'l) to be vowels. If we reject these, the numbers of vowels, except in languages 19. Modern Greek, 21. Italian, and 22. Spanish, will have to be diminished by 1, 2, or even 3, as in 47. Bohemian. The following will be the numbers of the vowels after these rejections:

Vowels	occur in languages.
5	3 = 19 Modern Greek, 22 Spanish, 43 Illyrian.
6	1 = 52 Lettish.
7	5 = 6 Permian, 9 Morduin, 11 Vogul, 14 Welsh, 45 Bulgarian.
8	7 = 15 Cornish, extinct, 25 Roman, Catalan, 27 Wallachian, 42 Russian, 44 New Slovenian, Wendish, 47 Bohemian, 50 Lithuanian.
9	3 = 4 Livonian, extinct dialect of Salis, 8 Tsheremissian, on the *right* bank of the Volga, 21 Italian.
10	4 = 7 Votiak, 33 High German, 46 Polish, 48 Lusatian.
11	2 = 2 Finnish, 26 Rhetian, Oberland dialect.
12	7 = 1 Basque, 10 Hungarian, 12 Ostiak, dialect of Surgut, 17 Albanian, Guègue dialect, 35 Dutch, 36 Modern Friesian, Western dialect, (37) Scotch.
13	4 = 3 Esthonian, 5 Lap, dialect of Finmark, 34 Low German, dialect of Holstein, 38 Icelandic.
14	1 = 49 Cassubian.
16	4 = 16 Breton, 24 French, (39) Norwegian of Aasen, 40 Danish, after Sweet.
17	1 = 39 Swedish.
19	2 = 23 Portuguese, 37 English.
21	1 = 13 Gaelic.

The vowels selected by those languages that have the same number are by no means identical; thus Portuguese and English, which have each 19 vowels in this estimation, have only 6 in common, namely (1 a, 8 æ, 37 i, 51 *o*, 57 *u*, 58 u). This may serve partly to explain the difficulty felt in acquiring the pronunciation of foreign languages. It also by no means follows that the languages most generally esteemed for their sonorousness, or their cultivation, have the greatest number of vowels. Thus 22. Spanish has only 5, 14. Welsh only 7, 21. Italian only 9, 33. High German only 10. 37. English, taking the received dialect, after Smart, and admitting ('j, '*w*) to be vowels distinct from (i, u), is put down at 19, which, on removing these, reduces to 17, as in 39. Swedish. But if we include all the dialects, the previous enumeration (1262, *c*) gives, independently of length and doubtful nasalities, and the numerous fractures, and inserting (i^1, œ) = Glossic [í, ua], which were accidentally omitted, the following 30 vowels from the Prince's list, (1 a, 4 ɑ, 6 ah, 7 ə, 8 æ, 10 ɐ, 13 ɔɔ, 20 *a*, 21 œ, 23 ɛ, 24 e_1, 25 e_1, 28 e, 29 *e*, 31 e^1, 33 *y*, 35 *i*, 36 i^1, 37 i, 41 ɔ, 43 ʌ, 49 o, 51 *o*, 54 *u*h, 57 *u*, 58 u, 65 y, 71 œ, 72 ə, 75 $ə^1$), to which (o_u, u_o) or (u^4) have probably to be added, and other vowels may yet be recognised, for example (42 ɔh, 50 oh), in Bell's unaccented syllables (1160, *a*).

It is obvious that the 5 vowel signs of the Roman Alphabet a, e, i, o, u, are quite insufficient for intelligibly writing any one of these languages, except 19. Modern Greek, 22. Spanish, and 43. Illyrian, and would be insufficient to write even the dialects of these. What is the proper notation for all these languages is an inquiry not here raised. The notation here employed, whether palaeotypic or glossic, is merely a makeshift, to give a means of writing all these languages so that they could be printed with ordinary types,—an end hitherto unattained, if indeed ever attempted. The "missionary alphabet" of Max Müller[1] is the nearest approach to this, but it is extremely defective in vowel signs, and requires several (4 or 5) special types. Merkel's[2] is a mere make-

[1] The Languages of the Seat of War in the East, with a Survey of the Three Families of Language, Semitic, Arian, and Turanian, 2nd ed. with an appendix on the Missionary Alphabet, etc., London, 1855. [2] Laletik, 1866.

shift also. Lepsius's is full of letters with new diacritical points, difficult to procure, except in a few special founts, not common even at linguistic printing establishments. The Prince's letters are of the same diacritic nature, and are only partly cut, for one fount, which is not "in the trade." Bell's, Brücke's, and Merkel's systematic forms may be also considered out of reach, though the two first have been cut to a certain extent. Hence the necessity of my temporary typographical expedients, without which the investigations in this book could never have been brought before the public. My own private opinion is that we do not yet possess sufficient phonetic knowledge, either analytically or synthetically, to be able to construct a systematic alphabet or use it securely, but that Mr. Bell's attempt is the best yet made.

Few phonologists will hesitate in joining in my hearty thanks to the Prince for his kindness in undertaking the great labour of executing this table, and liberally placing it in my hands for incorporation in this work.

PRINCE LOUIS LUCIEN BONAPARTE'S EXTENDED VOWEL TRIANGLE.

Arranged by the numbers of the symbols, see (1293, *e*). The numbers in ( ) are to be considered as only occupying the position of a single vowel in the arrangement. Only the first number in each of these groups is given as a palaeotype letter in the abridged form on (1289, *b*), in which also other omissions are made.

(1 2 3)
4
A
5 (12 11) 10
6 7 19 (13 14 15 16 17 18)
(9 8) 21 20

22 23 | 68 (69 70) | 44 43 41 42
24 **E** (25 26 27) | **Œ** | (48 47 46) **O** 45
28 (29 30) | 71 (72 73) | 53 (52 51) 49 50
31 32 | 74 75 | 55 54

56
33 **I** 34 35 36 (37 38 39 40) | 67 **Y** (65 66) | 64 63 62 61 60 59 58 **U**

LIST OF THE VOWELS IN PRINCE L. L. BONAPARTE'S TRIANGLE.

See (p. 1293). The letter-symbols are in palaeotype, the preceding numbers are those in the triangle, the succeeding numbers are the numbers prefixed to the names of the languages in the following list which use that vowel-sound, according to the Prince's judgment. The vowel-qualities are considered without relation to quantity. The numbers following = shew the number of the languages named in the next list, in which the vowel has been identified. These vowels may be cited as B 1, B 2, etc. (1293, *e*).

A

1 a 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13
14 15 16 17 19 21 22 23 24
25 26 27 33 34 35 36 37 38
(39) 39 42 43 44 45 46 47
48 49 50 52 = 43

2 a, 13 = 1
3 aa 1 16 17 23 24 = 5
4 æ 37 (37) = 2
5 ạ 40 = 1
6 ah 37 = 1
7 ə 5 13 37 39 40 44 45 = 7

8 æ 5 12 13 23 25 26 35 37 (37) 42 = 10
9 æA 23 = 1
10 ɐ 37 = 1
11 æ 13 = 1
12 æ, 13 = 1
13 ɒ 37 = 1
14 ɹ 37 = 1
15 ɹ = 0
16 'h 16 17 23 24 25 26 33 34 35 36 37 (37) 49 52 = 14
17 ᵊh = 0
18 ʿh 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 24 25 26 27 33 34 35 36 37 (37) 38 (39) 39 40 42 43 44 45 46 47 48 49 50 52 = 41
19 ɔh = 0
20 a 24 34 36 (37) = 4
21 œ 27 = 1

E

22 E1 = 0
23 E 2 5 8 12 26 = 5
24 e1 = 0
25 e1 3 4 5 7 9 10 11 12 13 16 21 23 24 25 26 27 33 34 35 36 (37) 38 (39) 39 40 44 45 46 47 48 49 50 52 = 33
26 e1, 13 16 = 2
27 e1A 1 17 23 24 46 49 = 6
28 e 1 2 3 4 6 7 8 9 10 11 14 15 17 19 21 22 24 26 34 37 (39) 39 40 43 45 = 25
29 e 2 3 10 12 13 16 21 23 24 25 26 33 34 35 36 38 (39) 42 44 47 48 49 50 52 = 24
30 eA 16 23 = 2
31 e1 16 23 35 36 (37) 46 48 = 7
32 e1 3 4 5 27 (37) (39) 40 = 7

I

33 y 12 14 = 2
34 Y2 6 7 9 13 27 42 46 = 7
35 ɨ 5 13 15 26 37 38 (39) 39 40 49 50 = 11
36 ɨ1 (37) = 1
37 i 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 19 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 33 34 35 36 37 (37) 38 (39) 39 40 42 43 44 45 46 47 48 50 52 = 44
38 i, 13 = 1
39 iA 1 16 17 23 = 4
40 'j 37 38 = 2

O

41 ɔ 37 40 = 2
42 ɔh = 0
43 A 10 12 13 15 34 36 37 42 44 48 49 = 11
44 ah = 0
45 o1 = 0
46 o1 2 3 5 6 7 8 9 12 13 15 16 21 23 24 25 26 27 33 34 35 36 38 (39) 39 40 47 49 = 27
47 o1, 13 46 49 = 3
48 o1A 1 16 17 23 24 = 5
49 o 1 4 11 14 17 19 21 22 37 (37) (39) 43 45 50 52 = 15
50 oh 3 7 8 = 3
51 o 3 10 13 15 16 21 23 24 25 33 34 35 37 38 39 42 44 46 47 48 49 = 21
52 oA 23 49 = 2
53 oh = 0
54 ʉh 10 23 46 48 49 = 5
55 o1 3 5 (37) (39) 40 = 5

U

56 u1 2 39 = 2
57 ʉ 17 23 37 38 (39) 50 = 6
58 u 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 19 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 33 34 35 36 37 (37) 38 40 42 43 44 45 46 47 48 49 50 52 = 42
59 u, 13 = 1
60 uA 1 17 23 49 = 4
61 'w 37 38 = 2
62 ʉ1 39 = 1
63 u1 5 (39) = 2
64 ʊ 39 = 1

Y

65 y 1 2 3 4 7 8 10 11 12 16 17 24 33 34 35 36 (39) 39 40 49 = 20
66 yA 1 17 = 2
67 ɪ 40 47 48 = 3

Œ

68 œh 5 = 1
69 ɵh 2 14 16 24 34 35 39 40 = 8
70 ɵhA 24 = 1
71 œ 3 4 6 7 10 12 26 33 34 38 (39) 39 40 = 13
72 ɵ 2 10 13 16 24 33 34 35 36 (39) 39 40 = 12
73 ɵA = 0
74 œ1 6 8 13 = 3
75 ɵ1 (37) 38 (39) 39 = 4

Murmurs.

'l 47 = 1
'r 43 44 47 = 3

PRINCE L. L. BONAPARTE'S VOWEL IDENTIFICATIONS IN 45 EUROPEAN LANGUAGES.

See (p. 1293). These languages are arranged in the order of Prince L. L. Bonaparte's revised classification, as given in French in a footnote to Mr. Patterson's account of Hungarian in my Presidential Address to the Philological Society for 1873 (Transactions for 1873–4, Part II., p. 217). The classification is here incidentally repeated and translated. The different observations as they occur, unless inclosed in [ ], are taken from the Prince's classification or MSS. All the vowel-sounds in each language, so far as known to the Prince, are given for each language separately. Occasionally, when differences of opinion exist, the list thus formed is eclectic, and gives his own individual judgment. The left hand numbers in each list are those in the triangular and linear arrangements. Then come the forms in palaeotype, followed by a word containing the vowel, in its original spelling; if the word has more than one vowel-sign, a subsequent number, 1, 2, 3, etc., shews whether the first, second, or third, etc., vowel is intended; by this means the usual printed form of the word is preserved. When this is not sufficient, the vowel not being expressed, the place of its insertion is marked by ( ), or the full pronunciation of the word is given. When two adjacent vowel-signs form a digraph to represent the vowel-sound, their numbers are bracketed thus [1, 2]. Finally, the meaning of the word is given in English, and in italic letters, except, of course, for the English language itself.

Morphological Classification of European Languages.

CLASS I.

A. BASQUE STEM.

1. BASQUE. 13 vowels.

N.B.—The letters S, R, after a word, indicate the Souletin dialect, and the Roncalais sub-dialect, respectively.

1	a	ura, 2, *the water*
3	aA	ūhālke, 1, 2, S, *shame*
27	e_1A	mēhē, S, 1, 2, *thin*
28	e	ille, 2, *hair*
37	i	begi, 2, *eye*
39	iA	mīhī, S, 1, 2, *tongue*
48	o_1A	ōrzi, 1, R, *to bury*
49	o	bero, 2, *hot*
58	u	sagu, 2, *mouse*
60	uA	ūhūū, S, 1, 2, *thief*
65	y	sü, S, *fire*
66	yA	sühīa, 1, S, *the son-in-law*
18	ʻh	bat(), *one*

B. ALTAIC STEM.

a. Uralian Family.

a. Tshudic Sub-family.

I. Finnish Branch.

2. FINNISH. 12 vowels.

1	a	maa [1, 2], *earth*
23	ä	pää [1, 2], *head*
28	e	reki, 1, *sledge*
29	*e*	niemi, 2, *promontory*
37	i	iili [1, 2], *leach*
46	o_1	toveri, 1, *companion*
56	u_1	Suomi, 2, *Finland*
58	u	puu [1, 2], *tree*

(2. *Finnish*, continued.)

65	y	syys [1, 2], *autumn*
69	ö	köyhä, 1, *poor*
72	ö	työ, 2, *labour*
18	ʻh	estet(), *impediment*

3. ESTHONIAN. 14 vowels.

1	a	ma, *I*
25	e_1	käzi, 1, *hand*
28	e	enne, 1, *before*
29	*e*	enne, 2, *before*
32	e^1	k()ēl' [pronounced (k*e*ˡ*ee*lj)], *tongue*
37	i	ilm, *world*
46	o_1	tolmu, 1, *dust*
50	oh	wōlg, *debt*
51	*o*	pō()l' [pronounced(p*o*ˡ*oo*lj)], *half*
55	o^1	tolmu, 2, *dust*
58	u	Jumal, 1, *God*
65	y	ūks, *one*
71	œ	ö, *night*
18	ʻh	lüht(), *light*

4. LIVONIAN, extinct dialect of Salis, still spoken at the beginning of the XIX th century. 10 vowels.

1	a	kaks, *two*
25	e_1	mäd, *our*
28	e	bet, *but*
32	e^1	()ēzgürd [pronounced (*e*ˡ*ez*-gyr̥d)], *nigh*
37	i	iza, 1, *father*
49	o	koda, 1, *house*
58	u	kʻulk, *side*
65	y	süna, 1, *name*
71	œ	loud, 1, *to find*
18	ʻh	pieutt(), *to take*

II. Lap Branch.

5. LAP, dialect of Finmark. 14 vowels.

1	a	hallo, 1, *pleasure*
7	ə	lâkkâ, 1, 2, *near*
8	æ	bärdne, 1, *son*
23	ɛ	ælla, 1, *he lives*
25	e_1	ædne, 1, *mother*
32	e^1	jurdëlët, 2, 3, *to think*
35	*i*	sivvo, 1, *diligence*
37	i	sivo, 1, *beaten way on the snow*
46	o_1	dolla, 1, *fire*
55	o^1	gonagas, 1, *king*
58	u	ruðak, 1, *money*
63	u^1	jukkim, 1, *I parted*
68	æh	buörre, 2, *good*
18	'h	lokkat(), *to read*

b. Permian Sub-Family.

6. PERMIAN. 8 vowels.

1	a	ma, *honey*
28	e	Jen, *God*
34	$ɤ_2$	kyk, *two*
37	i	bi, *fire*
46	o_1	zon, *son*
58	u	jur, *head*
74	$œ^1$	ötyk, 1, *one*
18	'h	mort(), *man*

7. VOTIAK. 11 vowels.

1	a	zarni, 1, *gold*
25	e_1	nil'äti, 2, *fourth*
28	e	pel, *ear*
34	$ɤ_2$	ym, *mouth*
37	i	in, *heaven*
46	o_1	vor, *thief*
50	oh	ōs, *door*
58	u	jurt, *house*
65	y	üi, 1, *night*
71	œ	tödy, 1, *white*
18	'h	berkut(), *eagle*

c. Volgaic Sub-Family.

I. Tsheremissian Branch.

8. TSHEREMISSIAN, dialect of the *right* bank of the Volga. 10 vowels.

1	a	mam, *but*
23	ɛ	ergä, 2, *son*
28	e	edem, 1, 2, *man*
37	i	vid, *water*
46	o_1	kokta, 2, *two*
50	oh	tōre, 1, *peace*
58	u	Juma, 1, *God*
65	y	kū, *stone*
74	$œ^1$	nör, *field*
18	'h	olat(), *they are*

II. Morduin Branch.

9. MORDUIN, dialect Ersa. 8 vowels.

1	a	ava, 1, 2, *woman*
25	e_1	käd, *hand*
28	e	lem, *name*
34	$ɤ_2$	syŕne, 1, *gold*
37	i	ki, *who*
46	o_1	on, *dream*
58	u	ukska, 1, *wasp*
18	'h	kot(), *weaving*

d. Ugrian Sub-Family.

I. Hungarian Branch.

10. HUNGARIAN or Magyar. 13 vowels

1	a	kár, *to injure*
25	e_1	nyelv, *tongue*
28	e	veres, 1, *read*
29	*e*	szél, *wind*
37	i	híd, *bridge*
43	ʌ	kar, *arm*
51	*o*	pók, *spider*
54	*uh*	ńol, *where*
58	u	tudom, 1, *I know it*
65	y	fű, *grass*
71	œ	ökör, 1, 2, *ox*
72	*ø*	fő, *head*
18	'h	atyát(), *father*, in acc.

II. Vogul Branch.

11. VOGUL, dialect of the Konda. 8 vowels.

1	a	kats̆, *brother*
25	e_1	ät, *hair*
28	e	ne, *wife*
37	i	ini, 1, 2, *thorn*
49	o	chotel, *day*
58	u	chulp, *net*
65	y	püv, *son*
18	'h	kat(), hand

III. Ostiac Branch.

12. OSTIAC, dialect of Surgut. 13 vowels.

1	a	ârex, 1, *song*
8	æ	âdhlaň, 2, *morning*
23	ɛ	[known to exist, but no example known]
25	e_1	pet, *nest*
29	*e*	pēthleń, 1, *cloud*
33	*y*	jig, *father*
37	i	jîpel, 1, *shade*
43	ʌ	pas, *glove*
46	o_1	nok, *above*
58	u	sugus, 1, 2, *autumn*
65	y	mūl, *cap*
71	œ	kōr, *oven*
18	'h	kût(), *six*

N.B.—Finnish, Esthonian, and Livonian, differ from Lap nearly as Greek from Latin. Similarly for Tsheremissian in relation to Morduin, and for Hungarian, Vogul, and Ostiac among one another.

β. *Samoyedic Family*
γ. *Tartaric Family*
δ. *Tungusic Family*
ε. *Mongolic Family*
} with their sub-families and branches.

C. DRAVIDIAN STEM, etc.
D. WESTERN CAUCASIAN STEM, etc.
E. EASTERN CAUCASIAN STEM, etc.
F. G. H., etc., etc. OTHER STEMS differing greatly from each other, but belonging to this first class.

CLASS II.

A. INDO-GERMANIC STEM.

[N.B.—The dead languages are placed, and their names printed in italic capitals, but no pronunciation is given.]

α. *Celtic Family.*
I. Gaelic Branch.

13. GAELIC. 22 vowels.

N.B.—The letters S, M, indicate Scotch and Manx Gaelic respectively.

1 a adharc, 1 [pronounced (aiærk)], *horn*
2 a, math, S, *good*
7 ə déanta, 3, *done*
8 æ glas, *green*
11 œ laogh [1, 2], S, *calf*
12 œ, maodal [1, 2], S, *tripe*
25 e_1 féar [1, 2], *grass*
26 $e_{1,}$ freumh [1, 2], S, *root*
29 *e* céim [1, 2], *step*
34 $ɤ_2$ daor [1, 2], *dear*
35 *i* mil, *honey*
37 i rí, *king*
38 i, sinnsreadh [letters 2, 3, 4], S, *ancestors*
43 A árd, *high*
46 o_1 son, S, *sake*
47 $o_{1,}$ didomhnaich, 2, S, *sunday*
51 *o* ór, *gold*
58 u cúl, *back*
59 u, déanadh [3 last letters], *doing*
72 *ə* leigh, 1, M. *law*
74 $œ^1$ keayn [letters 2, 3, 4], M, *sea*
18 'h mallacht(), *curse*

II. Breton Branch.
a. Welsh.

14. WELSH. 8 vowels.

1 a bardd, *bard*
28 e nerth, *strength*
33 *y* dyn, *man*
37 i gwin, *wine*
49 o môr, *sea*
58 u cwmwl [letters 2 and 4], *cloud*
68 *ə*h dynion, 1, *men*
18 'h bot(), *round body*

b. Cornish.

15. CORNISH, as spoken in the XVIIIth century, now extinct. 9 vowels.

1 a hâv, *summer*
28 e pedn, *head*
35 *i* guydn [letter 3], *white*
37 i piji, 1, *prayer*
43 A bôz, *to be*
46 o_1 kylobman, 2, *pigeon*
51 *o* mor, *sea*
58 u gubar, 1, *wage*
18 'h bohojok(), *poor man*

c. Breton.

16. BRETON. 18 vowels

N.B.—The letter V indicates the dialect of Vannes.

1 a mâd, *good*
3 aA hañ [letters 2 and 3], *summer*
25 e_1 dervez, 1, 2, *day*
26 $e_{1,}$ keñta [letters 2 and 3], *first*
29 *e* éva, 1, *to drink*
30 eA éñv [letters 1 and 2], *heaven*
31 e^1 mané, 2, V, *mountain*
37 i tî, *house*
39 iA iñtañv [letters 1 and 2], *widower*
46 o_1 tomm, *hot*
48 o_{1A} moñt [letters 2 and 3], *to go*
51 *o* gôlô, 1, 2, *cover*
58 u gouzout [1, 2], [3, 4], *to know*
65 y dû, *black*
69 *ə*h eunn [1, 2], *a*
72 *ə* keûneùd [1, 2], [3, 4], *firewood*
16 'h câret, 2, V, *loved*
18 'h kaout(), *to have*

β. *Greco-Latin Family.*

I. Albanian Branch.

17. ALBANIAN, Guègue dialect. 14 vowels.

1 a amę, 1, *mother*
3 aA bāni, 1, *he did*
27 e_1A l'ēnę, 1, *let*
28 e et, *thirst*

(17. *Albanian*, continued.)

37 i bīr, *son*
39 iA vīng, 1, *they come*
48 o_1A θōng, 1, *they do*
49 o zot, *lord*
57 *u* burre, 1, *husband*
60 uA ū, *hunger*
65 y krūpe, 1, *salt*
66 yA hūni, 1, *he entered*
16 'h nde, *in*
18 'h dielit(), *of the sun*

II. Greek Branch.

18. *ANCIENT GREEK*, dead.

19. MODERN GREEK. 5 vowels.

1 a φεγγάρι, 2, *moon*
28 e νεφέλη, 1, 2, *cloud*
37 i ψωμί, 2, *bread*
49 o χρόνος, 1, 2, *year*
58 u πουλί [1, 2], *bird*

III. Latin Branch.

a. Latin.

20. *LATIN*, dead.

b. Italian.

21. ITALIAN. 9 vowels.

1 a gatto, 1, *cat*
25 e_1 sella, 1, *saddle*
28 e sellaio, 1, *saddler*
29 *e* stella, 1, *star*
37 i fine, 1, *end*
46 o_1 bosco, 1, *wood of trees*
49 o boschetto, 1, *grove*
51 *o* bocca, 1, *mouth*
58 u buco, 1, *hole*

22. SPANISH. 5 vowels.

1 a madre, 1, *mother*
28 e mujer, 2, *woman*
37 i hijo, 1, *son*
49 o plomo, 1, 2, *lead* n.
58 u luna, 1, *moon*

23. PORTUGUESE. 20 vowels.

1 a más, *bad*, fem. pl.
3 aA lã, *wool*
8 æ mas, *but*
9 æA cama, 1, *bed*
25 e_1 sê, *see* n.
27 e_1A sempre [letters 2, 3], *always*
29 *e* sê, *be*, imperat. sing.
30 *e*A senha, 1, *sign*
31 e^1 cear, 1, *to sup*
37 i vício, 1, 2, *vice*
39 iA sim [letters 2, 3], *yes*

(23. *Portuguese*, continued.)

46 o_1 avó, 2, *grandmother*
48 o_1A som [letters 2, 3], *sound* n.
51 *o* avô, 2, *grandfather*
52 *o*A sonho, 1, *dream*
54 *u*h o, *the*
57 *u* soar, 1, *to sound*
58 u túmulo, 1, 2, *tomb*
60 uA um [both letters], *one*
16 'h se, *if*

c. French.

24. FRENCH. 18 vowels.

1 a chat, *cat*
3 aA dent [letters 2, 3], *tooth*
20 *a* diable, 2, *devil*
25 e_1 père, *father*
27 e_1A vin [letters 2, 3], *wine*
28 e musette, 2, *bagpipe*
29 *e* dé, *die*, n.
37 i if, *yew-tree*
46 o_1 botte, *boot*
48 o_1A bon [letters 2, 3], *good*
51 *o* beau, *beautiful*
58 u poule, *hen*
65 y lune, *moon*
69 *ə*h veuf [1, 2], *widower*
70 *ə*hA un [both letters], *one*
72 *ə* feu [2, 3], *fire*
16 'h cheval, 1, *horse*
18 'h fat(), *foppish*

25. ROMAN, Catalan. 10 vowels.

1 a casa, 1, *house*
8 æ casa, 2, *house*
25 e_1 net, *nephew*
29 *e* nèt, *clean*
37 i cosí, 2, *cousin*, male
46 o_1 dona, 1, *woman*
51 o mòlt, *much*
58 u jutge, 1, *judge* n.
16 'h pare, 2, *father*
18 'h foch(), *fire*

26. RHETIAN, Oberland dialect. 13 vowels.

1 a bab, *father*
8 æ essan, 2, *we are*
23 ʙ är, *field*
25 e_1 pumèr, 2, *tree*
28 e valêr, 2, *to be worth*
29 *e* vénder, 1, *to sell*
35 *i* figl, *son*
37 i masira, 2, *measure*
46 o_1 bov, *ox*
58 u bun, *good*
71 œ oegl [1, 2], *eye*
16 'h lader, 2, *thief*
18 'h uffont(), *child*

d. Wallachian.

27. WALLACHIAN. 9 vowels.

[There are three orthographies in use, Cyrillic, Mixed, and Roman or etymological. The words are here given in the most esteemed form of the last, and the pronunciation of each word has been added in full.]

1 a acŭ, 1, (ak'), *needle*
21 œ tată, 2, (ˌtaˌtœ), *father*
25 e_1 versŭ, 1, (ve$_1$rs), *verse*
32 e^1 bine, 1, (be^{1}ˌne$_1$), *well* adv.
34 ʏ$_2$ pâĭne [1, 2], (pʏ$_2$ˌne$_1$), *bread*
37 i vinŭ, 1, (viˌn'), *wine*
46 o_1 omŭ, 1, (o_1m'), *man*
58 u ulmŭ, 1, (uˌlm'), *elm*
18 'h bărbatŭ, 3, (bœrbaˌt'), *husband*

γ. *Germano-Scandinavian Family.*

1. German Group.

a. Extinct.

28 *GOTHIC*, dead
29 *OLD HIGH GERMAN*, dead
30 *OLD LOW GERMAN*, dead
31 *ANGLO-SAXON*, dead
32 *FRIESIAN*, dead

b. German.

33. HIGH GERMAN. 12 vowels.

1 a mann, *man*
25 e_1 fett, *fat*
29 *e* ehre, 1, *honour*
37 i milch, *milk*
46 o_1 Gott, *God*
51 *o* ohne, 1, *without*
58 u buch, *book*
65 y brüder, 1, *brothers*
71 œ böcke, 1, *roe-bucks*
72 ø könig, 1, *king*
16 'h mutter, 2, *mother*
18 'h gut(), *good*

34. LOW GERMAN, dialect of Holstein. 15 vowels.

1 a dat, *the*
20 *a* maken, 1, *to make*
25 e_1 het, *he has*
29 *e* leed [1, 2], *song*
37 i wien [1, 2], *wine*
43 ʌ wo, *how*
46 o_1 kopp, *head*
51 *o* moder, 1, *mother*
58 u kuss, *kiss*
65 y küssen, 1, *to kiss*
69 øh aver, 1, *over*
71 œ döchder, *daughter*
72 ø könig, *king*
16 'h hütten, 2, *huts*
18 'h hart(), *heart*

35. DUTCH. 14 vowels.

1 a vlag, *flag*
8 æ kerk, *church*
25 e_1 bel, *bell*
29 *e* nemen, 1, *to take*
31 e^1 ik, *I*
37 i titel, 1, *title*
46 o_1 top, *top*
51 *o* komen, 1, *to come*
58 u zoet [1, 2], *sweet*
65 y u, *you*
69 øh durven, 1, *to dare*
72 ø beuk [1, 2], *beech*
16 'h bode, 2, *messenger*
18 'h kat(), *cat*

36. MODERN FRIESIAN, western dialect. 14 vowels.

1 a makke, 1, *made*
20 *a* âld, *old*
25 e_1 sette, 1, *to set*
29 *e* leech [1, 2], *low*
31 e^1 stik, *piece*
37 i wit, *white*
43 ʌ moarn [1, 2], *morning*
46 o_1 lot, *lot*
51 *o* doge, 1, *to be worth*
58 u hûs, *house* } indifferently
65 y hûs, *house* } (u, y)
72 ø guds, *horse*
16 'h mûsen, 2, *to mouse*
18 'h doopt(), *baptized*

c. English.

37. ENGLISH [see remarks on Smart (1199, *a'*)]. 21 vowels.

1 a father, 1
4 ɐ the book, 1
6 ah ass
7 ə character, 2
8 æ man
10 ɛ pollute, 1
13 ɜ bird
14 ɪ ea()r
28 e bed
35 í milk
37 ī bee
40 'j ga()te, pronounced (gee'jt)
41 ɔ God
43 ʌ all
49 o more, 1
51 *o* omit, 1
57 *u* book [1, 2]
58 u pool [1, 2]
61 'w ho()me, pronounced (ʜhoo'wm)
16 'h open, 2
18 'h bit()

(37). **SCOTCH**, Southern dialect. 14 vowels.

4 ɐ to turn, 2
8 æ men
20 *a* man
25 e_1 way
31 e^1 siller, 1, *silver*
32 e^1 there, pronounced (dh*ee*^{1}'r)
36 i^1 fishes, 2
37 i to leave [2, 3]
49 o God
55 o^1 folk, pronounced (f*oo*^{1}'k)
58 u house [1, 2]
75 $ə^1$ guid [1, 2], good
16 'h gaed, pronounced (g*ee*^{1}'d), *went*
18 'h that()

II. Scandinavian Group.
a. Icelandic.

38. ICELANDIC. 14 vowels.

1 a maður, 1, *man*
25 e_1 hestur, 1, *horse*
29 *e* bein, 1, *bone*
35 *i* vita, 1, *to know*
37 i rikur, 1, *rich*
40 'j bein, 2, *bone*
46 o_1 opinn, 1, *open* part.
51 *o* góður, pronounced (goo'*w*dhur), *good*
57 *u* hún, *she*
58 u úngur, 1, *young*
61 '*w* góður, [see 51]
71 œ smjör, *butter*
75 $ə^1$ sumar, 1, *summer*
18 'h lopt(), *air*

b. Modern Scandinavian.

(39). **NORWEGIAN.** The literary 'conventional dialect of Aasen,' which, though founded on the various Norwegian dialects, and used in some printed works, is, nevertheless, the creation of an individual author. 17 vowels.

1 a hat, *hatred*
25 e_1 klæde, 1, *to clothe*
28 e lesa, 1, *to read*
29 *e* kne, *knee*
32 e^1 time, 1, *hour*
35 *i* skir, *to clean*
37 i liva, 1, *to live*
46 o_1 maane [1, 2], *moon*
49 o skot, *shoot* n.
55 o^1 stor, *great*
57 *u* sumar, 1, *summer*
63 u^1 hus, *house*
65 y by, *town*

(39). *Norwegian*, continued.)

71 œ dökk, *dark*
72 ə lök, *brook*
75 $ə^1$ stytta, 1, *to shorten*
18 'h hatt(), *hat*

39. SWEDISH. 18 vowels.

1 a all, *all*
7 ə saker, 2, *things*
25 e_1 ära, 1, *glory*
28 e meja, 1, *to mow*
29 *e* leda, 1, *to lead*
35 *i* vinna, 1, *to win*
37 i vin, *wine*
46 o_1 sofva, 1, *to sleep*
51 *o* kol, *cole*
56 u_1 stor, *great*
62 u^1 skuld, *cause*
64 u hus, *house*
65 y fyra, 1, *four*
69 əh först, *firstly*
71 œ kött, *meat*
72 ə dö, *to die*
75 e^1 syster, 1, *sister*
18 'h hatt(), *hat*.

40. DANISH, according to Mr. Henry Sweet. [Trans. of Phil. Soc. 1873–4, p. 103.] 17 vowels.

N.B. These do not always correspond with those assigned by the Danish Grammarians.

5 a mand, *man*
7 ə mane, 1, *to conjure*
25 e_1 hest, *horse* [Mr. Sweet writes (E)]
28 e læse, 1, *to read*
32 e^1 een [1, 2], *one*
35 *i* spille, 1, *to play*
37 i hvid, *white*
41 ɔ folk, *people*
46 o_1 maane [1, 2], *moon* [Mr. Sweet writes (A_O)]
55 o^1 stor, *great* [Mr. Sweet writes (o_U)]
58 u ugle, 1, *owl*
65 y skylle, 1, *to rinse*
67 ɪ nyde, 1, *to enjoy*
69 əh stφrst, *greatest* } [latest orthography ö for φ]
71 œ dφr, *door* }
72 ə han dφer, 3, *he does*
18 'h hat(), *hat*

δ. *Slavo-Lettish Family*.

I. Slavonic Branch.
a. Slave.

41. *OLD SLAVE*, dead.

42. RUSSIAN. 9 vowels.

[The pronunciation of each word is added.]

1 a палка, 1, 2, (pa·lka), *stick*
8 æ мясо, (miæsʌ), *meat*
29 *e* дерево, 1, 2, (ˌde·revʌ), *tree*
34 ʏ₂ мы, (mʏ₂), *we*
37 i міръ, (mir), *world*
43 ʌ худо, 2, (khu·ˌdʌ), *ill* adv.
51 *o* волна, 1, (vo·lˌna), *wool*
58 u мужъ, (muzh), *man*
18 'h хвостъ, 2, (khvosˌt'), *tail*

43. ILLYRIAN. 7 vowels.

1 a brada, 1, 2, *beard*
28 e peta, 1, *heel*
37 i riba, 1, *fish*
49 o noga, 1, *foot*
58 u ruka, 1, *hand*
18 'h vrat(), *neck*
'r prst, *finger*

44. NEW SLOVENIAN, Wendish. 10 vowels.

1 a dati, 1, *to give*
7 ə dober, 2, *good*
25 e_1 jê, *he is*
29 *e* jé, *he eats*
37 i mir, *peace*
43 ʌ bôb, *bean*
51 *o* zób, *tooth*
58 u ura, 1, *hour*
18 'h bràt(), *brother*
'r hrt, *greyhound.*

45. BULGARIAN. 8 vowels.

1 a bába, 1, *grandmother*
7 ə dùp, *oak*
25 e_1 bánè, 2, *bath*
28 e déte, 1, *child*
37 i zímù, 1, *winter*
49 o zlató, 2, *gold*
58 u kúkù, 1, *hook*
18 'h brat(), *brother*

b. Polish.

46. POLISH. 11 vowels.

1 a sam, *alone*
25 e_1 teraz, 1, *now*
27 e_1ʌ będę, *I shall be*

(46. *Polish*, continued.)

31 e^1 chléb, *bread*
34 ʏ₂ byli, 1, *they have been*
37 i pili, 1, 2, *they have drunk*
47 o_1 jadą, 2, *they go away*
51 *o* pogoda, 1, 2, *fine weather*
54 *uh* Bóg, *God*
58 u cud, *miracle*
18 'h grzmot(), *thunder*

47. BOHEMIAN. 11 vowels.

1 a skála, 1, *rock*
25 e_1 led, *ice*
29 *e* mléko, 1, *milk*
37 i víra, 1, *faith*
46 o_1 zvon, *bell*
51 *o* ó, *o*
58 u duch, *spirit*
67 ɪ kdy, *when*
18 'h kohout(), *cock*
'l vlk, *wolf*
'r prst, *finger*

48. LUSATIAN, Sorbian, Wendish. 11 vowels.

1 a trawa, 1, 2, *grass*
25 e_1 jeho, 1, *of him*
29 *e* zemja, 1, *earth*
31 e^1 wěra, 1, *faith*
37 i figa, 1, *fig*
43 ʌ wono, 1, *thing*
51 *o* woko, 1, 2, *eye*
54 *uh* dwór, *court*
58 u huba, 1, *lip*
67 ɪ zyma, 1, *cold* n.
18 'h dórtk(), *mouthful*

49. CASSUBIAN, a still-existing dialect of the extinct *POLABIC.* 16 vowels.

1 a gadac, 1, 2, *to talk*
25 e_1 mech, *moss*
27 e_1ʌ gębą, *mouth*
29 *e* złè, *evil*
35 *i* łacinski, 2, 3, *Latin*
43 ʌ jôd, *venom*
46 o_1 pòmòc, 1, 2, *aid*
47 o_1 kąt, *corner*
51 *o* dobri, 1, *good*
52 oʌ dom, *house*
54 *uh* Bóg, *God*
58 u szum, *rush*
60 uʌ kunszt, *art*
65 y hysop, 1, *hyssop*
16 'h nékac, 1, *to bear down*
18 'h czart(), *devil*

II. Lettish Branch.

a. Lithuanian.

50. LITHUANIAN. 9 vowels.

1 a bûlkis, 1, *beam*
25 e_1 vèžti, 1, *to drive*
29 *e* dėžė', 1, 2, *box* case
35 *i* kìrvis, 1, 2, *axe*
37 i yrà, 1, *he is*
49 o momà, 1, *mother*
57 *u* neszù, 2, *I bear*
58 u pùlti, 1, *to fall*
18 'h kû-met(), *at which time*

b. Prussian.

51 *PRUSSIAN*, dead.

c. Lettish.

52. LETTISH. 8 vowels.

1 a gars, *spirit*

(52. *Lettish*, continued.)

25 e_1 mettu, 1, *I throw*
29 *e* sėja, 1, *seed*
37 i bitte, 1, *bee*
49 o lōki, pronounced (luoaki), only the (o) is referred to, *leeks*
58 u blussa, *flea*
16 'h mêle, 2, *tongue*
18 'h tizzêt(), *to believe*

B. Semitic Stem,

admitting, as I do, the correctness of Ascoli's opinion as to the connection of the Indo-European and Semitic stems, although it is disputed by the majority of modern linguists.—L.L.B.

iv. *On Vowel Fractures and Junctures.*

The word *fracture* here introduced is of course imitated from Grimm's *brechung*, but it does not in any respect imply his theory of length (1265, *b.* 1270, *b*). By *Fracture* will be meant the replacement of one vowel by two, more or less closely connected by a glide. By *Juncture* will be meant, conversely, the replacement of two vowels, generally gliding on to one another, by a single vowel, either one of the two original, or some sound developed in the glide which originally joined them. As to the comparative lengths of the one and the two elements, no theory is started. As to the absolute monosyllabic character of the fractures, no assumption is made. As a general rule, the speaker feels the fracture as monosyllabic, he actually often feels it as containing only one vowel; so that it is only with difficulty, after much hesitation, and frequently unwillingly after strenuous denial, that he comes to recognise the fractured character. It requires generally a fresh ear or a tutored ear to recognise them at all. The fresh ear, if not tutored, is apt only to recognise some peculiarity, without stating its nature, and when it attempts to state it, is often ludicrously incorrect. These statements are the result of experience, not theory. The knowledge of fractures is rather new to myself. There were many ways of speech to which I was well accustomed, without having the least idea that they belonged to this class. Dialectal fractures I scarcely appreciated at all, except as sporadic curiosities, till quite recently; yet they are most conspicuous characters of our northern and south-western dialects. And extending my view from English to other European languages, I seem to see them largely developed even in written tongues, while the unwritten dialects abound in them. It is therefore necessary to form some classification, pointing out their typical characters. But this must be taken as provisional, requiring probably years of research into living uses, to verify, correct, and replace. If philology is worth anything, the labour of investigating

fractures, and their corresponding junctures, will not be thrown away, for they are vital points in the consideration of vowel relations. It would be quite premature to propound any theory for their origin. The phenomena themselves are not sufficiently known and grouped, and the circumstances under which they arise, although attempted in certain cases to be determined by Grimm, are far too vaguely felt, or too loosely stated, or too imperfectly ascertained, to render a general theory possible. The diversity of local habits, and even of habits within the same district, as to words used on different occasions, either of collocation of words, or of relations of the speaker to the listener, throws great difficulties in the way of any physiological or even subjective theory. Our present business is, therefore, simply to propose a rough classification of the phenomena, to assist in grouping. The subsequent dialectal examples will furnish numerous instances.

Fractures may be divided into two classes, according as the adventitious vowel is *pre*-fixed (*Prefractures*) or *suf*-fixed (*Suffractures*). The original vowel may be *gradated* (1290, *c*) in any way at the same time.

Prefractures are *weak* or *apertive* when the *prefixed* vowel has a greater closure formed by the tongue or lips than the original vowel, so that the result is a progressive opening. Its types are (ía, úa, ío), with the first element under the stress, but varying as (iá, uá, uí). It is the first form (ía, úa) which is so conspicuous and remarkable in our northern dialects. The second, which often developes from the first, as (iá, uá), has a wide range in the literary languages of Europe.

Prefactures are *strong* or *clausive* when the *original* vowel has the greater closure, so that the result is a progressive closing. Its types are (ái, áu, úi), and do not, at least commonly, vary as (aí, aú),[1] although (uí) is not uncommon.

Suffractures take either of the above forms, that is, may be either *apertive* or *clausive*, or may be simply *continuant* or *laxative*, the opening of the mouth continuing much the same throughout, or merely relaxing into some of the easy positions, giving obscure resonance, such as (ə). The first element is, however, the original, or one of its gradations, and the second the adventitious. In the types, then, the first element is marked long, as (éei, óou, áaə). The two first types have crept into received English pronunciation. They are largely developed in Icelandic. They probably were so in old Norman, and have doubtless influenced our Early English forms. The last type (áaə) is widely developed in our dialects.

Omissive suffractures arise from the suppression of a consonant, or

[1] Here (aí, aú) must not be confused with Grimm's Gothic "broken vowels" *ai*, *aú*, where "*i* and *u*, losing their purity, pass over into a mixed sound" (D.G. I³, 50), supposed to be different from the usual Gothic *ai*, *au*, which he writes *ái*, *áu*, and takes as (ái, áu), see table in (561, *b*). My use of the acute accent in the notation of diphthongs (419, *c*) was suggested by Grimm's, but in palaeotype (aí, aú) are real diphthongs, and not any "mixed sound," whatever Grimm may have conceived that expression to imply.

its gradual change into (i, u, ə). The types are (ái, áu, áə), and they have been largely developed in the received dialect, or its early forms, by the suppression of *g* and *r*, and sometimes *l*.

False fractures are such as have been simply developed recently by mere imitation, or false analogy. They take any of the above forms. Thus the Londoner's (nAA'ə) for *gnaw* comes from the analogy of his omissive fracture (mAA'ə, mAA') for *more*, replacing (moo'), and similar words.

Junctures arise from the substitution of a practically intermediate sound for a fracture of any sort, or from the suppression of an element, thus (ái, áu) may give (e, o) as intermediates, or (a) by suppression; both cases occur.

The most important point to be determined in examining a fracture relates to the original vowel, and, as that vowel is frequently gradated even to obscuration, it is frequently not recognisable without comparison of the forms of a word in various dialects. When the original vowel reaches obscurity, it is necessarily disguised in ordinary alphabetic writing, and will appear under one of the forms *e*, *a*, *o*, *u*, quite independently of any variety of sound, according to the fancy of the writer at the moment, partly swayed perhaps by etymological considerations.[1] I am not inclined to give medieval writers credit for greater exactness than their modern followers, especially when they had absolutely no sign for an obscure vowel. I do not see why an Anglosaxon scribe in the x th century should not have used *ea*, *eo*, precisely as I find modern dialectal writers actually employ them, so far as the second element is concerned. If they had been able to write (eə) in both cases, they would probably often have done so. Not having this power, however, the signs remain ambiguous, and either (éə) may have been meant, or really (éa, éo).

It was in the Cumberland dialect that the *apertive prefractures* first presented themselves to me in recognisable purity. It was impossible to hear (fías, díal, líat) for *face*, *dale*, *late*, and (bríad, stían) for *broad*, *stone*, with a perfectly distinct (a), and to observe *fool*, *look* vary from (fíul, líuk), through (fíəl, líək), to (fiə'l, liə'k), without recognising that the original (a, u) had been introduced by an adventitious (i), which, usurping the accent, occasionally obscured the other vowel. The subsequent comparison of three Yorkshire forms of speech with the Scotch led me to formulate the process thus. *Speakers in different districts have a tendency to introduce an opener vowel by a closer.* The tendency varies very much, even in contiguous districts, even in different speakers within the same district, even in the same speaker on different occasions. The introducing vowel generally usurps the stress, and thus obscures the original vowel, but this obscuration does not always follow, and the stress sometimes passes to the original vowel, or its gradated representative, shewing that this was a subsequent process, as the gradation, especially when amounting to obscuration, was more likely to occur

[1] Compare the "etymological" ă ĕ ĭ ŏ ŭ of the Roman Wallachian orthography, in the examples, p. 1304, language 27.

without than with the stress. The original vowel being of the (e) class, the introducing vowel was of the (i) class; but when the original vowel was (a), the introducing vowel was either (i) or (e). The North Mid and Mid Yorkshire forms of speech, hereafter adduced, are distinguished by this difference. The introducing vowel might also be (u) in this case, but this is not so frequent for an original (a) as for an original (o). The types (íe, ía, éa, úo) are the most general. But as long as the stress remains on the first element, the second is very difficult to hold distinctly, and rapidly passes over into (ə); thus the forms (íə, éə, úə) are the most frequent forms of the preceding types. When this stage is reached, the tendency seems to be to drive the obscuration further, by shortening the second element, till it becomes a mere voice-glide, connected so closely with the preceding vowel as to seem rather to generate a new sound than to remain a mere appendage. Thus arise the *close fractures* (i', *i'*, *e'*, e', u', *u'*), of which (*i'*, *u'*) are of constant occurrence in Scotch, where they have been written by Mr. Murray, in his historical orthography (*op. cit.* p. 103), as *ea*, *uo*, the very signs adopted by medieval writers for related phenomena. The following are Mr. Murray's remarks on these two fractures. "This, the *ea*, *eae*, in *leade*, *breae*, is a very difficult sound to analyse. When pronounced leisurely, however, the main element will generally be recognised as the long of the English *i*, heard in singing *bit* to a long note b*i*-*i*-*i*-t, this sound gliding or opening at the end into the *e* in *yet*, Scotch *y* in *byt*, or perhaps the mid-mixed vowel (ə) in the second syllable of re*a*l, which occupies a mid position between the Scotch *y* in *myll* (mel) and *u* in *mull* (mɐl). I often hear the identical sound in English, when the word *real* (rii·əl) is carelessly pronounced, as (ri̇əl, ri̇'l). When rapidly pronounced, the glide is scarcely heard, and the two sounds seem to mix into an impure *ee* (i) or close *ai* (*e*)." (*ibid.* p. 105.) Mr. Murray's (*i*) is rather deeper than mine, and sounds to me generally like (i_1) or (e^i), so that his (*i'*) approximates closely to an (*e*), but a remarkably altered (*e*). As respects *uo*, Mr. Murray says: "This vowel bears precisely the same relation to *oo* (u) and *o* (o) that *ea* does to *ee* (i) and *ai* (*e*). When pronounced leisurely, the main element will be heard to be the same as the English 'wide' *oo* (*u*) in *book*, *poor*, but this sound opens and glides towards the *u* in *gun* (ɐ). When rapidly pronounced, however, the effect of the glide is scarcely felt, and we seem to hear only a very close *o*, almost falling into *oo* (u), and nearly, if not quite, identical with the Italian *o chiuso*, representing a short Latin *u*, as *dolce*, *rompe*, *somma*." (*ib.* p. 111.) These introductions of (e, a, o) by (i, e, u) consequently lead directly to the substitution of (i) for (e) or (a), (e) for (a), and (u) for (o). In fact, an unpractised ear receives (*i'*, *e'*, *u'*) for (ii, *ee*, uu).[1] *Stone*, ags. (staan), which is (stían) in Cumberland, becomes (st*i*'n) in Teviotdale, and we hear of (st*ee*n) in "general Scotch," and (stiin) in Aberdeen.

The most remarkable of these prefractures is (íu), where (u) is a

[1] German *lieben* and such words have (ii) for (i'), see Grimm (I³, 227).

gradation of (o). In Cumberland I was for a long time puzzled with what appeared from description to be a peculiar (y, ʊ) sound. Subsequent hearing shewed me that it varied as (íu, íə, iə'), and was in fact a real prefracture of (u). In Norfolk the custom varies, (íu, iú, iy, y, y_1, ø) being used as substitutes for (uu); this is even the case in a few words in Kent. In Devonshire, while (y, y_1, ø) are generally acknowledged, see p. 636, note, yet the fracture (mø'ən, mø'n) may be noticed. The sounds (y, y_1, ø) as used in these dialects could not be a Norman introduction, as they occur in words where Normans have (uu). They are not a necessity of Scotch pronunciation, for the Scotch retain the (uu) sound where it was received from Anglosaxon and French. Hence I am led to consider this (y, y_1, ø) as in all cases a *juncture* arising from the *fracture* (íu, ío) differently developed in different districts, according to a native custom of pronunciation, and to be in no respects a foreign importation. That the real French (y) which was introduced in French words, as *nature*, followed the course of the native fracture, is very probable, and this may account for the simultaneous existence of (iu, y) in the mouths of Wilkins and Wallis, just as we have seen they long afterwards co-existed sporadically.[1] It is also possible that the puzzling use of *u* in the XIII th century (424, *b*), which finally introduced *ou* for (uu), may have been due to a similar prefracture. Even the short *u*, which interchanges with *i*, *e* (300, *a*), may be due to a very close (*i'*, *e'*) form of this fracture. The consideration of fracture at any rate introduces a new consideration depending upon a native existing habit, with whose various forms the old orthography was powerless to deal. For example, the open (éə) could not be orthographically distinguished from the close (e'), except by leaving the former as *ea* or *eo*,[2] and the latter as *e*. This may account for the remarkable treatment of *eo*, *e*, by Orrmin (487, *cd*). The hesitation of that writer brought to light by the condition of his manuscript is quite familiar to all those who try to fix a speech on paper. The analysis of fractures is always especially difficult, and the Latin alphabet had made no provision for it. With regard to the particular tendency to interpose (i) before (u), I have been lately struck with its comparative frequency in educated pronunciation, where the speaker would probably have been much offended had any such tendency been hinted at. The (i) is generally (*i*), and very light, and sometimes varies with (*y*). Thus I have heard *room* vary as (rʊm, r⌊*iú*m, r⌊yúm), so that there would be clearly very little difficulty in reaching (rym, ry_1m, røm).

When the original element is retained distinctly, the position of

[1] The real French (y) in France itself is derived from an original Latin (u), and the process of derivation may have been precisely the same, from (iu). We find numerous proofs of the existence of the types (ia, úa) in French, so that this hypothesis has an historic foundation.

[2] The Anglosaxon fractures *ea*, *eo*—to which perhaps the confusion of *ea*, *ae*, with each other and with *a*, will allow us to add *ae*, too cursorily treated on p. 511—will be reconsidered in Chap. XII. Among dialectal writers I have found the utmost confusion in respect to *ea*, *ae*, in the forms (*i'*, e').

the stress is very uncertain. Hence (ia, ua) are as apt to become (iá, uá) as (ía, úa). They are, as it were, in a state of unstable equilibrium. This I state from my own personal feelings in listening to Cumberland sounds. But the choice once made has a considerable effect on subsequent development, and either position of the stress may be originally developed. Initially, that is with no preceding consonant, the stress falls on the second element or original vowel, and then, in accordance with present English habits, the introducing (i, u) become the consonants (J, w). But that this was the Anglosaxon custom there is considerable reason to doubt (p. 511), either as to the position of the stress on the second element, or as to the consonantal development of the first element.[1] At present, even in Scotland, we have (JEN, JE·b'l, JEk, JET) for *one, able, oak, oat* (*Murray*, p. 105), all being cases of (iá) in the gradated form (iɛ́). Mr. Murray even writes (HJem) where I seemed to hear him say (HhiémJ).[2] In general I think that the jerk or aspiration acting on the initial (i) or (u) saves it from becoming (J), but that is a matter of theory, very difficult to decide practically. We have also in Scotch (WA·rtshET, WA·rpi lif, WA·pen) for *orchard, orpine, open*. And similarly to the (HJ), Mr. Murray writes (HWal), where I suspect (HhuA'l), for *hole*, etc., which is consistent with his secondary historical form *huōle*, etc. (*ibid.* p. 112.) The greater number of dialectal writers use *y*, *w*, in these cases, even after a consonant, as *Jwohn* in Cumberland, implying (Dzhwon), which is to me a very difficult combination; but I seem to hear (dzhuón), which is easy enough. Even in this word I doubted the stress, and thought at first that it lay on the introducing vowel, thus (dzhúon). This is mentioned first to shew the vowel character of the first element, and secondly the instability of the position of stress. There was no approach, however, to (dzhúən), compare the English pronunciation of *Juan* (dzhuu·JEn). In our received pronunciation we have the fracture (uá) in *one* (wən). The oldest form of this fracture which I have been able to cite is Jones's (wæn), at the close of the XVII th century, suprà p. 1012, for which a little later, in the XVIII th century, we have (won, WAN, wən), see (1079, *a*), while at the present day both (won) and (wən, wan) are heard (1091, *d*. 1097, *a*). The fractural character and its recent development are therefore well established.

These prefractures often re-act powerfully on the preceding consonant. Where the aspirate exists we ought to have (Jh, wh), but these do not seem to be developed. More frequently the aspirate is lost, and (iá, uá) are treated as initials, thus (Jep, Jed, wæm) occur for (Hhiép, Hhiéd, Hhuám), *heap, head, home*, in Shropshire. When there is a preceding (t, d), the fracture is apt to

[1] We have here the same controversy as on pp. 1092–3. With regard to Salesbury's *vvyth* (762, *b*. 763, *e*), I was much struck by hearing Dr. Benjamin Davies (769, *e*) read the Welsh *wyth* = 8, distinctly as (dyth), without a trace of (wyth), on 6 Feb. 1874; yet I have not noticed this peculiarity in his pronunciation of English *with*.

[2] Sometimes the word comes to me as (HhiE'm), sometimes as (JhEm), and may possibly vary as (JhJEm).

change it to (tsh, dzh), as (tshem, dzhel) for (tiém, diél) *team*, *deal*, also in Shropshire. This happens in the received pronunciation. The terminations, *-ture*, *-dure*, once (-tyyr, -dyyr), as imported words, split into two directions. In the XVII th century the remission of accent introduced the ready gradations (-tuɪ, -duɪ), whence (-təɪ, -dəɪ), which became the rule in the XVIII th century. But orthography having crystallised, the final *-e* reminded readers, and especially teachers, that *u* must be "long." Now the old (yy) seems never to have died out, but the modern (iú) may not so much be a fracture evolved from it as a false orthographic fracture, not however without opposition, see Webster (1070, *b'*). Once introduced, however, (-tiúɪ, -diúɪ) passed easily through (-tiə́ɪ, -diə́r) into (-tshəɪ, -dzhəɪ), precisely in the same way as in Shropshire. And the alteration of even accented (siú, tiú, diú) to (shu, tshu, dzhu) is of the same kind. This became strongly developed among the Irish in the XVIII th century. See the words beginning with (*su-*, *tu-*) in the vocabulary, suprà pp. 1081–2.

In the Romance languages the weak (i, u) prefractures play a great part. Thus in French, (sh*a*ʌ) *champ* is (kiám-pum) altered, and (r*w*a) older (roɛ́) is (ruɛɛ-gem), for (ree·gem), Latin *regem*. We have this even initial as in Italian (uó·v*u*h) *uovo*, Spanish (ué·vo) *huevo*, Latin (oo·vum, uó·v*u*m), Lat. *ovum*. In Slavonic the (i) introductions are constant. The fusions of the introduced (i, u) with the consonants as (j, *w*), which is a preparation for subsequent gradations, need only be mentioned. The especial tendency of (k, g) to (ki-, gi-), producing (kj, gj), and thence (ˌsh ˌzh, tˌsh dˌzh, sh zh, s z) on the one hand, and (ku-, gu-), producing (k*w*-, g*w*-), and thence (w, wh, bh), and conversely, on the other, are well known. It is evident that the tendency towards (ki-, gi-) must have been felt very strongly by a man who could say, like Walker, "When the *a* is pronounced short, as in the first syllable of *candle*, *gander*, etc., the interposition of the *e* (i) is very perceptible, for though we can pronounce *guard* and *cart* without interposing the *e*, it is impossible to pronounce *garrison* and *carriage* in the same manner." (Dictionary, Principles, art. 92. See suprà 206, *c*.) It is curious that under these two words in his dictionary he gives no notice of introduced (i), and does not refer to this dictum in his principles.

The *clausive prefractures*, (ái áu), have long been recognized. The guṇa of the Sanscritists brought them prominently forward, and the later Sanscrit pronunciation developed the conception of the corresponding junctures (*ee*, *oo*), or (ee, oo), the exact vowel being at present doubtful, but the latter were always to my mind most probable, see also Mr. Gupta's unmistakable pronunciation, (1137, *a*). But guṇa was a grammatical or accentual, at any rate not a clearly dialectal, transformation of (i, u), and we were so little prepared to accept such a transformation in English during the XV th century, that perhaps no theories propounded in this book were more counter to general feeling than that the original sounds of English *ī*, *ou*, were (*ii*, uu). Yet the change is

precisely of the same nature as that of (a, o) into (ía, úo), and the changes follow an analogous course in both English and German, where a similar feeling was generated at the same time. In the next chapter I shall be able to produce new evidence, through the kindness of Mr. Murray, for the original (*ii*) value of English ī. But the dialectal treatment distinctly points to the same conclusion. The change of (i, u) to (ái, áu), in various gradations, is a mere fracture, exactly comparable to the apertive prefractures. Where long ī was gradated, or shortened, the tendency to fracture did not act. But when (ái, áu) were once established, the second element became often obscured, and we find dialectally (áə) or (a') for both, so that both sink into simple juncture (aa). The pronoun *I*, originally short, as in (*i*tsh) *ich*, was treated as long (*ii*), and fractured to (ái), which is constantly (aa) dialectally, and similarly *while* is (waal) in Leeds, and *five* is (fa'v) in Mid-Lothian. The word *house* is retained without fracture in the Scotch (нhus), and generally becomes (нáus) in some gradated form, but in Leeds sinks to (aas), while in the North of Yorkshire it fractures differently, and gives (*ii*'s) from (íus), the old (*uus*) remaining as a refined form. This is a remarkable illustration of the comparatively recent development of fracture in both forms, furnishing an explanation of such apparent anomalies as the "change" of received (нháus) into (iis, aas, uus), as they would be naturally but incorrectly conceived by those who only recognise received pronunciation. The Yorkshire lists of words will supply numerous instances. A remarkable confirmation of this view is afforded by the treatment of the high German *ei*, *au*, which 500 years ago were (ii, uu), as is undisputed in Germany, in the Bavarian dialects (Schmeller, Mundarten Bayerns, art. 236–245, 157–163, see *ai*, *ei*, in No. 8 of this section). Many of these dialects retain the old (ii, uu) untouched, and in the refined pronunciation of almost all, the modern literary (ái, áu) are heard, with various gradated forms, as (*á*i, ɛ́i, *é*i; óu), which are also common in English, but the mere obscuration (áə) does not seem to have been observed in this particular case.

These clausive prefractures are very widely developed in high and low German, but have not penetrated into Scandinavian, and are generally unknown in Romance. A curious example near Cherbourg is however given (460, *d*'). The prefracture (uí), in the form (ué), subsequently gradated to (uá), is originally rather a clausive prefracture than an apertive, as it now appears, and in that form is frequent. The Spanish (ué) form is perhaps to be considered as originally a suffracture (úe), a gradation of (óe) from Latin (o). When a dialect has once seized a sound, the distinction of prefracture and suffracture, which is merely one of origin, becomes lost, and the phonetic development proceeds according to the usual habits of the dialect.

Suffractures, however, play an important part in the development of new sounds. They consist essentially in vanishes, which seem to arise from the inconvenience experienced by the organs of speech in prolonging any sounds. The tongue taught to rise from its

position of rest for (e) rises further to (i); the lips closing for (o) close further for (u); and hence arise (éi, óu), of which, however, at least at first, the suffractural character is shewn by the complete subordination of the suffixed to the original element, so that (éei, óou) are the original types, which only gradually reduce to (éi, óu) when they become readily confounded with the clausic prefractures (ái, áu). The development of (éi) from (e), which has taken place in almost received speech, at any rate in the speech received by Mr. Melville Bell, plays a great part in our Yorkshire dialects, and it is possible that some of the difficulties in older rhymes *e*, *ei*, as in Havelok, suprà p. 473, may be solved on the supposition of double forms (ee, éi), such as the following tables will shew to actually exist in kindred dialects. It must be also remembered that suffractures of the type (éi, óu) are largely developed in Icelandic. Corresponding to this (éi, óu) type, is the (áə) form, which slightly elevates the tongue, but rather brings the organs to a state of repose. Now this (ə) had no alphabetic symbol but (e), or in Scotch *i*, which has the sound of (e), and represented apparently (ə) as well. The combinations *ai*, *ei*, *oi*, would then represent (áə, éə, óə), and readily became forms for long (a, e, o). See (410, *c'*. 637, *c'*. 1085, *c*. and *Murray*, p. 52). But the suffractures (éə, óə) have another tendency. The neutral position of the (ə) allows either an (u) or an (i) position to be readily assumed, and hence we obtain the suffractures (éo éu éy, ói óe óy), and the three last may also appear as (úi úe úy). Now this would give the developments (éo éu), gradating to (ío íu), which would connect (e) with well-known diphthongs in a simple manner. The suffracture (*ói*), as in (g*ói*d) *good*, really occurs frequently in Yorkshire, but I cannot recall an example of (*úi*).[1] The types (ii' ee' aa' oo' uu') are frequent. These are all simple suffractures, arising merely from the feeling of the speaker, precisely as the prefractures arose, and, like them, co-exist not unfrequently with non-fractured forms.

Omissive suffractures, arising from the suppression of *r*, are common in the received dialect, as (*ii*' ee' oo' *uu*'), see (1099, *a'*). In the corresponding (aa', AA'), the suffracture reduces to the juncture (aa, AA). Even in (ee', oo') the suffracture is very close, and is barely recognised, so that (oo') often falls into the juncture (AA), or else (ee', oo') are reduced to two syllables, as (*ee*)ə, *oo*)ə), to "make the *r* distinct," by substituting a clear ungliding (ə) for a trill. This suppression is carried out thoroughly in the south-western dialects, and more or less pervades the northern, exclusive of the Scotch, where the trill never fails. The treatment of *r* in the Bavarian dialects is very similar (Schmeller, arts. 621–637, and under *r* in No. 8 of this section), by the introduction of an (ə) before the trill when preserved, causing suffractures; by its general omission before consonants, and in final syllables when not before vowels; and even by its euphonic insertion, of which Schmeller gives

[1] In the Forest of Dean I have heard the suffracture (ái) as in (nâim) for *name*, compare (253, *c*), remembering Gower's probable extraction (726, *b*), and that S. Western English is spoken in Gowerland.

numerous instances. Such instances shew that, in order to get at the laws of phonetic change, a comparative study of dialectal usages will be necessary, and that we must not be in a hurry to generalise. These considerations have induced me to give an abstract of Schmeller's observations, which are unfortunately but little known to English philologists, in No. 8 of this section.

In the early English we recognised a suppression of (g), or rather its mutation into (i, u), generating diphthongs, which did not form a part of the older language (213, *a*). These diphthongs are real suffractures (ái, áu), and hence different in origin from the prefractures (ái, áu), or the suffractural (éi, óu), already considered. But once received, they are treated phonetically in the same way, for the organs of speech deal with existent sounds, which, when identical, affect them identically, independently of origin. The case of speaker and hearer is in this case identical. There is no intuitive historical appreciation. The history has to be discovered by slow degrees. Those who stamp their own provisional, and hence generally incorrect, notions of the history of a word upon its visible form, by the adoption of a so-called historical or etymological spelling, which designedly misleads as to the real constitution of the word, its audible sound, and very often indeed undesignedly misleads as to its descent, are throwing unnecessary obstacles in the way of philological investigation. The blunders and contrivances of the early scribes are more instructive than the systematic orthographies of later theorists. The (ái, áu), as derived from *ag*, *ah*, should then appear not only in their original form, but as (áə, aa), as well as in junctures (aa, *ee*, AA), and this is found to be the case. The (áu) form, however, comes from *ag*, through the (g*w*h, wh, w) transformations of *g*, and hence we must expect it to follow the same fortunes as suppressed *w*. Thus *cnâwian* gives (naa', NAA', naa, NAA), as well as (nóou, nó*o*, nó*o*'*w*); *dohtor* appears as (dó*u*ˌtəɪ, dɑ'*u*ˌtəɪ, dáuˌtəɪ, dAA·təɪ, daa·təɪ, d*ee*·təɪ); *weg* assumes the forms (wá*i*, waa', waa, w*ii*', wee', w*ee*, w*ee*'*j*, w*éei*, w*éi*, wéi, wɛ'i).

Suffractures appear in the received dialect by the obscuration of a following vowel, which ceases to form a distinctly separate syllable. The terminations *-ea*, *-eal*, *-ial*, *-ual*, constantly lead to these suffractures, which are sometimes so close that the fractural nature is difficult to discern. Thus *idea*, *ratafia*, through (ə'id*ii*'·, rætəf*ii*'·), lead to (ə'idii·, rætəfii·), of which the first is considered ludicrous, the second is received. *Real* (r*ii*'l) is constantly miscalled (riil),[1] and *really*, which is pronounced as *rearly* formed from *rear*, that is (r*ii*'·l*i*), rhyming to *nearly*, is miscalled (rii·l*i*). A comparison of the following words will bring out the fractures really heard in ordinary speech. Many persons are apt to make the second words, which have no fracture, and are printed in roman letters, identical or rhyming with the first, which have a more or less distinct frac-

[1] Thus (rɪ'l), having a well-known S.E. Yorkshire fracture, "genteel" speakers in Hull are horrified, and say (riil), as I have been told by Rev. Henry Ward, who is well acquainted with the district, and to whom I owe the specimens of S.E. Yorkshire in Nos. 11 and 12, variety 15*f*.

ture, that is, which are always intended to be dissyllabic, and are printed in italics.

Ideal deal, *real* reel, *really* mealy, *dial* crocodile, *vial* vile, *denial* Nile, *trial* rile, *diet* indite, *quiet* quite, *riot* rite, *triad* tried, *dyad* died, *Dryad* dried, *diamond*, *dire moaned*, die moaned, *bias* bice, *lias* lice.

The termination *-ual* is rather (-*u*'l, -i*ú*'l) than the theoretical (-ú ɹul, -iú ɹul) in *gradual*, *individual*, *manual*, *continual*, *annual*, *casual*, *visual*, *usual*, *actual*, *effectual*, *intellectual*, *punctual*, *perpetual*, *habitual*, *ritual*, *spiritual*, *virtual*, *mutual*. In some of the commonest of these words, especially when *-ly* is subjoined, the fracture reduces to a juncture, as (-*u*l, -əl, -'l); thus *actually*, *individually*, *mutually*, *punctually*, *usually*, are constantly called (æ·ktsh'l*i*, *indivi*·dzh'l*i*, miú·tsh'l*i*, pə·qktsh'l*i*, ɹuu·zh'l*i*), in place of the more theoretical and not unfrequent (æ·kti*ú*'l*i*, ɹiúu·zhi*ú*'l*i*), etc. It is by a consideration of such words that those who use received pronunciation may attain a proper conception of such close fractures as (*i*', *u*'). See (1310, *c*).

v. *Bearings of Modern Dialectal Vowel Relations on the Investigation of Older Pronunciation.*

The illiterate peasant, speaking a language entirely imitative, unfixed by any theoretic orthography, untrammelled by any pedant's fancies, is the modern representative of our older population, which, confined to small districts by feudal superiors, the custom of villanage, and the difficulty of travelling, and entirely untaught, kept up their language by the mere necessity of talking, with no conception of a literature, or prevision of the importance which would be subsequently attributed to their natural utterances. The priests and scholars who, desirous of communicating with them, attempted to reduce their utterances to writing, on the model of the literatures, Latin, Norman, and Saxon, with which they were more or less acquainted, for the purpose of instructing them ecclesiastically, or, as in Robert of Brunne's Chronicle, delighting them with literature, in some degree resembled those country clergymen and literary men who have attempted to collect and fix our present dialects by writing. The strictly dialectal writing of past ages must be judged of as that of to-day, by taking the normal alphabet (which was then Latin, with Norman proclivities), and supposing that the writer endeavoured, with insufficient knowledge and insufficient means, and hence with a vacillating pen, but with a good conscience, to record what he heard. Hence it is necessary to compare the spelling actually used by good dialectal writers with the sounds actually heard by good phonetic observers. This I am not able to do as accurately as I could wish, because I have very seldom been able to compare the sounds heard with the words written in the district for which they were written. But I am able to approximate with sufficient closeness to bring out the principle, and make it intelligible. As our studies of the older English dialects, as such, are as yet quite in their infancy, though taken up by good heads and hard workers, the importance of these considerations is manifest.

Next, by a comparison of different dialects as really spoken, we have to discover, so far as possible, the dialectal treatment of sounds originally more closely related. It would be rash to assume that they were originally the same as now, because the Saxon and Danish tribes which came to our shores of course already spoke dialectally, and present habits are the result of a fusion, subject to many influences through many generations. The general character of such treatment has just been roughly sketched. We are as yet far from having data to complete the picture, and the imperfect materials whence the sketch was drawn will be found below. But enough exists to shew that received English, as a spoken language, is only one dialectal form among several, although it has been more controlled than the others, through having become the dialect of the court, of government, of established priesthood, of law, of the schoolmaster, of the higher social ranks, and of literature. All these influences have often been brought to bear upon it with the iron hand of a prejudice, which, unillumined by any sound philology, regarded all other dialects as barbarous, and proceeded to deck out its victim according to fancied notions of propriety. But they cannot disguise its dialectal character, and hence cannot prevent our seeking in a comparison of the living dialects a confirmation of the results obtained by an examination of traditional literature.

One result of this is that the primitive character of the sounds represented by *a*, *e*, *i*, *o*, *u*, cannot be mistaken. The present forms are clearly seen to be either gradations of these, as in *a*, *e*, *o*, or fractures, as in *i*, *u*.

A. The dialects point to an original (a) for *a*, both long and short. This is shewn by the existence of the (a) sound almost universally in the dialects, by its occasional gradations into (ah, æ, e) or (ʌ, ɔ, o), and by its prefractures into (*i*a, *i*', éa, e'), and its suffractures into (áɔ, ái). The hypothesis of (a) explains all these cases satisfactorily; the hypothesis (*ee*'j, æ) would lead to endless difficulties.

E. An original (e) for modern *e*, *ea*, is likewise a necessity of the constant existence of long (ee), with its possible variety (*ee*), and occasional gradation (ii), a gradation occurring in cases where it does not occur in the received dialect, as in (w*ii*', dh*ii*', griit, briik) for *where*, *there*, *great*, *break;* and of its frequent prefracture into (*ii*') or suffracture into (éi), which remarkable form is probably more properly connected with (e) than with (i) in numerous instances. The variations of the short sound, generally (e, ɛ), but gradating into (æ), or even (a) before *r*, on the one hand, and (*i*) on the other, point the same way. As no one could think of (*i*) as the original short sound of *e*, so the conception of (ii) becomes impossible for the original long sound. The possibility of an original distinction such as (*e*, e) or (*e*, ɛ), both long and short, but principally long, though not apparent, is possible. We require, however, much more accurate and extensive observations than we yet possess before we can take any point so delicate into consideration. As far as my kind helpers go, I find a difficulty in getting the (ee, ɛɛ, ɛ) recognised at all at first, as distinct from (*ee*, e). Most dialectal observers have

been educated to consider (*ee*) as the long and (e) as the short sound. Many do not hear a difference of vowel quality in *whale where, ale air;* many are not aware of the *é fermé* and *è ouvert* of the French, the *e chiuso* and *e aperto* of the Italians. The triple distinctions (*e*, e, E) require an educated ear. I have found some who at first heard (*ee*, e) always, come round to (ee, e) always, which may be equally incorrect. Again, the sound recognised as (*ee*) in Scotland, is so much deeper than my usual (*ee*), that I should at first hearing put it at (ee), though not (EE). It is possible that many (EE) sounds occur which have not been noticed. At present, therefore, with our imperfect means for taking observations, we can only say that dialectal studies do no more than point to *e* having belonged to the (e) group of sounds. In the next chapter we shall see reason for supposing that the old difference was not sufficient to prevent interrhyming, but that is hardly a satisfactory criterion, for though it applies in French, it would entirely fail both in modern German and in Italian. To suppose that an original Gothic *i*, *e*, should be the parent of two (e) sounds (*e*, E), is very seducing, especially when put beside the Italian practice. In old high German the rhymes separate the sounds strictly, as in modern French (Grimm, D.G. I³, 74), but this only refers to the *short* vowels, whereas Englishmen feel the difference especially in *long* vowels. As to old Saxon and Anglosaxon, Grimm (I³, 233, 333) confesses to great difficulties in finding any distinctions, and remarks that the middle low German and ags. dialects seem to neglect the difference more than the high German (*ib.* 233). As regards middle high German, he observes (*ib.* 139) that, in the XII th and XIII th centuries, the difference of the two sounds, *e* broad (e, E, æ), and *ë* narrow (*e*, *i*), was very strictly observed, although with exceptions there given; but in the XIV th century *e*, *ë*, began to rhyme more freely, which Grimm laments. But coming to his own day, he says (*ib.* 220) that the difference *e*, *ë*, remains in pronunciation, "at least in the principal cases: *legen* ponere sounds to us quite different from *gelegen* positus, *regen* movere different from *regen* pluvia: but our present poets are so hard of hearing, or so accommodating, that they rhyme both vowels together." Now Schmitthenner (Dictionary) writes *régen* for both the last words, but Hilpert (German Dict.) distinguishes *rë̄gen* to move, with the close sound, from *rē gen* rain, with the open sound. The distinction depends on locality. Grimm was born and lived chiefly in the Electorate of Hessen Cassel. Now Rapp (Phys. d. Spr. 4, 85), after dividing the custom of modern German pronunciation into *three* systems, of which the six characteristics are, 1) the treatment of *e*, 2) of the diphthongs, 3) of the relations between long and short accented vowels, 4) of *g*, 5) of *s*, and 6) of *ng*, locates the first system, which he calls the "orthographical," in the north-west, embracing Cassel, and says that all *ä* which evidently come from *a*, and all *è* which come from *i*, are thrown together as *ä*, and such *é* as thence appear to be radical remain. Here *ä*, *é*=(EE, *ee*) or (ee, *ee*), use varying. The separation is not quite that of Grimm, which was of course influenced by

his studies. Here are the words in Rapp's example (*ib.* 87), the derivations go. gothic, ohg. old high german, etc., are from Schmitthenner:

ä = (EE).	ê = (*ee*).
seele, goth. saivala	*ewig*, ohg. êwa
erden, go. airþa	*gegen*, ohg. kakan
er, ohg. ar, ir, ur	*dem*, ohg. dem
vergebens (geben, ohg. *këpan*)	*edel*, ohg. adal
anbete, ohg. anapëton	
verklärter (from *klar*, from lat. clarus)	
der, ohg. der	
beben, ohg. pipên	
leben, ohg. lëpên	

The same so-called "historical *ä*" is found in the second or "historical" system stretching over the North of Germany to Russia, and in some isolated spots in the middle provinces, on the lower Rhine, by Fulda, etc.; and in the whole South-west of Germany. The following are additional words from Rapp's example to this system (*ib.* 89):

ä = (EE).	ê = (*ee*).
wer, ohg. huër	*entgeht*, (*gehen*, ohg. kân, kankan)
nebel, ohg. nëpal	*wenig*, ohg. wênac
sehen, ohg. sëhan	*elend*, ohg. elilenti
schwert, ohg. suërt	
säbel, french sabre	
drehen, ohg. drâhan	
weht, ohg. wahan or wejan	
sehr, ohg. sêrô	
nährt, go. nasjan, ohg. nerjan	
fehlte, ohg. vëlahan	
thräne, ohg. trahin	
erzähle, ohg. zellan	

It is evident that though these systems distinguish *e*, *ë*, in one sense, they confuse *e* from *a* and *e* from *i* altogether, and that they are not even consistent in so doing. It is a relief to Englishmen, then, who wish to pronounce German intelligibly, to learn that the third or "practical" system, which extends over the whole middle part of Germany, uses (*ee*) for all long and (e) for all short *e*, as in English. It is no wonder, therefore, that Modern German poets are so "hard of hearing." No one in Germany seems to hear as Grimm's theory requires. Whether anything will be hereafter discoverable in English dialects, it is difficult to say; at present I see nothing certain in the distinctions apparently made between (ee, *ee*). To my ears (ee) is more frequently used by English dialectal speakers than (*ee*), but my experience is limited. The distinctions between (e, E) are still more uncertain.

O. An original (o) is more difficult to determine. The sound (o) itself is decidedly heard in our dialects, but, owing to the habits of received English, hearers naturally confuse (AA, oo) and (ɔ, o), and, when the long sound does not appear yet to have reached (AA), it is put down as (*oo*). The prefractures of (oo) would be (ío, *ío*, íu, *iú*'; éo, *éo*, éu, ee'), and (oo) would gradate so easily to (*oo*, *uu*, uu) that I can only express my general conviction and not any certainty.

That the (o) was not (uu) when long admits of no doubt, but that it may have been (*o*, u_o, u^4, *u*) when short, in various cases, at an early time, seems probable. It is more likely that the fracture (*u'*) is due to (úo) than to anything else, but of course (úo) is quite possible. Although *o* has a double source, from *a* and from *u*, yet there does not seem to be anything in the dialectal treatment to justify the assumption of (o, *o*), which is not even made by Grimm. The double sounds exist in Germany, but do not co-exist in the same system of pronunciation. Schmeller, however, has a few instances of (*o*) in Bavarian dialects (*ib.* art. 319, see art. 68, and see *o* in No. 8 below). The regular sounds seem to have been (oo, o) universally at an earlier period. It will be shewn in Chap. XII. that the rhyme usages of our older poets are not enough to separate them. It is only when we find *au* (AA) written for long *o* in our modern dialects that we can feel sure of a difference having been felt.

I. That long *i* was originally (ii, *ii*) appears dialectally from the preservation of that sound in many words (291, *c*), and from its clausive prefracture (ái) in various forms, which sometimes becomes the juncture (aa) even when (*ii'*) exists in the same dialect. Long *i* might indeed be (aa) under these circumstances, but no one has probably ever imagined such a thing.

U. By the long *u* I mean the original sound, afterwards represented by *ou*. This appears to be (uu) by the preservation of that sound throughout the Northern dialects, and by its prefractures (áu, íu), degenerating into (aa, *ii'*). Of course it would be ridiculous to suppose that *u* was originally either of these latter sounds. The short *u* may have been the close fracture (*i'*, e') when it interchanged with *i*, *e*, and finally necessitated the use of *ou* for (uu) as a mark of distinction. Owing probably to the existence of the sign *ou*, the prefracture was always assumed to be (óu, A'u, ɔ'u) by our older phonetic writers, and not (áu). Of course the labial (u) tends to work back on the prefixed (a) by transmutation, and thus labialise it into (o), so that the change of (áu) into (ó'u), or the original formation of (óu), is quite natural. In Devonshire, after *u* had been conceived as (y) in some form, the transmutation of (o) into (œ), producing the fracture (œ'y), was equally natural. The use of *u* in French words was a foreignism. In dialects this *u* is a fracture (íu, iú), and varies as such a fracture.

AI. AU. The combinations *ai*, *au*, seem by the dialects to be treated as (ái, áu), whether as prefractures of (i, u), or as suffractures of (a). The persistence of (ái), not merely in the South-Western dialects, but in the Eastern and South-Eastern, and the mode in which the (ái, *ee*, ii) sounds are mixed up together within the same dialect, seem to be inexplicable on any other hypothesis but an original (ái, éi). The forms of (áu) as (AA, oo, *oo*) tell a similar tale.

EW, OW, were also fractures (éu, óu), arising from the disappearance of *w*, or occasionally *g*. That *laugh*, when gradated from (laawh) to (lowh), and thence passing to (low, lòu), might have become (luu) or even (lii), would not be surprising, when we find a

bow appearing as (b*ii*', buu, b*óu*) within the same (North Yorkshire) dialect.

Double Forms. One of the most interesting points forced on our attention by dialects is the great variety of co-existing forms within the same or closely-connected districts, and also the fact that a word alters its sound according to its position in a sentence, and according to the meaning of the sentence. In old pronunciation we were continually puzzled by a similar variety of form, of which we have not many relics in received speech, as *either* (ii·dhəɪ, ə'*i*·dhəɪ), so that it seemed like begging the question to assume it. But the present investigations make such assumption far less bold than the alternatives to which we should be otherwise forced.

E final. The controversy respecting final *e*, to which we shall have to recur in the next chapter, makes it important to discover any traces of its pronunciation. As yet none have been discovered. This refers to pure *-e*, and not to *-e* as the representative of *-en*. The pure *-e* seems to have altogether disappeared, but though *-e* as a form of *-en* does not appear to be known, *-en* itself is still preserved in the usages of several dialects. Now, as the absence of *-en* in some dialects is thus seen *not* to prove the original absence of *-en* in others, so the absence of *-e* in some dialects at an early period, as in the Northern Hampole, would not disprove its contemporary use in some other dialects, as in the court language of Chaucer and Gower. Just in the same way, the universal reduction of *-ed* to *-t*, *-d*, in speech, far more than 50 years ago, would not disprove the universal pronunciation of *-ed* as a distinct syllable by clergymen when reading lessons from the Authorised Version of the Bible in church, *within* the last 50 years, even in such cases as *crucifiëd* and *buriëd*, as marked by Bishop Wilkins (998, *d*) more than 200 years ago, and by Gill, 250 years since, suprà pp. 855–857. Indeed some clergymen have not even yet given up a practice which had an air of solemnity resulting from archaism. It is a very familiar reminiscence to myself. The transmutation of *-ed* into *-t*, *-d*, sounded almost *heretical* when I first heard it.

We cannot be surprised at the absence of *-e*, which disappeared from our versification nearly 300 years ago. We should be more surprised at the preservation of *-en*, for we know that in most cases *-en* degenerated into *-e*, and then disappeared. The modern dialectal absence of any sound does not establish its original absence; but the dialectal presence of any sound either establishes its original presence, or the original presence of a sound from which it could be derived, according to the ordinary usages of speech. Now with regard to *-e*, there is no doubt whatever of its lively presence in high German at the present day. It is part and parcel of usual speech. It is not confined to poetry or music, as the French *-e*. It is really used on every prosaical occasion by every prosaical speaker. Three years' residence in Germany has brought this fact so many thousand times before my ears, that no doubt in the world can exist in my own mind. As all the world knows and admits the fact, it would seem superfluous to attest it so explicitly from personal

knowledge. But there are some deniers of English *-e*, who insist that people could not have used it, simply on account of the absurd waste of time and energy in pronouncing it. Hence it is necessary to establish the fact that another great nation does not find its use involve an absurdity. As, however, the modern English final *-a*, *-er*, are pronounced generally (-ʊ) or (-ə), much as the final German *-e*, and as the old final English *-e*, if pronounced, was most probably so called (119, *b*), and as we should not find it either elegant or particularly time-saving and energy-sparing to omit this sound and say *pic'*, *Americ'*, *armad'*, *panace'*, *ide'*, *are'*, *naphth'*, *acaci'*, *cyclopædi'*, *umbrell'*, *vanill'*, *vill'*, *scroful'*, *uvul'*, *dram'*, *anathem'*, *enigm'*, *stigm'*, *dogm'*, *dilemm'*, *comm'*, *hyen'*, *duenn'*, *Chin'*, *er'*, *chimer'*, *oper'*, etc., or *peculi'*, *pill'*, *angul'*, *mast'*, *mist'*, *doct'*, etc., etc., etc., it is evident that such an argument is hardly worth consideration. To such vile uses we *may* come at last, but we have not yet reached Chinese monosyllabism, much as we may have spoiled our language by mere pruning. The reason, however, why I especially insist on the lively use of *-e* in high German is, that this *-e* has *disappeared in many high German dialects*, except as the representative of *-en*. The preservation of *-e* in any form, or even of *e* in the prefixed *be-*, *ge-*, is extremely *rare* in all the Bavarian dialects, although the sound of *-e* is used for *-en* in about half, the other half reducing *-en* to a vowelless *n*. See the instances in Schmeller (arts. 209–235, 572–592, and under *e* final in No. 8 below).[1] We have herein the positive proof that the dialectal disappearance of *-e* is compatible with the co-existence of its dialectal use, which may or may not be fixed by literature.[2] It is, therefore, a perfectly justifiable view to take, that final *-e* may have disappeared in some dialects in Early English and have existed in others. Moreover, this disappearance or use cannot be proved by manuscripts, because we find scribes who spoke different dialects transcribing the same original, and preserving their individual orthographic habits. It can only be established by habits of internal versification, not even by rhyme endings, and the inquiry into its use in the middle of lines is rendered wonderfully difficult by the uncertainty of readings, and the recklessness of scribes, so that single manuscripts are by no means conclusive. In the next chapter this point will be examined, with especial reference to Robert of Brunne's Chronicle.

[1] Remarking on this loss of flexional form, which in literary high German had been already reduced to *-e*, Schmeller says (on his p. 51) that "this does not prevent these same dialects from having more or less evidently preserved isolated remarkable forms belonging to the older or even oldest phases of the language, which, when literary speech was fixed, were not admitted, owing to the prevalence of certain views or fashions."

[2] Dutch is often quoted as a tongue allied to English in which final *e* is lost. See Mr. Sweet's remark on the preservation of its sound in (1292, *e*). In *Johan Winkler's* Algemeen Nederduitsch en Friesch Dialecticon ('s Gravenhage, 1874), giving 186 versions of the Parable of the Prodigal Son into as many Low German dialects, final *e* seems to crop up somewhere in every example. At the same time it flits in and out, so that we may feel prepared for similar uncertainties in our own dialects, especially about the beginning of the xv th century. Even if poets were careful, copyists were not.

No. 7. DIALECTAL CONSONANT RELATIONS.

The relations of consonants in our dialects are altogether simpler than those of vowels, although they present some peculiar points of difficulty. The distinction of *voiced* and *voiceless* is very generally kept up. It is only in the southwest that (f, th, s, sh) become (v, dh, z, zh) with tolerable regularity. But the same dialects do not confuse (p, t, k) with (b, d, g). This is singularly in opposition to German habits, which are uncertain of the explodents, but certain of (s, z). The continuants (th, dh, zh) not occurring in German, and (bh), not (v), being used in middle Germany, which is most addicted to the interchange of (p b, t d), there is no opportunity of examining the continuants further. The (th, dh) are sometimes confused in the north of England. Thus *though* is (th*oo*) in Scotch, and the usual *the* (dhe) is voiceless and vowelless (th-) in South Lancashire, Cheshire, Derbyshire, and elsewhere. This seems to confirm Mr. Sweet's view of an original (dh) which became (th) in isolated cases (p. 541, n. 2); thus both (dh) and (th) are found in South Derbyshire. In the North again a (z) appears where the received use is (s) in (prisái·z, dezɛ·mbər, ʜhɜz) for *precise*, *december*, *us*, and other words, and a (v) for an (f) in (k*aa*v) *calf*, etc., so that the confusion of hisses and buzzes is not exclusively southwestern.

The interchange of (b bh, g gh) is not to be looked for, as (bh, gh) do not occur, at least consciously, in our present dialects. The (d dh), which do occur, are not perfectly related, as (d) is not, at any rate generally, dental, although the fact of dentality may have been often overlooked. In the southwest (d) replaces (dh) initially, especially before (r), as (druu, drii) *through*, *three*, and occasionally elsewhere, as (d*i*s'l) *thistle* in East Cornwall. I have not been able to ascertain if the (d) is then dental as (d̪ruu, d̪rii). Medial substitutions of (dh) for (d) are not uncommon, and have even crept into older received orthography, as *burthen*, *murther*, now *burden*, *murder*. In Norfolk *three* becomes *tree*. This again raises the question as to whether (t d) in English were not originally dental (t̪ d̪), as in Celtic, and on the continent generally.

This inquiry is, however, complicated by the acknowledged existence of (t̪ d̪) in some northern dialects, but almost, if not absolutely, exclusively before (r) or the syllable (ər) or its substitutes. This dental, or something like it, is also found in Ireland in the same places (1239, *a*). There are even phases of dialect which are distinguished by having the usual coronal (t d) in precisely the same situations as those in which related phases use the dental (t̪ d̪), for example the Chapel and Taddington varieties of the Peak of Derbyshire, the first having (t̪ d̪), the second (t d), and similarly in Yorkshire. This singular distinction entirely corresponds to the Sanscrit, which occasions such difficulty to Englishmen and Germans (p. 1096). The area and origin of the English coronal (t d) require strict examination, but so few Englishmen hear the distinctions (t t̪, d d̪) that the inquiry is beset with as much difficulty as that of the distinction between (v bh) in Germany. See Mr. C. C. Robinson's observations on Yorkshire usage in No. 11, below.

In connection with this must be noticed the occasional assimilation of (dh) to (t), after a following (s) or (t), as (ʜha·stə) for *hast thou*? and even of (th) in Derbyshire, as (ii-stəndz ʊt-''t-bak-ʊ aar WAA), *he stands at the back of our wall*, where (ʊt th-bak) would have been the regular form. In the example of W. Lincolnshire given below, it will be observed that *the*, which had the regular form (dh-) before vowels, varies as (th-), and even (t) and (d), according to the adjoining letters. This is similar to Orrmin's custom (490, *b*), and must not be confounded with the use of vowelless (t) for the article in Yorkshire and Cumberland. Is this last (t) the degeneration of (th), which is itself an altered (dh), or an independent formation? This is a matter of controversy. But that the (t) *may* be the degeneration of (th, dh) is certain, because in the Orkneys and Shetlands all (th, dh) have become (t, d) or (ṭ, ḍ), and in Kent and E. Sussex *th* in *the, this, them, those, there*, that is, (dh) in certain words, is always (d); while we have seen that neighbouring consonants in many places reduce the (th, dh) to (t, d). The pronunciation of this vowelless (t) when used as the article is most singular. To my ear it does not in native speech run on to the *following* vowel, but is, if possible, connected with the preceding word.[1] When it stands initially in a sentence, so that this connection is impossible, as when it precedes a voiced consonant, as (b, d, g), *t' dog*, or stands between two voiced consonants, as *in t' backhouse*, or stands between two similar consonants, as *at t' time, at t' door*, the method by which its effect is made evident—and it is always evident—seems to be mainly by a slight *implosion*, as (''t), see (1097, *c*). Both Mr. C. C. Robinson and Mr. Hallam, to whom this *t* is vernacular, accept this theory. There is, however, a certain holding, and a certain delay, in passing from the presumed implosion to the following consonant, giving a little catch or hesitation, so that it is difficult to determine the precise sound. Yet the existence of a distinct syllabic (t), which is certainly *not* ('ht, t'h, t‡h), is a remarkable phenomenon, well deserving of most careful investigation. Our old *'t* for *it* is not comparable, for it always glides on to a preceding or succeeding letter. The Slavonic preposition (v) is a voiced consonant, and hence quite pronounceable. The manner in which the French *de, te, je, re-*, are spoken, when they seem to be entirely swallowed, and yet produce a most sensible effect to French ears, comes perhaps still nearer to it. To merely write (t), or the etymological *t'*, *'t*, according to the difference of view as to the *the* or *et het* origin of this *t'*, is of course helpless. I have, however, generally adopted (t) in the following examples, and left the reader to glide it on to the preceding letter, or to make an implosion, as the case may be.

The interchange of (t, k) is well known among children, and some Polynesians could not get nearer than (Tu·te) for Captain Cook's name. The use of (tl, dl) for initial (kl, gl) is very general,

[1] Mr. Hallam felt the same difficulty in marking this (t) in the Chesterfield variety of Derbyshire. On referring to his notes he finds the (t) grouped to the preceding vowel in nearly half the cases which he wrote from observation.

even among educated people,[1] and in some dialects my authorities adopt it regularly. Though (k) has generally disappeared before (n), Cumberland, as will be seen, retains traces of it, as (nhn-), and even (tn-), where the change is similar to that of (kl-) into (tl-), and may be regarded as a prospective transmutation, occasioned by preparing the organs for following (l), whereas in Italian, (l) sinks by retrospective transmutation to (i), making way for (k, g), as in *chiamo ghiaccio* (kiá·muh giá·ˌtˌtˌshuh). In (lɔk) for (lɔt) in Cumberland, the opposite tendency appears.

The effect of an unaccented (i)-sound, generally a fractural prefix, upon a preceding (k, g), frequently shews itself in the dialects, by generating (tˌsh, dˌzh). In Scotch (k, g) generally remain, but in English this is quite the exception. The same cause sometimes, but not always, makes (t, d) into (tˌsh, dˌzh), and (s) more generally into (sh). The (zh)-sound is not very frequent, it is generated in words, as *vision, azure*, which are not dialectal. As the *-ture, -sure*, endings do not generally develope a fracture, they more often remain as (-təɪ, -səɪ, -zəɪ), but being altogether strange are treated very irregularly; compare Yorkshire and Shropshire. Mr. Murray (*op. cit.* p. 85) informs us that in the central valley of Berwickshire initial *ch*, that is (tˌsh-), is pronounced as (sh-) simply. It would be worth while ascertaining distinctly whether this is (sh) or (ˌsh). It may be simply the latter, and hence the inhabitants of (Shi·r·set) *Chirnside* (56*n*48, 2*w*12) may be as much maligned as the inhabitants of Rome, for using (sh) in place of (tsh). But the intermediate sound is worth noting.[2]

The habits of speakers in different localities differ very much respecting ease and difficulty in consonantal combinations. The (-mr-) frequently develope (-mbr-), by dropping the nasality of (m) before releasing the lips, and thus we have our received *timber, chamber, number*. Our dialects, however, do not patronise this, and (ti·məɪ, tsha·məɪ, nɐ·məɪ) consequently occur. The name Hamilton is often (ɴhæ·mb'ltɐn) in a Southern mouth, but the Scotch are content to call *Campbell* (k*aa*·m'l). Similarly (-nl-) often generates (-ndl-), but dialects generally content themselves with (-nl-), as (ɴha·n'l) *handle*. There is indeed a constant inclination to carry on the nasality of (m, n) until the contact is released, and thus substitute simple (m, n) for (mb, nd). The participles in *-ing* in the received dialect, which were originally in *-nd*, consequently appear

[1] When I was a boy at school, I suddenly became conscious that I pronounced the radical forms κλάω and τλάω in the same way. It cost me much trouble and years of practice to obtain (kl-) with ease and certainty, and the same for (gl-). As a consequence, my attention has been constantly drawn to this defect of speech in others. The Welsh (ll) heard at a distance from a crier shouting out *Llandudno* at Rhyll sounded to me much more like (tl) than (thl), with which Englishmen generally confuse it.

[2] The demonstration of (ˌsh), see (1104, *d*'), makes it possible that the French may not have developed (tˌsh) at first, as has been thought, but only (ˌsh), and this may have generated (tˌsh) in Norman mouths, whence its English form, but have reduced to (sh) in French. See (207, *a*). This is merely thrown out for consideration; indeed (kɟ) may have come first (1120, *d*').

as (-*i*n) in most dialects. Of course this is not the reason why the gerund or verbal noun in *-ing* has also fallen into (-*i*n) in most dialects. In Southern Scotch the distinction is made in the vowel, not the consonant, (-ən) participle, and (-*i*n) gerund (*Murray*, p. 211), but the other dialects confuse the two cases. This may have been an assimilation. There is no powerlessness to pronounce (q), which some dialects even take as (qg) final, not (qk). Medially they seem as a rule to prefer (q) to the occasional (qg) of the received dialect, saying (fi·qər) rather than (fi·qgər). Before (th), the (q) sinks very generally to (n), in (lenth, strenth).

L and R are the two most vowel-like consonants, forming distinct syllables of themselves. In this respect they differ materially from (w, ɹ), which, if really prolonged, are almost as unvowellike as (z), but in consequence, perhaps, naturally and easily gradate to (u, i). If R is untrilled, the resulting (r_o) instantly gradates to (ə), and thence to some other obscure vowel. L obstructs the cavity of the mouth by its central contact, much more than (r_o), but still it is very apt to gradate to (ə), and thence be entirely lost. Sometimes in Romance languages it passes rather into (i) or (u), according to the tendency of the people to raise the middle of the tongue, or somewhat round the lips to improve the resonance. In the dialects both *l*, *r*, are apt to disappear entirely after (aa, AA). Indeed, received pronunciation adopts the same habit in *balk*, etc. After (*oo*) the *l*, by prospective transmutation, inclines to (*u*l, *u*), and the diphthongs (*ó*ul, *ó*u) result, the foundation of (ə·*u*, ɜ·*u*, *á*u), in *roll*, *shoulder*, etc., which were once received, but are now only dialectal, and not unfrequent in dialects. After the other vowels (l) does not seem to have the same tendency to disappear, though (uul, *u*l) degenerate to (uu).

LD final seems to be a distasteful combination, either *l* or *d* being frequently dropped. The *d*- closing of the passage by the sides left open for *l* requires an amount of pressure apparently inconsistent with the lazy ease of dialectal speech.

R is treated very variously. In Scotland it is a distinctly and rather harshly-trilled (.r), but how far dental I know not. Where Scotland breaks into England, just about Berwick, the uvular (*r*), which Southerners call the *burr*, and natives the (k*r*up), begins, but marks out a very small district.[1] Coming more south, the initial

[1] "The northern limits of the *burr* (*r*) are very sharply defined, there being no transitional sound between it and the Scotch *r* (.r). From Carham [*55n*39, 2*w*23, the extreme N.W. point of Northumberland] eastwards, the boundary follows the Tweed, which it leaves, however, to include the town and liberties of Berwick, which in this, as in other respects, now adheres to the Southern in preference to its own side of the Tweed. Along the line of the Cheviots, the Scotch *r* (.r) has driven the *burr* (*r*) a few miles back, perhaps because many of the farmers and shepherds are of Scottish origin. In the vale of the Reed [which runs into the Tyne, *55n*19, 2*w*22] we suddenly enter the *crhoup* (k*r*up) country in the neighbourhood of Otterburn (otəh*r*-bəh*r*n) [*55n*15, 2*w*10]. In Cumberland, Westmorland, and the rest of the North Angle area, the *r* is now pronounced as in other parts of England." Murray, *op. cit.* pp. 86–7. There are apparently many varieties of the *burr*. The one I heard was (*r*), but extensive observation is necessary to determine this

trill is distinct, but not so powerful, and generally more or less of a trill exists, even when no vowel follows, but such trills seem never to be very marked. In S. Shields speech, remarkably similar to Southern Scotch in its general character, and close by the country of the burr, but where the burr is unknown, this final *r* seems entirely to disappear, or crops up as a faint (ə, ʊ, '), or perhaps a glottal (ɪ). But in Westmorland there is apparently an occasional, possibly dental (‸r). Whether this (‸r) appears generally after (‸t ‸d) is questionable. Mr. Hallam thinks the tongue in his *tr* is more advanced in the mouth than usual, and that he consequently really says (‸t‸r). Mr. Robinson finds a dental (‸r) occasionally after (g) in Yorkshire. In Yorkshire this final *r* seems to be in a state of transition, sometimes appearing, often disappearing, and generally being rather permissive, as (ɪ), than obligatory, as (r). But there are times when the trill is indispensable. In Shropshire it is stated to be always felt, but to be slight. To speak of "feeling a letter" is sometimes misleading. A Spaniard once told me that his final *d* was rather felt by the speaker than heard by the listener. If the speaker confines himself to putting his organs into the proper position to articulate, but neglects to issue breath, vocalised or not, he may *feel* his words, but the bystander will be none the wiser. Schmeller, speaking of the initial *ge-* reduced to *g*, and lost before a following explodent (*op. cit.* art. 485), says that "it is not heard independently (*für sich*), but that we recognise the preparation (*Ansatz*) made by the tongue to pronounce it, by the greater decision (*Entschiedenheit*) with which the initial sound strikes the ear." Thus *gebunden* becomes (.b*u*nd'n), or perhaps (bn*u*nd'n). The case of *t' dog*, already referred to, may be the same, (.dɔg) rather than ("t dɔg), and this is one of the points to which attention should be directed. In the same way, while pronouncing a vowel, even (aa, AA, ɜɜ), the speaker may feel the tongue *rise* at the end. It *may* only take the position (ə), the tip *may* rise to (r_o), it *may* give the slightest quiver (ǁr), and all this *may* be *felt* by the speaker, but it would be difficult for the listener to hear. The habit of writing, and moreover the habit of *not* trilling final *r*, nay, the incapability of trilling it, which is often experienced by Englishmen, and, finally, the habit of assuming the long-vowel glide in (bəəd) to be a representative of an existing *r*, because it is felt to be so different from the stopped-vowel glide in (bəd, bədd), see (1156, *d'*), are all so misleading to an English observer, that I frequently mistrust the accounts given to me, thinking them open to these sources of unconscious error. People seem to be afraid of admitting that *r* is not sounded. Critics and reviewers laugh to scorn such rhymes as *morn dawn* (575, *d.* 593, *d'.* 1195, *b'.* 1228, *b*), till the judg-

habit. Sometimes the sound seems to come up to (grh), sometimes to sink to (ɪ), and sometimes to reduce to (gh, g), or an hiatus of powerlessness. At other times the uvula is very sharply and brightly trilled. The sound seems also to differ in the pitch of the accompanying vowel. The subject is difficult, but the sound is so diffused, sporadically and unacknowledged, in England, France, and Germany, not to mention its acknowledged existence in Arabic, that it deserves attentive study by all philologists.

ment is confused, the nature of the trill is forgotten, the "something" usually uttered or positioned or imagined when *r* is seen on paper, is called an *r*, and final *r* is said to be distinctly pronounced, when it may be that a vowel is merely lengthened, or at most a suffracture introduced. When any one writes *larf brort* to indicate (laaf brAAt), in which words no trilled (r) was ever pronounced,—and such spellings are very common among writers of dialectal specimens,—the whole question is reduced to chaos. A trill is a succession of beats,[1] that is, of sounds of very different intensities in rapid succession; it is of no consequence how the beat is produced, but, unless at least two maximum and one minimum, or two minimum and one maximum, degrees of intensity have been heard, unless a succession of "makes and breaks" has been at least indicated, there is no *trill* in any one of the forms (brh, ɯ, ˌr, r, *r*, grh, ɹ), all of which probably occur at some place, or at some time in different places, or among defective speakers, in England. And other *r*'s may occur, as the Irish rolling (ˏr), see (1232, *b*), a retracted (ˌr), see (1098, *b'*), and an *r* made by a striking of the tongue against the teeth, gums, or roof of the mouth, for which (ˈr) may be used, the difference between (ˈr) and (ˌr) being that between the actions of the clarinet and harmonium reeds. Anything, in short, which gives a final *roughness* (the characteristic sensation produced by rapid beats) will pass muster for an English *r*, and, what is more, be intelligible. See also (1194, *a'*).

But there are parts of England in which the disappearance of *r* is fairly acknowledged, namely in parts of the southwest.[2] The

[1] Donders (Spraakklanken, p. 19), referred to (1098, *c*), see also (1099, *c'*), gives some interesting drawings of the phonautographic curves produced by the trills (brh, r, *r*), showing how the trill shuts off and opens out the voice some 20 or 30 times in a second. The lip trill (brh) produced long silences, and rather faint intermediate sounds. A fine voice and weak (*r*) trill gives short weakenings of tone rather than complete silences interposed between bold sounds. A weak voice and strong (*r*) gave long silences and faint intermediate sounds. The same singer with a loud voice produced equally marked silences. A distinctly sounded tip tongue (r) gave sound and silence of nearly equal length, but made the sounds quite clear. The effect is nearly the same as when two tuning forks, sold as of the same pitch, but almost always slightly different, are struck and held over the same resonance chamber. The sound and silence follow one another with remarkable distinctness. It is not precisely that of a *shake* in music (It. *trillo*), but so like it that I have known an excellent imitation of a shake produced on musical glasses by sounding two together which differed by half a note in pitch, and the *tremolo* stops on the harmonium and organ are produced in a similar manner. The exact cause of *tremulous* speech, as in emotion, or in that very disagreeable habit of *tremolo* singing, which may be noted as (a:), etc., I am not yet able to assign. The bleating voice (ᵣa) is another species of trill, the *snarl* (ₛaˌ) another, "sonat hīc dē nāre canīna lītera," Pers 1, 109.

[2] The faith in a pronounced *r* dies hard. A great deal of difficulty is felt about Gloucester, Wiltshire, and Dorsetshire. To my own ears the real sound of vocal *r*, that is, *r* when not preceding a consonant, is in these districts really a vowel, and that vowel much resembles (œ). But to say so seems to those who use the sound to imply that they do not pronounce *r* at all, whereas they know, truly enough, that they *do* make a great difference in speech according as *r* is or is not written, and hence they do pronounce

presumed transposition of *r* and the vowel, as *run urn*, *red urd*, reduces itself to the omission of *r* and obscuration of the following vowel with a long vowel-glide, as (rən əən, red əəd). The rationale of this, and of all similar cases, being the inherent difficulty of trilling without some perceptible untrilled vowel preceding and following, just as for the Sanscrit *ri* (1146, *d'*), as explained by the old grammarians. How can we tell that there is an interruption, unless there is a thread to interrupt? And then how easy to snip off the interruption and lengthen the thread! Certainly (əən) is much easier than (.rən), which readily becomes (⌊ə.rən, ə⌊rən, ər̥n, əən). And thus the Scotch (.r) finally disappears in Devonshire!

The *r* and *l* readily unite with a preceding consonant, but some forms are little found. Although (bl) is easy and common, (vl) is not found (it is common in Dutch), and (wl-) seems to have vanished, a faint reminiscence of (w'l-) existing in Scotch, with a problematic change to (fl-) in one word *flunkey*. No labial (l*w*-) in place of (wl-) has been reported. On the other hand, (w'r-) is said to occur in Scotch, degenerating to (vr-, bhr) in Aberdeen, and the labial (r*w*-) and also (w'r-) are reported from Cumberland. There is really no more difficulty in the combinations (ml-, mr-) or (wl-, wr-) than in (bl-, br-), but they are simply unusual. In every case there is a tendency to simultaneous instead of successive utterance, when the organs can readily be posed accordingly, and this is especially the case for the (t)-series, so that (l*w*-, r*w*-) are more likely to be heard than (w'l-, w'r-), which rather resemble the efforts of a foreigner to pronounce an unusual combination, as in (1136, *e*).

The interchange of W and V is usually marked as a cockneyism, when occurring initially. Its American existence has been already shewn (1067, *d*. 1220, *d'*). In Norfolk, the change of initial V to W, according to one authority (see No. 11, below), is regular, and in Essex and Kent it is frequent, but the change from W to V is not so well known. The medial and final interchange also occurs, as in the Scotch (slɑ'u·en) for *sloven*, and (dɑ'u) for *dove*, and the Devonshire (roov) for *row*. The exact nature of the (v) in this case I have not been able to ascertain, because I have not examined 'uncorrupted' peasants. It would be interesting to know whether the change is from (w) to (v) direct, or through the mediation of (bh), as Dr. Beke asserts (1221, *d*). We have certainly a change of (b) to (v), or a sound which is taken to be (v), even if it were once (bh), in such words as (maa·v'l) for *marble*, which favours the original (bh) hypothesis; but this sound is such an incomprehensibility to most Englishmen, that it may be very long before anything satisfactory is discovered in this direction. For philological purposes, and for Latin and Italian[1] pronunciation, the fact that hearers

their own final *r*, and never having heard another they are utterly perplexed by being told that they utter a vowel and not a trill, and perplex me in turn by their observations. More of this hereafter when considering these counties. The varieties of *r* are the most remarkable in English speech.

[1] In listening to a lecture delivered by Dr. Zerffi, on 15 March, 1874, in which the English pronunciation was generally very good, I noticed *wice*,

do generally assert an interchange of (w, v) is of real value, whatever be the means of transit. The fact also of the very different degrees of pressure of the under lip on the upper teeth, already alluded to (1102, *c*. 1103, *c*), should be borne in mind, to which must be added the possibility of making a considerable buzz when saying (bh), by merely constricting the lips without touching the teeth.

The ear readily confuses hisses and buzzes arising from different sources. Those due to the central obstruction by the teeth in the case of (f) and (th)[1] are closely allied. Hence we must not feel surprised at the Scotch (thREE) for *from*, or the Shropshire (throks, f*i*·s'lz) for *frocks, thistles.*[2] The change of (s) to a sound closely resembling (th) in the lisp arises merely from a defective organism or an affected advance of the tongue; it is not dialectal.

The gutturals (kh kjh k*w*h) are only heard in Scotland, and the two latter are almost confined to the southern counties. Their voice forms have quite perished out. In the north of England no gutturals are now heard, though they existed in Dent within the memory of an aged man of science, Prof. Adam Sedgwick, whose death we have had to deplore since my quotations from his book were printed (suprà, pp. 289, n. 4; 311, n. 1). But though gone they have left an impression, partly as (*i*), partly as (*o*, u), and partly as (f), even in the received dialect (213, *a*). This (f) is still more developed dialectally, and sometimes interchanges with (th). The old interchange with (s) has not hitherto been confirmed dialectally (464, *c*). The appearance of (dhon, dhɔn) for *yon*, ags. *geond*, both in Scotch and Irish English (1242, *b'*), is very remarkable, and ought to point to a previous (gh) form, which properly generates (J) initially, but it may be otherwise derived.[3] A similar abnormal generation of (shuu, shii) from ags. *heó*, through (gheóo,

in*w*ite, for *v*ice, in*v*ite, with what sounded to me (and I was sitting very near to him) as a distinct (w); it may have been prefractural (u-), but it was certainly not (v), and it did not recall (bh). He called the *Vêdas* (ve·daz).

[1] The air escapes through a narrow central chink, of which one edge is sharp. The resulting sound is peculiar, and, according to Dr. W. H. Stone (lecture on *Auscultation*, delivered 22 Feb., 1874), immediately produces the effect called ægophony (or bleating sound) in the lungs, when examined stethoscopically, while a person is pronouncing the letter. These teeth-hisses consequently require much more attentive analysis to distinguish them from the sounds through a narrow, but unobstructed, central aperture, as (ph, s, sh, kjh).

[2] Mr. Hallam has also heard (fi·s'lz) in the Peak of Derbyshire and in North East Cheshire. It is the only instance he can recollect of the change of (th) into (f) in the Peak.

[3] As *z* in Scotch words remains as the representative of ȝ, that is ags. *g*, so *y* is the written form for þ, as we see by mutilating this letter to ꝑ, which in MSS. interchanges with *y* very often. We constantly write *y*ᵉ for þe = the. So *yon* in Scotch (and the Belfast use is mere Scotch) may stand for *þon*, and this for the accusative case of the ags. demonstrative pronoun, so that *yon man* when called (dhon man) may be like *them men* used for *those men*. This is merely thrown out as an alternative suggestion. A counter misreading of þ for *y* was suggested (639, *d'*), and has been confirmed by an actual inspection of the MS. by Mr. Murray in 1871. Hence the use of *dotted y* in old MSS., to point out that it did *not* mean þ.

gjhoo, gjhéo, gjhe'), has been already suggested (489, *a*. 1142, *c'*). If this view be correct, the Lancashire (нhuu), the Leeds (shuu) and the received (shii) *she*, have the same ags. *heó* for their origin.

The aspirate, in the form (нh), seems to be invariably used where written in Scotland, and not to be introduced where not written, except in the predicative (нhɪz) *us*. But we have scarcely passed the border before it darts in and out like sunlight on a cloudy day. Perhaps the intermediary is the simple jerk (н). But certainly in most of Yorkshire, in Shropshire, in Derbyshire, in the Midland counties, in Lincolnshire, in Essex, in Kent, and in the South-western counties, it is almost extinct. One might be inclined to think that it is only the classification of "dropping *aitches*" among social sins which keeps the aspirate alive in the received dialect. And even there (wh) has failed to make its mark. Although acknowledged and used among a large section of people, (wh) is almost solely an artificial sound in our language. Curiously enough, although it has nearly disappeared where written, it seems to reappear occasionally in some (u-) fractures, not merely as a remnant of *h*, as when ags. *hám* crops up as (whóo'm) *home*, but where there is no original *h*, as when ags. *áte* becomes (whóo'ts), *oats*. This is, however, not usual. The familiar dialectal writing *whoam*, *whoats*, of course proves nothing; but from Mr. C. C. Robinson, for Yorkshire, I heard a distinct (wh) in such words as he has so written below.

According to the same authority, there seems also to be in the very vulgar form of Leeds dialect an inserted (н) jerk after certain consonants, where (t, d) are lost in a permissive (ɪ), see (1261, *d'*), and other curious phenomena occur, which will be detailed hereafter. This jerk (н) certainly often occurs after consonants in Irish, and requires careful investigation, in relation to the Indian post-aspirated consonants (1137, *c*), and their subsequent treatment in European languages.

Before (u, i), the consonantal (w, ɹ) are very apt to disappear, and where that is the case, it may be rash to insist very strongly on the difference between these consonants, and the con-sonants, or prefractural (u-, i-). Where however (wu-, ɹi-) occur, the consonantal change is effected.

The contributions made to consonantal philology by the observations on dialects are therefore not either numerous or novel. They are chiefly confirmatory. The great points of interest are, the co-existence and distinct appreciation of (t ṭ, d ḍ) in the same or adjacent dialects; the vowelless syllable (t) in Yorkshire, Cumberland, and Derbyshire; the treatment of *r*; the confusion of (w, v); the passage of the guttural into (f, th, dh); and the flitting treatment of *h*, *wh*.

The real bearing of these changes upon general philology can be distinctly felt only when something like a general survey of consonants and their relation to vowels has been obtained. Curiously eclectic as we have found languages to be in the use of vowels (1297, *a*), this is still more the case in relation to consonants.

Even the great relations between voiced and voiceless consonants are very insufficiently carried out in individual languages, and much curious information would result from "consonant identifications" in the various languages of the world similar to those "vowel identifications" previously furnished (pp. 1300–7). In default of this, some systematic arrangement must be attempted. It seems to me that we have not yet a sufficient knowledge of the relations of consonants to each other and to vowels to do this satisfactorily. At any rate, I have not been able to form any system satisfactory to myself, which should embrace the extremely complicated phenomena with which I have become practically acquainted, while numerous others, apparently still more complicated, remain so vaguely described or so inaccessible as to elude me altogether. Much is mere conjecture. I prefer then not to present any systematic arrangement of my own, but to give such an account of different systems formed by others as will assist the reader in understanding the nature of the present changes.

The distinction between vowels and consonants is not in general well understood. The word 'consonant' is used in the vaguest possible manner, sometimes, as appears to me, merely to designate diphthongising vowels which have not the stress, as (i) in the fractures (iá, ái), or (', ə), in (*ii*', íə), called *y*, *r*, respectively. The controversy as to where *h* is or is not "a letter," a vowel, or a consonant, points to this. Hence the importance of first inquiring what are the classes of sounds which we have to consider. I cannot suppose that the following analysis is exhaustive; but it will at least answer the present purpose better than any other which I could cite. For many details see pp. 1128, sqq.

Analysis of Speech Sounds.

The sensation of sound is due, generally, to an undulatory motion of the atmosphere striking the drum-skin of the ear. This motion itself is often called sound. The classes of sounds here considered are those in which the undulatory motion is produced by a speaker, through his vocal organs.

1. *Air independent of respiration.* The air within the mouth, not drawn in or driven out, and hence at rest so far as respiration is concerned, may be set in motion by *clicks* or *smacks* (ʇh), or *cheek puffs* (≡), as in using the blowpipe [the symbol (≡) typifies, by the upper and lower lines, the two cheeks pressing out a stream of air, the central line, between them], or *implosions* ("h), see (1128, *b. c*). All of these help to form consonants. The *clicks* and *puffs* form Prof. Haldeman's "independent vowels" (*Anal. Orth.* art. 445–8).

2. *Air inspired.* The air drawn into the mouth may meet with obstacles, or pass through channels, creating sound-waves, in a way not at all peculiar to speech, which the resonance chambers of the mouth, etc., may sufficiently reinforce to be audible ('¦), as in chirps, inspired whistles, sobs, gasps, etc., see (1128, *a*), and may be nasal, as in snuffling ('¦ˌ), or orinasal (ʌ) and fluttering (ʎ), as in snores ('¦ʌʎ), etc.

3. *Air expired.*

a. Glottids (1129, *c'*), including the bellows action of the lungs, continuous, varying in force, jerked (ʜ), etc., and the motion of the vocal chords towards each other, or their retention in fixed positions, and the same for the *fissura laryngea* or cartilaginous glottis, and all modifications of expiration which take place within the larynx itself. These seem to have been first carefully considered and distinguished, as part of an alphabetic system, by Brücke (p. 10 of *op. cit.* on p. 1287, n. 2), and have already been dwelt upon at some length (1129, *c'*), but not exhaustively. Some

of these (ɭh, ɳh, ɲh) have been usually considered as consonants.

b. Undifferentiated Glottal sounds, as flatus ('h), wheeze ('*h*), whisper ("h), buzz (,,h), bleat (ᵋh), voice ('h), nasal voice ('h‿), nasal bleat (ᵋh‿). Of these ('*h*, ᵋh), are usually taken as consonants (*h*, ᵋ).

c. Differentiated Glottal sounds.

i.). The differentiation takes place by the action of resonance chambers, as already explained (p. 1276), on its way to the external air *through* the *open* mouth, nose, or both, and meeting with more or less obstruction on the way.

When the resonance chambers are best suited to reinforce *voice*, the results are generally called *vowels;* when best suited for audible *flatus*, the results are called consonants. The vowel and consonant positions shade into each other insensibly, and *any* glottal sound may be modified by either set of positions. Between perfect vowel, as (a), and perfect hiss, as (s), there can be no mistake. The letters (r, l) and even (z) occasionally fulfil the linguistic function of vowels. The contacts between vowels and consonants are especially:

voiced (i, ɹ, gjh) and flated ("i, ɹh, kɭh, kjh, kh, kɭ); and also through (kjh) to (sh, s), etc.;

voiced (u, w, v) or (u, v, gɯh, gɯ, g), or (ʌu, bh, b); voiceless ("u, wh, f), or ("u, wh, kɯh, kɯ, kɭ), or ("ʌu, ph, pɭ), according as we start with English (u) having the back of the tongue raised, or German (ʌu) with the tongue depressed; also voiced (y, wj, bh, b) and voiceless ("y, wjh, ph, pɭ);

voiced (a, ə) lead to (rᵊ, 'r, r), and thence to ('l, l), and so to (d) and the coronals and dentals, or through (a, ɔ, œ) to lip, and even guttural consonants, etc., and when voiceless to ('h, ɳ'h), and thence either to (kh), etc., or to (ɹh, sh), etc.

ii.). *Glottal* sounds differentiated by passing *into* the *closed* mouth, so that they cannot be continued beyond a short time, because they condense the air too much, and when forced produce the *inflatus* of (1113, *b*). These are the *sonant consonants* (b, d, g), or ('b, 'd, 'g), as distinguished from the imploded ("p, "t, "k). They may also be *bleated*, as (ᵋb, ᵋd, ᵋg).

d. Non-glottal sounds differentiated by resonance chambers, as in expired whistles, see also (2). When they reach the state of musical whistles, they cease to be real speech sounds.

e. All the above are distinguished by pitch, force, and length, and by continuous or discontinuous changes. The continued sounds, due to the maintenance of the same resonance chamber independently of pitch or force, and changing discontinuously, so far as the resonance is concerned, are the theorist's vowels and consonants, in this class; but even in these, pitch and force generally alter continuously. The changing or *gliding* sounds due to continuous change of form of resonance chamber are the most common in actual speech.

4. *Air checked.* The air passing through an opening is gradually totally shut off or obstructed, or a total obstruction is gradually removed. This may take place in the glottis (;), by closing the vocal chords or bringing down the epiglottis, or both, and in various ways in the mouth, producing the *mute* consonants (p, t, k), etc. These mutes make themselves felt solely by gliding differentiations of glottal sounds, due to continuous changes in the form of the resonance chamber passing from perfect silence for the mute, to perfect resonance for the vowel, and *vice versâ* (1111, *e'*).

Note on Symbolisation.

Palaeotype is meant to be a mere convenient system of notation without implying any system. Thus (h) has been used as a mere diacritic without any constant meaning, and sometimes as an occasional mere supporter of signs which would otherwise become confused, as ('h 'h "h), etc. On the other hand, some diacritics, as (j *w* *wj*), have been used with tolerable consistency. Italics and small capital letters are used as convenience dictated and with no systematic feeling or intention. Whether there appear to be any systematic character or not in the sign, my own wish is that each symbol should be regarded as one of Linnæus's 'trivial names,' merely denotative, not connotative; shewing a fact, not suggesting a theory. My letter denotes a certain sound, or mode of utterance. How that sound or mode of utterance is to be systematically placed is a totally different question. My symbols lend themselves to any system, because they do not pretend to belong to a peculiar

system of their own. In this respect they differ essentially from Brücke's and Bell's, and even from Lepsius's and Prince L. L. Bonaparte's or the historical suggestions of Prof. Haldeman. Palaeotype letters are then merely tools by which we may handle sounds on paper, pending our acquisition of sufficient knowledge to understand their systematic relations.

The classification of consonants generally relates to those in 3 and 4, and refers to the positions of the obstructive organs, and the accompanying flatus or voice, or absence of both. It is fortunately very easy to make a simple arrangement of this kind, which is essential as an elementary guide, but it is very difficult to fit into one scheme the immense variety of forms found in actual use, of which comparatively few are familiar to any one systematiser. In no language perhaps occur sufficient consonants to construct a perfect scheme. But in the old Sanscrit tongue, as reduced to the Devanâgarî character, there was a grand development of the surd (voiceless) and sonant (voiced) series of the classes in 4, and 3, *e*, ii. above, and a full conception of the differences of flatus, voice, and, as I think, bleat, as well as nasality. The Indian put the earlier European phonologists to shame in this respect. They were very acute, not merely in the analysis, but in the synthesis of sounds, and, as far as their means extended, did not hesitate to indicate every change, and even pointed out in their commentaries under what circumstances sounds were generated synthetically which had no alphabetic character. That this generative action is in full force in India at the present day we have already seen in remarkable instances (1138, *b'* to 1139, *b'*). But the language was extremely deficient in vowels, in diphthongs, in buzzes, and in glottids, and hence was not suited as the basis of a classification which should include even Semitic sounds. Still, as one of the earliest, and down to the present day one of the acutest, and as embracing the earliest forms of speech to which our own language belonged, it should be first considered. If the old commentators had paid equal attention to the Indian dialects, little would have remained to be done now.

In the following table I have endeavoured to exhibit the old Indian classification, giving it first in the transcription of Sanscrit used by Prof. Whitney, and secondly in the palaeotypic equivalents which result from my own investigations (pp. 1136–1140, and places there cited). And as the old phonological treatises are not remarkably accessible, I give the text and translation of the rules bearing on this classification in Prof. Whitney's *Atharva-Vêda Prâtiçâkhya*, with additions from his notes. The general reader will thus, for the first time, be put into a position to understand an early native classification of an alphabetic system which is the foundation of his own.

In this classification the repetition of some letters in different classes is due to difference of opinion in native commentators. In the palaeotypic interpretation the cerebrals are still distinguished as (T D N R), as proposed on (1096, *e'*). The *y v* are marked as (J V), but I believe them to have been originally diphthongising vowels, as (iá ái, uá áu), and to have been only recently squeezed into (J V), compare (1103, *d*). Also the (ee oo) are retained, because it is clear

that these junctures of (ái áu) were established at the time of the old rules cited, though the original diphthongal form admits of no doubt. When (ɹ i ii ee áai) come together, therefore, in this table, they properly illustrate the vowel (i) only, of which (ii) is the mere prolongation; (ɹ) and (áai) shew the initial and final diphthongising forms, and (ee) the juncture from (ái). Similarly for (v u uu oo áau).

Sanscrit systematic arrangement of the Alphabet, as deduced from the Rules of the Indian Phonologists.

(1.) *Prof. Whitney's Symbols.*

	Guttural.	Palatal.	Lingual.	Dental.	Labial.	
surd	*k*	*c*	*ṭ*	*t*	*p*	
surd-aspirate and surd-spirant	*kh ḥk*	*ch ç*	*ṭh sh*	*th s*	*ph ḥp*	*ḥ*
sonant	*g a â ṛ ḷ*	*j y i l e ái*	*ḍ r ṛ*	*d r ṛ l ḷ*	*b v u û o áu*	
sonant-aspirate, and sonant-spirant	*gh*	*jh*	*ḍh*	*dh*	*bh*	*h*
nasal	*ṅ*	*ñ*	*ṇ*	*n*	*m*	*ṁ*

(2.) *Presumed Palaeotypic Equivalents.*

	Guttural.	*Palatal.*	*Coronal.*	*Dental.*	*Labial.*	*Undifferentiated.*
Mute	k	kɟ	ʳ	ˌt	p	
Flated	kɭh kh	kɟh ɟh	ʳɭh sh	ˌtɭh ˌs	pɭh ph	ɭh
Voiced	g a aa 'r 'l	gɟ ɹ i ii ee áai	ᴅ ʀ 'ʀ	{ ˌd ˌr 'ˌr ˌl 'ˌl }	{ b v u uu oo áau }	['h]
Bleated	gɛ	gɟɛ	ᴅɛ	ˌdɛ	bɛ	ɛ
Nosed	q	nɟ	ᴎ	ˌn	m	(ˌ)

Rules of the Indian Phonologists,

Taken, Sanscrit and English, from Prof. Whitney, *op. cit.* (1131, *e'*), the parts between inverted commas being the Sanscrit text transliterated as above and Prof. Whitney's translation, the rest (except references to this work, palaeotype, and parts included in [ ],) being an abridgment of some of the information in Prof. Whitney's notes on the rules. Only such rules are given as bear upon the classification, and they are referred to as i. 3, book the first, rule the third, etc.

i. 3. "*padântyaḥ padyaḥ.* A letter capable of occurring at the end of a word is called a final (*padya*)."

i. 4. "*anḷkâraḥ svaraḥ padyaḥ.* Any vowel, excepting *ḷ*, may occur as final." The Rik Pr. also excepts *ṛ* long.

i. 5. "*lakâravisarjanîyau ka.* Also *l* and *visarjanîya.*"

i. 6. "*sparçâḥ prathamottamâḥ.* Of the mutes, the first and last of each series," that is, *k ṭ t p, ṅ ṇ n m; c* and *ñ* being excepted by the following rule.

i. 7. "*na cavargaḥ.* Excepting the palatal series," that is, *c* and *ñ*, the *ch, jh*, being excluded by previous rule.

i. 10. "*dvitîyacaturthâḥ soshmâṇaḥ.* The second and fourth of each series are aspirates" [see (1131, *e'*) for comments].

i. 11. "*uttamâ anunâsikâḥ.* The last in each series is nasal." The Rik and Vâj. Pr. describe the nasal mutes as *anunâsika*, as does the Tâitt. Pr., including with them *anusvâra.*

i. 12. 13. "*çvâso-ghoshebvanupradânaḥ; nâdo ghoshavaṭsvareshu.* In the surd consonants the emission is breath; in the sonant consonants and vowels it is sound." [The literal rendering of

'surd,' root *çvas*, is 'breathed,' that is, 'flated;' of 'sonant,' root *nad*, is 'spoken,' that is, 'voiced;' of 'emission,' *anuprâdana*, is 'emitted material;' of *aghosha*, is 'without sound,' that is, mute; and of *ghoshavant*, is 'sounding.' It is evident that where no voice was used, the result was not considered sound proper.] The commentator enumerates the sonants as vowels, sonant mutes, semivowels, *h*, and the *yamas* of *g* and *gh*. The *yamas*, or 'twins,' are thus defined in Tâitt. Pr.: "after a mute not nasal, when followed by a nasal, are inserted in each case nose sounds (*nâsikya*); these some call *yamas*," [that is, nasalised voice differentiated according to the preceding mute, before being differentiated according to the following, so that *atma* requires a generated *n* to be inserted between *t* and *m*, thus (atnma).]

i. 18. "*mukhe viçeshâḥ karaṇasya*. In the mouth there are differences of producing organ." 'That is position (*sthâna*) to which approach is made; that is organ (*karaṇa*) by which approach is made,' according to the commentator.

i. 19. "*kaṇṭhyânâmadharakaṇṭhaḥ*. Of the throat-sounds, the lower part of the throat is the producing organ." [See discussion (1134, *b*–1135, *b*).]

i. 20. "*jihvâmûlîyânâṁ hanumûlam*. Of the gutturals, the base of the jaw is the producing organ." The word translated gutturals means 'formed at the base of the tongue.' The commentator assigns as gutturals the *ṛ* vowels, see (1146, *c*), the guttural mutes, *k kh g gh ṅ*, the *jihvâmûlîya* 'spirant,' or (kh), see (1134, *a*), and the vowel *ḷ*. By *hanumûla*, 'root or base of the jaw,' must be here understood, it should seem, the posterior edge of the hard palate.

i. 21. "*tâlavyânâṁ madhyajihvam*. Of the palatals, the middle of the tongue is the producing organ." The commentator enumerates *e âi y, ç e ch j jh ñ* and the vowel *i*. [The expression 'middle of the tongue' exactly corresponds to the modern sound described (1120, *c*); *tâlu* is 'palate.']

i. 22. "*mûrdhanyânâṁ jihvâgraṁ prativeshṭitam*. Of the linguals, the tip of the tongue, rolled back, is the producing organ." [See the discussion (1094, *a*–1096, *c*).] The word *mûrdhan* means 'head,' hence an exact translation of *mûrdhanya* would be 'capital.' Müller holds *mûrdhan* to be used directly for 'dome of the palate,' but it must be so taken, if at all, indirectly, as the highest point of the head which the tongue is capable of reaching. [Hence my term 'coronal' (1096, *c*).] The commentator gives as this series *sh, ṭ ṭh ḍ ḍh ṇ*, and fortifies his assertion by adding the half verse *mûrdhasthânaṁ shakârasya ṭavargasya tathâ matam*. They are known in all the Pr. by the same name, and the Vâj. Pr. and Tâitt. Pr. describe them in the same manner. [The question of inversion or simple retraction of tongue—Prof. Whitney uses the ambiguous term 'reversion'—depends on the meaning of *prativeshṭitam* = back-rolled. The term is too vague, and may mean a further retraction than in the English (t).] The semivowel *r* and vowel *ṛ* are in the Paninean scheme.

i. 23. "*shakârasya droṇikâ*. Of *sh*, the trough-shaped tongue is the producing organ," from *droṇa*, a 'wooden tub or trough.'

i. 24. "*dantyânâṁ jihvâgnaṁ prastîrṇam*. Of the dentals, the tip of the tongue thrust forward is the producing organ." The commentator gives the series *l s, t th d dh n*, and the Vâj. Pr. adds *ḷ*. The Rik Pr. makes the class consist of *l s r, t th d dh n*. The Tâitt. Pr. defines the same letters, except *r*, as formed, *dantamûleshu*, 'at the roots of the teeth' [that is, 'alveolar,' rather than 'dental'], the *t*-series, and *s* as produced by the tip, and the *l* as produced with the middle of the tongue. [This ought to make it palatal = (lj).]

i. 25. "*oshṭhyânâmdharaushṭham* (or *-oshṭhyam*). Of the labials, the lower lip is the producing organ." The labials are *o âu, p ph b bh m*, the *upadhmânîya* spirant [(ph), see (1132, *b*)], and the vowel *u û*. Here *v* is omitted, doubtless by fault of copyist, as it is not otherwise placed. The Vâj. Pr. adds further, that in the utterance of *v* the tips of the teeth are employed, and so in Tâitt. Pr., its commentator explaining that in the utterance of the letter the points of the upper teeth are placed on the edge of the lower lip. [See discussion (1103, *c*).]

i. 26. "*nâsikyânâṁ nâsikâ*. Of the nose-sounds, the nose is the producing organ." The commentator cites *ṅ ñ ṇ n m, anusvâra*, and the generated nasals, that is, *nâsikya* after *h* i. 100, and *yamas* after mutes i. 99.

i. 27. "*anunâsikânâṁ mukhanâsikam.* Of the nasalised sounds, the mouth and nose together are the producing organs." The Tâitt. Pr. says, "nasal quality is communicated by the unclosing of the nose."

i. 28. "*rephasya dantamûlâni.* Of *r*, the roots of the teeth are the producing organs." There is a considerable difference of opinion respecting *r* among Indian phonologists. Rik Pr. includes it among dentals as *dantamûlîya* (see i. 24 above), but adds that others regard it as gingival. Vâj. Pr. makes it to be produced at roots of teeth by tip of tongue. Tâitt. Pr. by the tip and middle of tongue, close behind roots of teeth. The Paninean scheme makes it *mûrdhanya.* [See (1138, *a*). Probably several modes of forming *r*, dependent on the adjacent consonants, are confused under one symbol.]

i. 29. "*spṛshṭaṁ sparçânâṁ karaṇam.* In the case of mutes the organ forms a contact." From this contact *sparça* the mutes derive their name [literally, 'contact letters'].

i. 30. "*ishatspṛshṭamantaḥsthânâm.* In the case of the semivowels, it is partially in contact." The Rik Pr. calls it *duḥspṛshṭam*, 'imperfectly or hardly in contact.' The word *antaḥsthâ*, 'intermediate, standing between,' as applied to the semivowels *y r l v*, is supposed to refer to their alphabetic arrangement, between the mutes and spirants, but more probably refers to their neither forming a complete contact like the mutes, nor an open position like the vowels.

i. 31. *ûshmaṇâḥ vivṛtaṁ ka.* In the case of spirants it is also open." The *ka* should make these *ishatspṛshṭam*, or partially open. The Tâitt. Pr. says the spirants, in their order, are uttered in the positions of the mutes, but with the middle part of the producing organ opened. The Rik Pr. includes the vowels *anusvâra* and spirants together, as produced without contact. The Rik Pr. makes the spirants to be *ḥ* (*visarjanîya*), *h ḥk* (*jihvâmûlîya*), *ç, sh, s*, and *ḥp* (*upadhmânîya*), and *anusvâra;* the Vâj. Pr. only *ç sh s h;* the Tâitt. Pr. omits the *visarjanîya* and *anusvâra.*

i. 32. "*svarâṇâṁ ka.* In the case of the vowels also it is open."

i. 33. "*eke spṛshṭam.* Some consider it as forming a contact." No one of the other treatises favours this obviously and grossly incorrect opinion.

i. 34. "*ekâraukârayorvivṛtatamam.* In the case of *e* and *o* it is very widely open." [That is, these were even at that time *very* open vowels, compare (1137, *a*).]

i. 35. "*tato -pyâkârasya.* And even more so, in the case of *â*."

i. 36. "*saṁvṛto -kâraḥ.* The *a* is obscured." In Vâj. Pr. and Pâṇini, *a* is ordered to be treated as qualitatively the same as *â*, implying that it was not so in practice. The Tâitt. and Rik Pr. do not notice any difference in the quality of *a, â.*

i. 37. "*saṁspṛshṭarephmṛvarṇam.* The *ṛ*-vowels are combined with an *r*." [This seems to give ('r) or ('ṛ).]

i. 39. "*salakâramḷvarṇam.* The *ḷ*-vowels are combined with an *l*." [This gives ('ḷ).]

i. 40. "*saṁdhyaksharâṇi saṁspṛshṭavarṇânyekavarṇavadvṛttiḥ.* The diphthongs are composed of combined vowels; their treatment is that of a simple vowel." Here *saṁdhyakshara* is literally 'syllable of combination,' and is the usual name for a diphthong, and *samânâkshara*, 'homogeneous syllable,' is sometimes used for the simple vowel as opposed to the diphthong. The diphthongs are *e o âi âu.* [Of course originally (âi, âu, âai, âau).]

i. 41. "*nâikârâukârayoḥ sthânavidhâu.* Not so, however, with *âi* and *âu*, in a rule of position." The commentator's paraphrase is *âikârâukârayoḥ sthânavidhâne ekavarṇavad vṛttir na bhavati.* What the meaning and value of the rule is, is not altogether clear; it may forbid the inclusion of *âi* among palatals only, and *âu* among labials only, since they are also both throat-sounds.

Prof. Whitney, moved probably by his study of this classification, seems to have developed from it his 'unitary' arrangement (1289, *d*), which is here given from the *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, vol. 8, p. 372, first in his own letters, and then in their palaeotypic equivalents. His position of *h* depends upon his theory that it is the common surd of all those sonant letters which are too open

to have each its own individual surd," see the discussion, beginning (1141, *d'*).

This scheme has the advantage of being a mere skeleton, and consequently evades most of the difficulties which arise when we attempt to clothe it in full. But as a skeleton, it will be found very useful and suggestive.

Prof. Whitney's Unitary Alphabet.

Sonant	*a*			Vowels.	a			
	a *e*	*a* *o*			æ	ʌ		
	e	*o*			e	o		
	i	*u*			i	u		
	y	*r, l*	*w*	Semivowels	ɹ	r, l	w	
	ṅ	*n*	*m*	Nasals	q	n	m	
Surd	*h*			Aspiration	ɦ			
Sonant	*γ*	*z*	*v*	Fricatives	gh	z	v	
Surd	*χ*	*s*	*f*		kh	s	f	
Sonant	*g*	*d*	*b*	Mutes	g	d	b	
Surd	*k*	*t*	*p*		k	t	p	
	Palatal series	Lingual series	Labial series					

No systematic arrangement can be complete which disregards the Semitic series of sounds; but at present there is so much division of opinion among phonologists respecting them, and they differ so widely from European usages, that it seems best to pass them over, especially as my own knowledge of them as heard from natives, is more than thirty years old, and was obtained at a time when my phonologic ideas were very crude. Lepsius, however, includes them in his general alphabet (*Standard Alphabet*, p. 76), which here follows in palaeotype, the Arabic sounds being given according to his (much disputed) theories. Lepsius's interest was chiefly transcriptive, and is only partly or incidentally physiological. He uses chiefly Roman, but some Greek and a few new characters, with diacritical dots, hooks, accents, marks, etc.

Consonants of Lepsius's General Alphabet.

	explosivae v. dividuae			*fricativae v. continuae*			*ancipites.*	
	fortes.	lenes.	nasales.	fortes.	lenes.	semi vocales.		
I. Faucales	ɛ	;		*h* ʜh				
		ʁ						
II. Gutturales	k	g	q	kh	gh		*r*	
III. Palatales	kj	gj	qj	kjh sh shj	gjh zh zhj	*ɹ*		lj
IV. Cerebrales (Indicae)	ʈ	ɖ	ɴ	*s*h	*z*h		ʀ	ʟ
V. Linguales (Arabicae)		*d*(*t*)		*s*	*z*, *d*h			
VI. Dentales	ˌt	ˌd	ˌn	ˌs, th	ˌz, dh		ˌr	ˌl
VII. Labiales	p	b	m	f	v	w		

Brücke (1287, *d'*) has not given a tabular scheme, although he has developed a system of writing. His classification of consonants, in reference to his alphabetical signs, is here reproduced in brief, because it is strictly physiological, and because the state of the glottis is throughout carefully indicated.

1. Voiced consonants may be shut (*verschusslaut*), continuant or fricative (*reibungsgeräusch*), an L-sound, trilled (*zitterlaut*), or resonant in the nose (*resonant*), and may be articulated in three principal places:

a. With the lips, solely, or with lips and teeth.

b. With tip of tongue and palate, 1) *alveolar*, 2) *cerebral*, 3) *dorsal*, 4) *dental*.

c. With back of tongue and palate, 1) middle of hard palate, 2) back part of hard palate, 3) soft palate.

These are illustrated by signs, to be thus translated:

(b), lips shut.
(v), lips and teeth, fricative.
(m), lips, nasal.
(z), alveolar, fricative.
(dh), dental, fricative.
(ˌl) dental, L-sound.
(ˌr) dental, trill.
(*j*) back of tongue and middle of hard palate, fricative.
(*r*) back of tongue and soft palate, trill.

2 State of the larynx:

a. Closed glottis. Vocal chords in position for voice ('h); no sign.

b. Open glottis. Vocal chords apart as for breathing; its sign united with sign for (ə) gives German *h* ('h); with sign for (b) gives sign for *p*, which is therefore (pɦ); with sign for (dh) gives sign for (th).

c. Position for the *wheezing* breath ('*h*), which is taken to have the chords 'nicked in' by the arytenoid cartilages, and hence to be different from that described by Czermak (1130, *b*).

d. Position for whisper ("h), see (1128, *c'*), which Brücke attributes to the Saxon letters regarded by Merkel as imploded (1097, *c'*).

e. Larynx closed by epiglottis and arytenoid cartilages (ˌ), united with those shut consonants which do not come under (*b*). The check (ˌ) and clear glottid (ˌ) are not distinguished (1129, *d'*. 1130, *a*).

f. Trill of glottis (ꞁ).

g. The *ain*-action of glottis continued through the vowel ($_e$), see (1134, *d'*), always united with a vowel.

h. Direction to put more metallic quality into the voice; [this affects the following vowel, and must be mainly contrived in the resonant chambers].

i. Direction to deepen, or put more roundness into the voice; [this is also mainly a question of the resonance chamber; these two last are for the effect of Arabic letters on the following vowel; the effect here intended seems to be the ($_2$) of (1107, *c*), and is recognised as present in the Russian ($_{Y_2}$)].

3. Consonants with two places of articulation. "When a consonant has to be noted, for which there are two straits, one behind the other, either of which separately would give its own fricative, the signs for each are written in succession." Thus (zh) is written as alveolar, between back of tongue and back of hard palate, fricative; to which for (sh) is added: open glottis.

4 Consonants with double sound. As (grh), written: between back of tongue and back of hard palate, fricative, trill; to which in the case of (krh) is added: open larynx.

Compound sounds are expressed by groups of symbols; thus German *z*, taken as (ˌtˌs), is: alveolar, shut, open glottis+alveolar, fricative, open glottis; ancient Greek ζ, taken as (ˌdˌz), is: alveolar, shut,+alveolar, fricative. Italian *c* before *e*, taken as (ˌtsh), is: alveolar, shut, open glottis, +alveolar, between back of tongue and back of hard palate, fricative, open glottis, etc.

This extremely ingenious and philosophical method of writing, of which various specimens are given in numerous languages, printed in movable types, becomes, in Dr. Brücke's words, at least for his consonants, *eine beredte Zeichensprache*, literally, "a speech-endowed sign-language"—a term closely approaching to that chosen by Mr. Melville Bell, whose "Visible Speech" has been so much used.

On (1121, *e*) I found it necessary to give a new palaeotypic symbolisation of Mr. Bell's columns 2 and 3, p. 15, and on pp. 1125–6 I had to reconsider some parts of cols. 5 and 9, which I have now still further studied. It will therefore be best to reproduce the palaeotypic equivalents of all his table on p. 15, except the vowels. In the following table I annex Mr. Bell's own nomenclature, which may be compared with Brücke's. The columns and lines refer to Mr. Bell's symbols (15, *a*).

Mr. Melville Bell's Consonants.

		Voiceless.				*Voiced.*				
		Back.	Front.	Point.	Lip.	Back voice.	Front voice.	Point voice.	Lip voice.	
		1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4	
primary	*a*	kh	ɹh	r₀h	ph	gh	ɹ	r₀	bh	*g*
mixed	*b*	k*w*h	s	sh	wh	g*w*h	z	zh	w	*h*
divided	*c*	*l*h	lɹh	lh	f	*l*	lɹ	l	v	*i*
mixed divided	*d*	*lw*h	th	*t*h	fh	*lw*	dh	*d*h	vh	*k*
shut	*e*	k	kɹ	t	p	g	gɹ	d	b	*l*
nasal	*f*	qh	qɹh	nh	mh	q	qɹ	n	m	*m*

Mr. Melville Bell's Aspirate, Glides, Modifiers.

	5	9	10	5	9	10	
	''h voice glide	ʜ₁ aspirate	· accent	''*w* round voice glide	¸ trilled	'h: emission stopped	*g*
b	'r₀ back glide	ʜ¹ throat	[*doubled letter*] length	'r₀*w* round back glide	'ʜ¹ throat voice	‡ suction stopped	*h*
c	'ɹ front glide	; throat shut	) hiatus	'wj round front glide	` outer	┼ inverted [back]	*i*
d	'r₀ point glide	‘ nasal	·, abrupt	'r₀*w* round point glide	´ inner	† protruded [lip]	*k*
e	'bh lip glide	ʌ nasal mixed	: stopped	'w round lip glide	ı close	§ § divided, and unilateral	*l*
f	''h breath glide.	'h*w* whistle	¸ suction	''ʜ¹ throat voice glide	ı open	* link	*m*

Mr. Melville Bell's consonant arrangement, as thus shewn, is based on the following distinctions. In the original symbols the open glottis is not considered in relation to the consonants, but *voiceless* and *voiced* forms alone are symbolised. He has subsequently added a mark for *whispered* as distinguished from voiced forms, but he has not yet found it necessary to distinguish the open glottis, except by adding his 9*a* = (ʜ₁) or 5*f* = (''h) to the (1127, *d*) shut consonant. Only four places of articulation are distinguished, col. 1 *back* of tongue and palate, col. 2 *front*, that is, middle of tongue and palate, col. 3

point, that is, tip of tongue and palate, and col. 4 *lips*. But by signs for *outer* or advanced (‿) = 9*i*, and *inner* or retracted (‿) = 9*k*, and for *open* (₁) = 9*m*, or *close* (¹) = 9*l*, these are practically extended to 20. Confining attention to the consonants:

The lines *a*, *g*, are continuants with "the organic aperture contracted to a central chink," *a* voiceless, *g* voiced.

Lines *c* and *i* are continuants with the "organic aperture *divided* by a central check." In the case of (l) this is very intelligible, but for (f) and (v), although there is the 'central check' in the shape of the teeth, this only acts as a sharp wind squeezer, and makes the hiss or buzz more decided. See Dr. Stone's observations (1331, *d'*). The union of (l) and (v) in one class is liable to considerable reclamation. Line *c* is voiceless, and line *i* voiced.

Lines *b*, *d*, voiceless, and *h*, *k*, voiced, give peculiar means of obtaining the simultaneous action of two of the former positions, of which the first mentioned in each case is the most prominent. These signs might be entirely dispensed with, and thus answer really to Brücke's third series (1340, *c'*). Thus for line *b*, (*kw*h) is taken to be (kh+ph), but (wh) to be (ph+kh), and again (s) = (ɹh+r̥h), but (sh) = (r̥h+ɹh). As respects these last, Mr. Graham Bell at least has just reversed the combination of the symbols (1121, *e*). Again, for line *d*, we must suppose (*lw*h) = (*l*h+f), but (fh) = (f+*l*h), and (th) = (lɹh+lh), but (*l*h) = (lh+lɹh). The two last will probably be disputed. With regard to (th) Mr. Bell says (*V. S.* p. 58): "the 'front-mixed-divided' consonant (th) has its centre check at the *tip* of the tongue, and its apertures between the edges of the flattened point and the teeth or the upper gum:—the front of the tongue having considerable convexity within the arch of the palate." It is difficult to see how the form of the symbol and its relation to (ɹh) or (lh) shews this, unless (lh) is taken as very dental (‿lh). Although the back of the tongue is raised for (th) almost as much as for (ɹh), yet the action between the tongue and teeth is most marked, and the stream of air is only squeezed, not divided, by the teeth.

Lines *e* voiceless and *l* voiced are merely the ordinary shut positions, and lines *f* voiceless and *m* voiced the corresponding nasal positions.

For the aspirate, glides and modifiers, after again considering the discussion on pp. 1125–8, respecting 5 *a*, *f*, 9 *a*, *b*, *c*, *h*, *l*, *m*, and 10 *c*, *e*, *f*, I believe that the marks placed in the present table are the best palaeotypic equivalents of Mr. Bell's symbols, according to the principles developed in this chapter. Observe that the glides have all (") before them, which mark would be placed against or over the preceding or following vowel (1099, *d'*). To agree with Mr. Bell's system of notation, voiced-consonant forms are given to all the glides, except 5*a*, *f*, *g*, *m* = ("h, "ʿh, "*w*, "ɜ¹), the last of which I was never able properly to separate from 5 *a* ("h), even when I heard Mr. Bell pronounce it. I have, however, in practice generally thought it best to use vowel-signs as marks of his glides, thus (áə) for (ár̥), (ái) for (áɹ), (áu) for (áw). In fig. 4 of a plate accompanying Mr. A. Graham Bell's "Visible Speech as a means of communicating articulation to deaf mutes" (Washington, U.S. 1872, pp. 34), I find that in place of the glide 5 *l* in *pole*, (pówl) according to Mr. Melville Bell, Mr. Graham Bell writes a vowel-sign small, answering exactly to (póul). This was first suggested, I believe, by Mr. H. Sweet. The use of ("h) for 5 *f* is my last appreciation of this sign, and agrees in the main with (1127, *b'*).

Mr. Melville Bell's Key-words.

The following list contains the examples by which Mr. Melville Bell illustrates these signs (*V.S.* pp. 93–4), and for convenience I give them in the order of the above table, referring to column and line and annexing the palaeotype. When two palaeotypic signs are given, the first accurately translates Mr. Bell's sign; and the second gives the form I usually employ for the sound indicated by the example.

Abbreviations.

a.	American	it.	Italian
c.	Cockney	p.	Polish
e.	English	pec.	peculiar
f.	French	sc.	Scotch
ga.	Gaelic	sp.	Spanish
ge.	German	w.	Welsh
h.	Hungarian	z.	Zulu
ir.	Irish		

Key-words.

1 *a*. (kh) na*ch* ge., po*ch* sc.
1 *b*. (*kw*h) au*ch* ge., sou*gh* sc.

1 *c*. (*l*h) hiss of water fowl.
1 *d*. (*lw*h).
1 *e*. (k) *c*, *k*, *q*, e., (ˌk) = my (kj) kind e.
1 *f*. (qh) si*n*k e., compare (1141, *a*).
1 *g*. (gh) ta*g*e ge., (ˌgh) = my (gjh) zei*g*e ge., (gbʲ) = my (grh) burred *r*.
1 *h*. (g*w*h) variety of *g* ge., and of defective *r* e.
1 *i*. (*l*) *l*aogh ga., barred *l* p.
1 *k*. (*lw*) labialised variety of *l* ga.
1 *l*. (g) *g*o e., (ˌg) = my (gj) guide e.
1 *m*. (q) si*ng* e.

2 *a*. (ɹh) i*ch* ge. [I hear (ikjh), which would be Mr. Bell's (iˌkh)].
2 *b*. (s) *s*, *c*, e., (ˌs) *c*iudad sp. [doubtful].
2 *c*. (lɟh) variety of defective *s*.
2 *d*. (th) *th*in e.
2 *e*. (kɟ) variety of *t*, see (1120, *b*).
2 *f*. (qɟh) variety of [voiceless] *n*.
2 *g*. (ɹ) *y*es e.
2 *h*. (z) *z*eal e., (ˌz) *d*, final, sp. [doubtful].
2 *i*. (lɟ) *ll*ano sp., *g*li it. [These sounds are (lj) or (ˌlj), not (lɟ), the distinction consisting in the tip of the tongue touching the palate or gums for (lj, ˌlj), and being held down for (lɟ), the *middle* of tongue comes in contact with hard palate for all three.]
2 *k*. (dh) *th*en e.
2 *l*. (gɟ) Ma*gy*ar h. [properly (dj), see 2 *i*.]
2 *m*. (qɟ) Boulo*gn*e f. [The French sound is neither (qɟ) nor (qj), but (nj) or (ˌnj), see 2 *i*.]

3 *a*. (r꜀h) thé*â*tre f. [colloquially (ˌrh), never with untrilled, (r꜀h)], -*rh* w. [never untrilled in Welsh].
3 *b*. (sh) *sh*ow e., *ch*aud f.
3 *c*. (lh) temp*l*e f. [colloquially (ˌlh)], fe*l*t e., see (1141, *a*).
3 *d*. (*l*h) *ll* w., *hl* z., see p. 756, n. 2.
3 *e*. (t) *t*ie e. [The foreign (ˌt, ˌˌt) do not seem to have been noticed.]
3 *f*. (nh) te*n*t e. See (1141, *a*).
3 *g*. (r꜀) *r*ace e., (r꜀ʲ) = my (r) *r* sc. sp., etc.
3 *h*. (zh) plea*s*ure e., *j*our f.
3 *i*. (l) *l*ie e. [The foreign (ˌl, ˌˌl) not noticed. See 3 *e*.]
3 *k*. (*d*h) *dhl* z. See (756, *d*').
3 *l*. (d) *d*ie e. [The foreign (ˌd, ˌˌd) not noticed. See 3 *e*.]
3 *m*. (n) si*n* e. [The foreign (ˌn, ˌˌn) not noticed. See 3 *e*.]

4 *a*. (ph) variety of *f* or *wh*. See (514, *c*'. 518, *b*. 542, *c*. 1099, *c*).
4 *b*. (wh) *wh*y e.
4 *c*. (f) *f*ie e.
4 *d*. (fh) gutturalised variety of *f*.
4 *e*. (p) *p*ie e.
4 *f*. (mh) lamp e. (1141, *a*), m*h*m sc.
4 *g*. (bh) *w*eg ge., *b* sp.
4 *h*. (w) *w*ay e.
4 *i*. (v) *v*ie e.
4 *k*. (vh) gutturalised variety of *v*.
4 *l*. (b) *b*uy e.
4 *m*. (m) see*m* e.

5 *a*. ("h) va'ry e. [that is (vée'h·r꜀ʲ), for which I write (vee'·rʲ), with the reduction of ('h) to (') for convenience, and the trilled (r)].
5 *b*. ('r꜀) a*r*e, smooth burr, e. dialects [that is (áa*r*) or (aa*r*), as distinct from (aa.*r*)].
5 *c*. ('ɹ) di*e* e. da*y* e. [that is (dáɹ déɹ), which I write (dəʲí dæʲj)].
5 *d*. ('r꜀) a*r*e e. [that is (áar꜀), which I write (aa') or (aa), not distinguishing 5 *a*, and 5 *d*'].
5 *e*. ('bh) l*ui* fr. [that is (lbhí) or (lbhi), in place of (lwjí) or (lyí)].
5 *f*. ("h) p'aper ir. [that is (p"hææ-), where I hear (pʜ'hææ-) or (pɟhææ-); hence this is the sign for Sanscrit surd aspirates, see (1127, *b*')].
5 *g*. ("*w*) no*w* a. and e. [that is (ná'*w*)ᵊ, (or (næ"*w*) not quite (náu, næ'u)].
5 *h*. ('r꜀*w*) not [exemplified, possibly a burred ou*r* (áur꜀*w*)].
5 *i*. ('wj) ne*w* north ir. [possibly (níwj) or (níy), found in Norfolk)].
5 *k*. ('r꜀*w*) ou*r* e. [that is (áur꜀*w*), my (ə'u')].
5 *l*. ('w) no*w* e. [that is (náw), my (nə'u)].
5 *m*. ("ʜ¹) a*r*e pec., "a semivowelised sound of 9 *h*." [See 9 *h*, the glide is shewn by the accent.]

9 *a*. (ʜ₁) *h*e e. [The new symbol (ʜ) is introduced to enable me to write Mr. Melville Bell's symbols 9 *a*, *b*, *h*, and 5 *m*, in accordance with his theories, which differ in this respect so greatly from my own that my symbols, although I use them freely in transliterating passages written phonetically by him, will not serve the present purpose, when everything turns upon representing his notion of the formation

of the sounds. The new symbol (ʜ) represents the passage of flatus, with a moderate degree of force, through "the super-glottal passage," or pharynx (that is, between the epiglottis and the position for (ˌk) or (ʜ), whence the form of the symbol), independently of its subsequent differentiation. The *open* state of this passage is shewn as usual by adding on 9 *m* (ˌ) thus: (ʜˌ). Of course the *effect* of (ʜˌii) is nearly (ˌhii), or even (ˌˌ'hii). No *jerk* (ʜ) seems contemplated. See (1125, *c'*) for description.]

9 *b*. (ʜ¹) vowel whisper. [See 9 *a*. Here the *contraction* of the super-glottal passage is shewn by adding 9 *l*. See description (1126, *b*). The effect is nearly (.'h) or (*h*). The distinction between (ʜˌ, ʜ¹) is marked by Bell's circular and elliptic form of symbol, see p. 15.]

9 *c*. (ˌ) bü'er for *butter*, west of Scotland

9 *d*. (ˌ). This sign "applied to any of the preceding consonants shews that the breath flows through the nose *as well as* through the symbolised configuration. The effect is to dull the oral sibillation, and to deprive the transitional action of percussiveness," (*V. S.* p. 55.) "Partial nasality without guttural modification—such as is heard in some of the American dialects, and from individual speakers — is represented by the ordinary nasal sign (ˌ) placed after the affected vowel." (*ibid.* p. 78.)

9 *e*. (ʌ). "When the nasal valve is opened simultaneously with the formation of a vowel, the breath or voice issues simultaneously, partly through the nostrils, and partly through the oral configuration. This, with a degree of 'gliding' semi-consonant contraction in the guttural passage, is the formation of the common French sounds represented by *n* after a vowel letter. To indicate the 'mixed nasal' or *naso-guttural* quality of these elements, the special symbol 9 *e* (ʌ) is provided. This symbol [see its shape on p. 15] is formed by uniting 9*a* (ʜ¹) subordinately with the ordinary nasal sign (ˌ)." (*V. S.* p. 77.) Hence systematically it should be rendered by (ʜˌ¹).

9 *f*. ('hw) [no example].

9 *g*. (ˌ). "Symbol (ˌ) denotes a loose *vibration* or quiver of the organ to which the symbol applies. Thus the tongue vibrates against the front of the palate in forming Scotch or Spanish R," this would make them to result from a *striking* and not a *free* reed action, and be (ˌr), but Mr. Bell writes the equivalent of (rˌ); "the uvula vibrates against the back of the tongue in producing the French R 'grasseyé' [literally, 'lisped,'] or the Northumbrian 'burr' (*r*). The lateral edges of the tongue vibrate in forming a close variety of L;" [this is apparently different from his 3 *i* = (l), and should be (l¹ˌ)]; "the lips vibrate when they are relaxed and closely approximated, (brh); and in the same way the edges of the throat-passage vibrate [? exact meaning], with a 'growling' effect, when the current of breath is intercepted by sufficiently close but loose approximation. Symbol (ˌ) thus refers to the element after which it is written; as ('hˌ) a flutter of the breath; ('hˌ) a quiver of the voice; ('ʜ¹ˌ) throat vibration; a 'gruff' whisper; ('ʜ¹ˌ) hoarse vibratory murmur:—'growling.'" (*V. S.* p. 47.)

9 *h*. ('ʜ¹), variety of defective *r*, emission of voice with the throat contracted. See description (1126, *a'*). [See 9 *a* and 9 *b*, to the last of which (') is prefixed to shew the buzz. See also end of last quotation about 9 *g*. The glide of this, of course, becomes ("ʜ¹), see 5 *m*.]

9 *i*. (ˌ), see examples to 1 *e*, *g*, *l*, 2 *a*.

9 *k*. (ˌ), see (1098, *b'*).

9 *l*. (¹), see (1107, *b*).

10 *a* to *m*. [no special examples are given].

In the preceding systems we commenced with an acute ancient classification confined essentially to one language, but that the most important for European investigations, the Sanscrit; and from this proceeded to Prof. Whitney's skeleton arrangement, which contemplated some of the derived languages. Thence we passed to Lepsius's, which embraced the Semitic as well as the Aryan forms of speech, but was also incomplete and sketchy. From this we proceeded to two physiological arrangements. Dr. Brücke was mainly influenced by German habits, and, as shewn by his examples, his acquaintance with other European pronunciations, and even with middle and south German habits, left much to be desired. He had, however, endeavoured to examine the Arabic sounds with great care. His consonantal scheme professed to be purely physiological, and hence to be applicable to all languages, although his vowel scheme, founded on the triangle already exhibited (1287, *c*), was purely literary. Mr. Melville Bell's scheme is physiological both for vowels and consonants, and, though his physiological knowledge is of course greatly inferior to that of such an eminent professional physiologist as Brücke, and hence makes default in hidden laryngal actions, he has produced a system which is admirable in its general arrangements. But it is quite impossible that any one with a limited knowledge of the living habits of speakers can succeed even in the analysis, much less in the synthesis, of spoken sounds. In pondering over the possibilities of vocal effects producible by our organs of speech, we are constantly liable to omit forms quite common to other nations, because they are totally unfamiliar to ourselves, while we may excogitate theoretical sounds which no one has ever adopted. I shall conclude, therefore, by giving two arrangements of consonants which have been chiefly formed by an examination of sounds heard, and not so much by hypothetical construction. Of course these two systems are not purely observational or purely literary. Both schemes inevitably contain some theoretical sounds suggested by others observed, and both classifications are more or less founded on the organs in or near contact.

The first of these is Prof. Haldeman's (1186, *d*), which has already been given for English only (1189, *c*), so that no long explanations will be necessary. The great peculiarities of Prof. Haldeman's investigations are—1) an examination of literary languages, when possible by personal audition; 2) an examination of many North American Indian languages, which other phonologists have disregarded, but which are full of curious phenomena; 3) great attention to the synthetic effects of speech sounds in modifying their character, and to synthesis in general; 4) in notation, an endeavour to make his symbols a real extension of the Roman alphabet, to the extent of not using any symbol in an un-Latin sense, according to his own theory of Latin pronunciation.

The following table is taken from Art. 577, compared with Art. 193*a*., of his *Analytic Orthography*. It was first published by him in the *Linnaean Record of Pennsylvania College*, for June, 1846.

Prof. Haldeman's Consonant System.

				a labial	*b* dental	*c* sigmal	*d* lingual	*e* cerebral	*f* palatal	*g* guttural	*h* faucal	*i* laryngal
INTERRUPTION	little LIQUIDS nasal	*sonant*	lenis 1	w, 'w,					ɹ,	ɹ, 'ɹ,		
			asper 2									
		surd	lenis 3									
			asper 4									
	little LIQUIDS pure	*sonant*	lenis 5	w 'w	l ˡr	r ɹ 'ɹ	*l*	L	ɹ₁	ɹ 'ɹ		
			asper 6		*l*hh	rzh						
		surd	lenis 7									
			asper 8	wh	lhh	rhh rsh			ɹ₁h	ɹh	ɸh	ʰ ʰ ʰ
	much MUTES nasal	*sonant*	lenis 1′	m	n		*n*	N	qɹ	q		
			asper 2′		*n*hh							
		surd	lenis 3′									
			asper 4′	mh	nh							
	much MUTES pure	*sonant*	lenis 5′	b	d		*d*	D		g		
			asper 6′	bh v		z zj			zh	gjh gh	gh	
		surd	lenis 7′	p	t		*t*	T		k	K K¹	;
			asper 8′	ph f		s sj	*s*	*s*h	sh	kjh kh	Kh	

Key-words and Explanations,

Arranged by the number of line and letter of column.

1 *a*. (w, ʼw,), nasal (w) as a separate element, and as a glide. "The effort to produce vocality may, perhaps, be transferred from the glottis to the contact, so that instead of (b, d, g), a modified (p, t, k) will occur, made with the points of contact (as the lips) flattened against each other, producing what we call a *flat* sound" (art. 181). In the case of the German, it is considered by Brücke as a whisper, and this notation is given by me, and by Merkel as an implosion (1097, *c*′). This is an element in Prof. Haldeman's classification, and he marks the lines 1, 2; 5, 6; 1′, 2′; 5′, 6′, as having *flat* sounds, in his theoretical scheme, art. 193*a*.

1 *f*. (ɹ1,), nasalised (ɹ1), or 5 *f*, which see.

1 *g*. (ɹ, ʼɹ,), nasalised (ɹ) as a separate form, and as a glide. "Nasal (ɹ,) occurs in *Jakutisch*, we have heard it in Cherokee" (art. 546*a*).

5 *a*. (w ʼw), the (w) as a separate element, and as a glide, see (1193, *b*′).

5 *b*. (l), "formed by a light contact of the tip of the tongue at or near the base of the upper teeth" (art. 469 *a*).

(ˡr), "an intermediate sound in Samojedic, which has more of the (smooth ?) *r* than *l*, although both are heard simultaneously" (art. 477), see (1133, *a*). Prof. H. uses the capital symbol Ꝛ, made by cutting an h.

5 *c*. (r ʼɹ ʼɹ), see (1194, *d*), where they are 16 c, 17 c, 18 c.

5 *d*. (*l*), Polish barred *l*, judged to belong to the Arabic.

5 *e*. (ɭ), supposed Sanscrit *l* with inverted tongue.

5 *f*. (ɹ1), see (1195, *d*′).

5 *g*. (ɹ ʼɹ), the (ɹ) as a separate element, and as a glide, see (1193, *c*′).

6 *b*. (*l*hh), "a vocal aspirate lh, which we attribute provisionally to Irish, its surd cognate being Welsh" (art. 198). "We think it occurs sonant in Irish, where it is considered to be a kind of *d*" (art. 474). Hence it is assumed to be the same as the Manx (*l*hh), see (756, *d*′), where note that (lhh) is, through a mistake on my part, erroneously said to occur in Manx.

6 *c*. (rzh), more properly (ʳzh), the Polish *rz*, (art. 512), [considered as (zh) with the tip of tongue trilled, as it seemed to me when I heard it, but I have since been assured, though I have not personally observed, that the (r) and (zh) are separate, and successive, not simultaneous].

7 *i*. (ˌ), "*hiatus* is a break or pause commonly caused by dropping an intermediate element, and not closing the remainder" (art. 560).

8 *a*. (wh), see (1194, *b*).

8 *b*. (lhh), "the surd Welsh aspirate *ll*. We have heard the Welsh *ll* in Creek Choctaw and Cherokee" (art. 474), see therefore (756, n. 2). "The following are examples from the musical Creek (an English name), more correctly (maskoo·ki), in which the name of the 'large river,' Withlacoochee, and 'figured rock river,' Chattahoochee, are respectively (úɹlhhlaku·tsi tsotuɴhu·tsi); the former from (úɹwa) water, and (lhhlaki) large, (lhhlakíma·ɴhi) larger, (lhhlaki·a) largest. All the vowels are short." (art. 475.) "We are doubtful whether the French *l*, *r*, of *simple*, *maître*, are whispered or surd aspirate," that is, whether they belong to lines 7 or 8, "but we incline to the former" (art. 476). This would give 7 *b* = (lh), 7 *c* = (rh), and make 8 *b* = (lhh), and 8 *c* = (rhh), a corresponding sound.

8 *c*. (rhh). "The Welsh surd aspirate *rh* may be the smooth element" [that is, the *lenis* or 7 *c*]. "We do not remember its character on this point," see (p. 759, n. 1).

(rsh). The surd of 6 *c*, which see.

8 *f*. (ɹ|h), see (1195, *d*′).

8 *g*. (ɹh), see (1194, *b*).

8 *h*. (ɭh), "the Sanscrit *visarga*" (art. 571), see (1132, *b*′).

8 *i*. (ɴh, *h*), see (1196, *a*).

1′ *a*. (m), usual.

1′ *b*. (n), usual, see 5 *b* for dentality.

1′ *d*. (*n*), "Lepsius adds a (theoretic?) *n* to the [Arabic lingual] series" (art. 489).

1′ *e*. (ɴ), presumed Sanscrit cerebral *n* with inverted tongue.

1′ *f*. (qɟ), "a Sanscrit letter, which should be located farther back than *r*, *s*. It may have been a French *j* nasal affiate (ʿzh,)" (art. 198). The Sanscrit character given is that which I now attribute to (qɟ), see (1137, *c*′).

1′ *g*. (q), usual si*ng*.

2′ *b*. (*n*hh). "Compare Albanian nj ɣ, (one) a nasal syllable" (art. 197). The character here given is chosen to harmonise with the sonant (*l*hh) = 8 *b*.

4′ *a*. (mh), voiceless (m).
4′ *b*. (nh), voiceless (n).

5′ *a*. (b), usual.
5′ *b*. (d), usual.
5′ *d*. (*d*), Arabic lingual.
5′ *e*. (ɒ), presumed Sanscrit cerebral with inverted tongue.
5′ *g*. (g), usual.

6′ *a*. (bh,) German *w*, Ellenic (Romaic) β, the sonant of φ. See (Arts. 126, 127, 451).
(v), English *v*.
6′ *c*. (z), usual.
(zj), Polish *z*′ (art. 490), see 8′ *c*.
6′ *f*. (zh), French *j*.
6′ *g*. (gjh), as *g* in könig*e*.
(gh), as *g* in betrog*e*n.
6′ *h*. (ɢh), "the 19th letter, *ghain*, of the Arabic alphabet" (art. 549), considered as *vibrating*, but as related to (ʁ), that is our (grh) is made = (ɢh).

7′ *a*. (p), usual.
7′ *b*. (t), usual, for dentality see 5 *b*.
7′ *d*. (*t*), Arabic lingual.
7′ *e*. (ʈ), presumed Sanscrit cerebral with inverted tongue.
7′ *g*. (k), usual.
7′ *h*. (ʁ), "the 21st letter of the Arabic alphabet" (art. 547).
(ʁ¹). "In the Waco of Texas, the entire surface, from the glottis to the (ʁ) position, forms a contact, which is opened suddenly and independent of the lungs, upon a vowel formation, producing a clack or smack like that which accompanies the separation of the closed palms when wet with soap and water. The preceding closure bears some resemblance to the incipient act of swallowing. We describe it from our method of producing it, and we were said to be the first person with whom it was not vernacular, who had acquired it," art. 573. The (ʁ¹) gives merely the position, (ʁ¹‡) is the full click, which is abbreviated to (g) on p. 11. The following are examples: ('gitiʔgʁ¹‡) eye, (ə·tsʁ¹‡) foot, (esʁ¹‡) hand.
7′ *i*. (ʔ), "*hamza* is a closure of the glottis" (art. 568).

8′ *a*. (ph), "It differs from (f) in not being made by the lower lip and the upper teeth, but by contact of both lips, as in blowing," art. 119.
8′ *b*. (f), usual.
8′ *c*. (s), usual.
(sj), Polish *ś*, considered as "between (German) *ssj* and *ssch*; we have heard such a one in the Waco (wee·ko) of Texas, as in (*i*skwe*e*tsj'), five, a word derived from that for *hand*, as in (Lenaa·pe) and Hebrew" (art. 490).
8′ *d*. (*s*), Arabic lingual.
8′ *e*. (*s*h), presumed Sanscrit cerebral *sh*, with inverted tongue.
8′ *g*. (kjh), *ch* in German i*ch*.
(kh), *ch* in German bu*ch*.
8′ *h*. (ʁh), "the seventh Arabic letter" (art. 548), taken to be vibrated, and hence as my (krh).

In the scheme, theoretical sounds are excluded, and many minute varieties left unnoticed. I here put in such as I have noted in Chap. XV., on the consonants, but there are many scattered elsewhere, which I have probably overlooked.

Art. 451, Nos. 12 and 13, and arts. 452, 463. (prh, brh), "the labial trill, a rapid alternation between (b bh) or (p ph). . . . The sonant labial trill is used in Germany to stop horses, and we have known a child who emphasised the word *push* by trilling the *p*, when desirous of being pushed to the table after having climbed into his chair."

Art. 472. "The *t*, *d*, in *tsh*, *dzh*, are drawn back by the following palatal, and in fact they may be considered as the lenis forms of *s*, *z*," that is (ʇsh, ʇdzh) are what he would write, see (1117, *d*).

Art. 483. (nh), "surd *afflate*," or blowing of flatus through the nose, "we have heard in Cherokee, and a forcible sonant form in Albanian," see 2′ *b*.

Art. 484–6. Indistinctness, for scarcely heard *m*, *n*, before *p*, *d*, etc. "We have heard this *n* in Wyandot (= wo·ndot), where the speaker denied its existence, and would not have written it had the language been a written one, as in (ꞌndokhk), four, and in the name of the town (skna·ꞌndenh·tutꞌh), beyond the pines, Skenectady, in New York, spelt *schenectady*, the *sch* being due to the Dutch. A slight (ꞌn), not (ꞌq), occurs before (g) in Wyandot (uuꞌngɪɹa·ʔ), nuts.

Art. 517. "In Sanscrit ष, according to Wilkins, 'is produced by applying the tip of the tongue to the fore part of the palate, and passing the voice as in pronouncing our *s*.'" "This," as Prof. H. observed in a letter dated 3 July, 1873, "would make it the true aspirate of *t*." See (1120, *c*').

Art. 525, Nos. 4 and 8, and art. 540. The Swiss and Modern Greek (krh, grh) are adduced, and an opinion is expressed that they are different from the Arabic sounds, which he writes (кh, ɢh), see 6' *h*, 8' *h*. The chief difference of the Swiss and Modern Greek sounds from the Arabic, to my ear, is that the former are much less forcibly pronounced than the latter. The Greek γ is very soft indeed, and might be written (ɣrh).

Art. 563. "The sign (ʿ) represents a slight phase, whether aspirate, or independent, or even vocal, at the close of abrupt syllables." The "aspirate" is true ('h) coming from the lungs (1127, *b*'), and the vocal is ('h), see (1154, *b*), the 'independent vowels' are *clicks* (‡h) or mouth puffs (≡), see (1334, *a*). Following Prof. H., but not entirely using his words or signs: (p'¡) is breath drawn in on opening the lips, (p⌊‡'¡) is "the sound made faintly by smokers when separating the lips under suction, (t.‡h) one of the clacks, having force," etc. (art. 447). "In the (Nadaa·ko),—an English name, An-a-dah-has, of Schoolcraft,—a Texan language, we have heard such a sound following *t*, with an effect as loud as spitting, and somewhat resembling it, as in (kaba·t.≡$_{o}$) thread, where the resonance is modified by an *o* cavity; (na·st.≡$_{a}$), paper; (.t≡$_{a}$)a·u|h), tooth, with final h, it may be considered a dissyllable; (нhâw.t≡$_{o}$), wind;—(к≡$_{a}$a^{a}s), thigh, a monosyllable, the vowel of medial length" (art. 447). There seems to be a little confusion between (≡) and (‡), but the whole observation is important in observing sounds. I have used the subscript ($_{o}$, $_{a}$) in (≡$_{o}$, ≡$_{a}$), to shew the form of the resonance cavity, instead of subjoining (*o*, ə) as Prof. H. has done.

Art. 551. "As independent (p≡$_{ph}$, t≡$_{th}$, k≡$_{kh}$) can be formed without air from the lungs, so in the Chinook of Oregon (к≡$_{кh}$) is similarly treated, according to the pronunciation of Dr. J. K. Townsend, which we acquired. In the following examples an allowance must be made for two personal equations: (beəк≡$_{кh}$ee·к≡$_{кh}$ee), grandmother; (к≡$_{кh}$âwк≡$_{кh}$âwəк≡$_{кh}$), yellow."

Art. 570. For "the Arabic and Hebrew *ain*, . . . the vowel is heard with a simultaneous faucal scrape, which may be regarded as a sufficient interruption to make it a modified liquid; and the vowel and scraping effect being simultaneous, they cannot be represented by a consonant character preceding a vowel one," as (ɢa), hence he writes a minute < below the vowel, answering to ($_{ɢ}$a), see (1130, *c*. 1134, *d*'. 1334, *c*).

The other of the two methods of arranging consonants previously referred to (1345, *c*), is by Prince Louis Lucien Bonaparte. It is not only the most extensive, and travels over much ground not touched by others, but it proceeds upon a principle which I think it important to enforce. Instead of attempting, from the narrow resources of a few languages, to predict all sounds that could be made, and erect almost *à priori* a set of physiological pigeon-holes, into which each sound could be laid—or squeezed, the Prince has endeavoured to ascertain what sounds are really used in those languages to which he has had access, and, as we have already seen (pp. 1300–7), these are not few, although limited in area, not embracing the Indian, Semitic, Chinese, Japanese, Malay, Polynesian, African, North and South American, and from each there is doubtless very much indeed to be learned, which may require new pigeon-holes to be constructed for their proper reception. The question with him was—and I trust it may become the question with phonologists generally, as thus they can chiefly secure the proper consummation of their own science, and render to philology the

assistance of which it now stands so sorely in need—the question was, not what sounds *may*, but what sounds *do*, exist? Having collected a large number of these, the next business was to arrange them, not *à priori*, but *à posteriori*, by an examination of actual characteristics, and finally to suit them with a notation agreeing with the arrangement.[1] Every one who attempts to classify natural objects —to which category speech-sounds are thus reduced—knows very well that the discovery of new objects is continually forcing him to change his arrangement. As in the old story, the giant grows too fast for the castle to contain him. Hence even the Prince's last effort, to classify about 300 consonants, is far from supreme. There may be 300 more yet to classify, though many of them will doubtless fit into his framework. Those who take up these investigations for the first time, or with a view of condensing the results into a short system, thinking that such will be "enough for all purposes"—an opinion generally entertained when very few purposes are known or contemplated,—may find in this extensive list a needless amount of repetition and circumstantiality. Granting that consonants may be labialised, or palatalised, or labio-palatalised, what need is there, they may think, to do more than adduce a few cases as evidence of the fact, or opinion? Granting that consonants may have moderate, or considerable, or very great, or very little, energy, what need to write down every case of the kind as a separate consonant? But it certainly *is* of scientific importance to know what cases of this kind actually occur, and when we come, years hence probably, to endeavour to understand and compare the various modes of synthesis (or syllabication) used by different nations, to understand the interaction of consonants, and their modifications by environment and habit of speech, we shall regard such distinctions as rather too few than too many. Again, in judging of the change of words in English dialects when properly attacked—scientific phonologists face to face with native, with no literary screen between them—an accurate knowledge of all these distinctions will be really needed. Again, in attempting to suggest origins and changes of words, even our best philologists are continually at fault, from supposing that what has happened under some circumstances will happen under others, not knowing how extremely eclectic different speech-forms are, not merely in the range of sounds used, but in the subjective assimilation of those sounds to sounds heard. Such lists as the Prince's are extremely valuable—but they are really only the preliminaries of scientific phonology.

In the following list I have endeavoured to combine the Prince's linear and tabular arrangements. The use of consecutive numbers —continued from the vowel-list on p. 1299—will enable any person to identify almost any European consonant, and refer to it simply as B 100, B 101, etc. Each consonant is accompanied by a key-word,

[1] A few theoretical signs occur in the following scheme furnished me by the Prince, and they were adopted mainly from my own list (supra, pp. 3–10), where they had generally been taken either from Lepsius or Bell; but there are very few, if any, which the Prince inserted of his own accord.

pointing out the letters by which it is ordinarily spelled, translated, and referred to its own language, and this alone would make the list of great use. The systematic arrangement, however, shews how that sound appears to the Prince to be connected with other sounds, and thus, nearly in the same way as by his vowel triangle, he indicates his own view of the nature of the sound. His view may not agree with that taken by others, who derive theirs from different sources. It does not attempt, like Brücke's or Bell's schemes, to give an accurate physiological account of each consonant. But it *is* the view of a man, who, born in England, educated in Italy, a good Spanish scholar, speaking French by right of country, has for more than twenty years devoted himself to linguistic study, particularly to that of a language rich in strange sounds and numerous dialects, the Basque, which he has learned literally from the mouths of men, the peasants of each little hamlet, heard on the spot; and who has travelled, especially to hear sounds, over England and Scotland and other countries; who has familiarised himself more or less accurately with Celtic and most literary languages of Europe; who has entered minutely into the phonology and construction of English, French, and Italian dialects, by actual contact with natives and intercourse (often months of intercourse, obtained at great cost) with those who had studied them on the spot, causing extensive series of comparative specimens to be prepared for him, in the last few years taking up the remarkable series of Uralian dialects;—a man who, in all that he has done himself or through others, has worked not as a princely dilettante seeking amusement, but as a scholar, a man of letters, and a man of science, working for the end of men of science —the discovery of natural laws. However much any individual observer may, therefore, think him wrong in some details,—as in the classification of the sounds native to that observer,—or in some principle of classification, or in some identifications, or some analyses, —yet as the conscientious work of one observer, gathering sounds from sources often accessible with difficulty or not at all, and comparing them together with great care and thoughtfulness,—this system of consonants must remain for long a great mine whence to dig the materials for future phonologic edifices. I feel personally greatly indebted to the Prince for having placed his MS. at my disposal for the purposes of this work, and allowing me to edit it with the addition of my own palaeotypic symbols, which I have had greatly to augment in consequence. A few years ago, wishing to complete the table with which I began this work, and to identify my symbols with the Prince's as far as possible, I requested him to go over that list, mark his own symbols in the margin, and add notes of any sounds which I had omitted. This was the origin of the following list, which he began preparing as an arrangement of the other for a foreign scholar, and which finally grew to its present vast dimensions. Thus associated with the instrument which has rendered this work possible for the printer, it is in every way fitting that this phonologic system should take an honoured position in its pages. The two lists, of the vowels and of the consonants, together

form the most complete series of signs which has been constructed, and will, I hope, stimulate other phonologists to complete it, by the addition of extra European sounds, verified, like these, by actual examples, of which those collected by Prof. Haldeman from North American Indian languages may serve as a specimen.

PRINCE LOUIS LUCIEN BONAPARTE'S CLASSIFICATION OF CONSONANTS.

See p. 1349. The numbers, which stand in place of the Prince's symbols, run on from the numbers of the vowels given on p. 1299, and are to be cited as B 76, etc. The original table was arranged in 19 columns, each consisting of 40 lines. The columns are here numbered and distinguished by headings, of which, to prevent mistakes, the original French is annexed. The class names thus introduced are often not the same as previously used in this book; this can hardly lead to confusion, however, except perhaps in the word *palatal*, which is synonymous with my *coronal* (1096, *c*). Several stages are also often distinguished where I had only one, thus *dentals* become *dentals*, *alveolar-dentals*, *double alveolars*, and *alveolars*, and so on. The lines are in the original divided into 10 groups of 4 each. These groups are here distinguished by italic letters prefixed to the first number in each, as follows:

He	hard explosive, *explosives fortes.*	*Ne*	nasal continuous, *continues nasales.*
Se	soft explosive, *explosives douces.*	*Hl*	hard liquid, *liquides fortes.*
Ne	nasal explosive, *explosives nasales.*	*Sl*	soft liquid, *liquides douces.*
He	hard continuous, *continues fortes.*	*Ht*	hard trill, *tremblantes fortes.*
Se	soft continuous, *continues douces.*	*St*	soft trill, *tremblantes douces.*

where *hard* means 'voiceless,' and *soft* means 'voiced.'

As there are often several symbols in one line in the original, the first line of each group must be considered to begin with the above marks; the second with those involving the letter (j), the third with those involving (*w*), and the fourth with those involving (*w*j). These are the palaeotype symbols for palatalised, labialised, and labio-palatalised, or, *mouillées*, *veloutées*, and *mixtes*, formerly called *fuitées*, characters which distinguish the consonants in these lines (1115, *a'*). Several lines, and even groups of lines, are not unfrequently blank, and these are not entered in the list, as the position of those written is sufficiently distinguished by the prefixed and involved letters. They furnish positions for possible sounds not yet recognised in actual speech.

The palaeotype symbols have been identified by the Prince, as far as my original list of symbols extended (pp. 3–12), but I have been obliged to add many new ones, distinguished by *. In doing so I have been guided by the systematic forms of the Prince's symbols. The combinations are sometimes very clumsy, but they are adapted to the 'old types,' and hence can be printed by any printer, whereas the Prince's are many of them not cut or are else not available by "the trade" (1298, *a*). Where the palaeotypic forms differ from those given on pp. 3–12 in this book, they must be considered as emendations.

The sign for "weakening the consonant" has been represented by a prefixed (ʟ), a cut [, see (419, *d*).

The sign for "rendering the consonant energetic," by *doubling* it, see (799, *d'*).

The sign for "rendering the consonant semi-energetic," by prefixing the strong mark (.), see (10, *d*), which is now never used for indicating dental consonants, (1095, *c'*).

The sign for "rendering the consonant alveolar," or dental, or 'advanced,' is (ˌ), and for rendering it 'retracted' is (,), and these signs are freely used.

The sign for "rendering the consonant semi-palatal," or *semi-mouillée*, an operation I do not perfectly understand, is represented by (ɟ) an *un*dotted (j), which is the usual sign for palatalising.

After the palaeotype is given an example of the word in its usual spelling

in Roman letters, followed by the combination of letters which indicate the sound in it, its meaning in italics, where the word is not English, and the name of the language, abbreviated as follows, and by any necessary remark, which, when not due to the Prince, is inclosed in [ ].

ab	*abasian*	e	*english*	hun	*hungarian*	pr	*portuguese*
al	*albanian*	f	*french*	i	*italian*	rus	*russian*
ar	*arabic*	fin	*finnish*	ir	*irish*	sn	*sanscrit*
da	*danish*	g	*german*	k	*kasikumuk*	s.os.	*surgut ostiak*
dr	*dravidian*	ga	*gaelic*	pl	*polish*	sp	*spanish*

1. Labials.

Labiales.

He 76 p pea, p, e
77 pj* ṗorun, ṗ, *glass*, k
78 pp* coppa, pp, *cup*, i
79 pɸ pferd, pf, *horse*, bavarian [ʔ (pн pнh pɸ)]
80 ˌpɸ* ṕe, ṕ, *side*, thush
81 wh which, wh, e
82 pj gap, p, *lounger*, pl
83 pw pois, po, *pea*, f
84 pwj* puits, pu, *well* n., f
Se 85 b bee, b, e
86 bj* ḃar, ḃ, *pond*, k
87 bb* gobba, bb, *hump*, i
88 'p* saxon
89 w wine, w, e
90 bj jedwab, b, *silk*, pl
91 bw bois, bo, *wood*, f
92 bwj* buis, bu, *box* (wood), f
Ne 93 m me, m, e
94 mj* ṁaq, ṁ, *thirst*, k
95 mm* fiamma, mm, *flame*, i
96 mh tempt, m, e [after Bell (tɛmht), see (1141, *a*)]
97 b,* sebm, bm, *seven*, Westmorland eng.
98 w,* saṁrad, ṁ, *summer*, ir
99 mj* karm, m, *feeding*, pl
100 mw moi, mo, *me*, f
101 mwj* muid, mu, *hogshead*, f
He 102 ph [from my list]
Se 103 bh haba, b, *bean*, sp
104 bhw* an occasional, if not the standard Dutch *w*, between sp. *b* and e. *w*
Ht 105 prh [from my list]
St 106 brh [from my list]
107 ɹ very, r, e [defective lip r]
108 ɹw our, r, e [occ.]

2. Labio-dentals.

Labio-dentales.

He 109 ɒ [theoretical, from my list]
Se 110 ɒ [from my list, see (1292, *d*)]
He 111 f foe, f, e
112 ff* schiaffo, ff, *slap in the face*, i
113 *f* [theoretical, from my list]
114 .fh [theoretical, from my list, where I took it from Bell, see p. 1343, 4 *d*.]
115 fj* fyaïz, fy, *flee* (imperat. plur.) Guernsey norman
116 fw foie, fo, *liver*, f
117 fwj* fuite, fu, *flight*, f
Se 118 v vine, v, e
119 vj* ẇarta, ẇ, *plate*, k
120 vv* avventura, vv, *adventure*, i
121 ˌv* kjöbenhavn, b, *Copenhagen*, da
122 *v* [theoretical]
123 'v* an occ. if not the standard Dutch *v*
124 vн* [theoretical]
125 vj* paw, w, *peacock*, pl
126 vw voix, vo, *voice*, f
Ne 127 v,* féiṁ, ṁ, *mild*, ir

3. Labio-linguals.

Labio-linguales.

He 128 ˌp* at'a, t', *hay*, ab
129 ˌp,p* yt'a, t', *sit down*, ab
Se 130 ˌb* ad'y, d', *field*, ab
Sl 131 ˌlw* lamh, l, *hand*, ga

4. Dentals.

Dentales.

He 132 ˌˌt* talaṁ, t, *earth*, ir
133 ˌˌtj* tirm, t, *dry*, ir
Se 134 ˌˌd* donn, d, *brown*, ir
135 ˌˌdj* dia, d, *god*, ir
He 136 th thin, th, e
137 e existence doubtful, see (4, *b*)
Se 138 dh thee, th, e
139 *e* [existence doubtful, see (4, *b*)]
Hl 140 ɹh [theoretical, from my list]
Sl 141 ɹ ooyl, l, *apple*, manx

5. Alveolo-Dentals.

Alvéolo-dentales.

He 142 e metsä, ts, *wood* (forest), West Nyland fin
143 ˌth* vizio, z, *vice*, i
Se 144 *e* zot, z, *lord*, al
145 ˌdh lid, d, *lawsuit*, sp

6. Double Alveolars.

Alvéolaires Doubles.

Hc 146 ‚s* lo zio, z, *the uncle*, i
147 ‚s‚s* pazzo, zz, *mad*, i
148 .‚s* aca, c, *granary*, ab
149 ‚ʃ‚ʃ* ać'ábyrg, ć', *truth*, Bzyb ab
150 .ʃ* ác'a, c', *wild cherry*, ab
151 .ʃj* č'abu, č', *much*, k
152 ‚sj* siac', c', *to sow*, pl
153 ‚sw‚sw* ać'a, ć', *apple*, ab
154 .‚sw* ac', c', *ox*, ab
Sc 155 ‚z* lo zelo, z, *the zeal*, i
156 ‚z‚z* rozzo, zz, *coarse*, i
157 ‚zj* jedz', dz', *go* (imperat.), pl
158 ‚zw* az'y, z', *some one*, ab

7. Alveolars.

Alvéolaires.

Hc 159 ‚t tas, t, *heap*, f
160 ‚tj* ťai, ť, *colt*, k
161 ‚t‚t* matto, tt, *mad*, i
162 tɟh* til, t, *to*, da
163 tɟh* jatolṣa, ṭ, *red*, k
164 ‚tɟh* ťuix, ť, *salt*, thush
165 ‚tj* ПУТЬ, ТЬ, *way*, rus
166 ‚tw toi, to, *thee*, f
167 ‚twj* étui, tu, *case*, f
Sc 168 ‚d* doux, d, *sweet*, f
169 ‚dj* ďoxlu, ď, *freshness*, k
170 ‚d‚d* Iddio, dd, *God*, i
171 'd [from my list]
172 ‚dj* ЛОШАДЬ, ДЬ, *horse*, rus
173 ‚dw doigt, do, *finger*, f
174 ‚dwj* conduire, du, *to conduct*, f
Ne 175 ‚n* nain, n, *dwarf*, f
176 ‚nj* ňak, ň, *blue*, k
177 ‚n‚n* canna, nn, *reed*, i
178 d‚ bean, n, *woman*, ir
179 ‚nj* ЛИНЬ, НЬ, *tench*, rus
180 ‚nw* noix, no, *walnut*, f
181 ‚nwj* nuit, nu, *night*, f
Hc 182 s so, s, e
183 ss* cassa, ss, *box*, i
184 sjsj* ṣât, ṣ, *hour* k
185 sн* ص ar
186 sj kos', s', *mow* (imperat.) pl
187 sw soie, so, *silk*, f
188 swj* suie, su, *soot*, f
Sc 189 z zeal, z, e
190 zz* azzal, zz, *with the*, hun
191 .z* zaqa, z, *how much*, ab
192 zj lez', z', *go up*, pl
193 zw rasoir, so, *razor*, f
194 zwj* dixhuit, xhu, *eighteen*, f
Ne 195 zh* [theoretical]
Hl 196 lwh [theoretical]
Sl 197 ‚l lait, l, *milk*, f
198 lj* ľap, ľ, *shine*, k
199 ‚l‚l* stella, ll, *star*, i
200 ‚lj* КОРОЛЬ, ЛЬ, *king*, rus
201 ‚lw loi, lo, *law*, f
202 ‚lwj* lui, lu, *him*, f
St 203 ‚r rey, r, *king*, sp

8. Whishes.

Chuintantes.

Hc 204 sh she, sh, e
205 shj* šarabuču, š, *fellow countryman*, k
206 shsh* pesce, sc, *fish*, i
207 shjshj* ṣoldi, ṣ, *green*, k
208 .sh* aša, š, *rope*, ab
209 shj ВОШЬ, ШЬ, *louse*, rus
210 shw choix, cho, *choice*, f
211 shwshw* aš, š, *plane tree*, ab
212 .shw* aš, š, *door*, ab
213 shwj* chuinter, chu, *whish*, f
Sc 214 zh pleasure, s, e
215 zhzh* a' zseb, zs, *the pocket*, hun
216 .zh* aža, ž, *hare*, ab
217 zhj jin, j, *come* (participle), souletin basque
218 zhw joie, jo, *joy*, f
219 zhwzhw* až, ž, *cow*, ab
220 .zhw* žaba, ž, *ten*, ab
221 zhwj* juin, ju, *june*, f
Ht 222 rsh przez, rz, *through*, pl
St 223 rzh [theoretical], see B 284 (rhh)

9. Palatal Whishes.

Palato-chuintantes.

Hc 224 ‚sh* pece, c, *pitch*, i
225 ‚sh‚sh* caccia, cc, *hunting*, i
226 .‚sh* ača, č, *quail*, ab
227 ‚ʃh‚ʃh* ač'y, č', *mouth*, ab
228 .‚ʃh* ač'y, č', *horse*, ab
229 .‚ʃhj* č'ân, č', *early*, k
230 ‚shj* НОЧЬ, ЧЬ, *night*, rus
230″ ‚shw* choui, chou, *to cook*, Louisiana fr. creole
230‴ ‚shwj* chuite, chu, *to cook*, Trinidad fr. creole
Sc 231 ‚zh* regio, gi, *royal*, i

232 ˌzhˌzh* maggio, ggi, *may* (month), i
233 ˌzhj* espundja, dj, *sponge*, souletin basque
233″ ˌzhwj* néɹuî, ɹu, *needle*, Louisiana fr. creole

10. Double Palatals.

Palatales Doubles.

He 234 ʇs* otso, ts, *wolf*, basque

11. Palatals.

Palatales.

He 235 t tea, t, e
236 ˌt* huset, t, *the house*, colloquial da
237 ɹh hue, h, e
238 tj tyúk, ty, *hen*, hun
239 tjtj* a' tyúk, ty, *the hen*, hun
Se 240 d do, d, e
241 dd* beddu, dd, *beautiful*, sardinian
242 ˌd* lado, d, *side*, sp
243 ˌdˌd* Gud, d, *God*, jutlandish
244 ɹ yet, y, e
245 ɹɹ* ejjel, jj, *night*, hun
246 dj gyöngy, *both* gy, *pearl*, hun
247 djdj* a' gyöngy, *first* gy, *the pearl*, hun
Ne 248 n no, n, e
249 nh tent, n, e [after Bell (tɛnht), see (1141, *a*)]
250 ɹ* azkoȳa, ȳ, *the badger*, roncalese basque
251 nj digne, gn, *worthy*, f
252 njnj* a' nyul, ny, *the hare*, hun
253 njh [theoretical]
He 254 s* su, s, *fire*, sp basque
Se 255 z* zagal, z, *young shepherd*, pr
Hl 256 lh felt, l, e [Bell's (fɛlht), see (1141, *d*)]
257 ljh glas, l, *knell* (funereal), saintongeais
Sl 258 l low, l, e
259 lj figlio, gli, *son*, i
260 ljlj* melly, ll, *which*, hun
Ht 261 gh [theoretical]
262 *h** ʇ ar
263 *hj** ḫolu, ḫ, *orphan*, k
264 *hjhj** ḫ'i, ḫ', *pigeon*, k
265 *r*ʜ* ḫ˘aba, ḫ˘, *fish*, k
St 266 r ray, r, e
267 rr* terra, rr, *earth*, i
268 ɡ ʒ ar
269 rj wuhor', r', *eel*, lusatian
270 rw roi, ro, *king*, f
271 rwj bruit, ru, *noise*, f

12. Ultra-palatals.

Ultra-palatales.

He 272 ʈ sn
Se 273 ɖ sn
Ne 274 ɲ sn
275 ɲh dr
He 276 ʂh sn
277 ʈhh dr
Se 278 ʐh
279 ɖhh dr
Hl 280 ɭh dr
Sl 281 ɭ sn
Ht 282 ɳh
St 283 ɽ sn
284 ɽhh dr

[The whole of this set of letters was taken from my list, where again they were taken from Lepsius's Alphabet, and they must be considered therefore as very doubtful. For sn. see (1096, *b'*. 1137. 1138); of dr. I know nothing. The (ʐh, ɳh) were entirely theoretical to match (ʂh, ɽ).]

13. Gutturo-Labials.

Gutturo-Labiales.

He 285 *p* [from my list, and that from Lepsius] peruvian
286 wjh ih'y, h', *speak*, ab
Se 287 *b* [theoretical, from my list]
288 wj huile, hu, *oil*, f
He 289 fh [theoretical, from my list, and that from Bell]
Se 290 vh [theoretical]

14. Gutturo-Dentals.

Gutturo-dentales.

[*Note.*—The marks over the *t* in the examples to B 291, 292, 293, and over the *d* in B 295, 296, 297, should properly go through the stem of the letters.]

He 291 *t*h kat̆, t̆, day, s. os. [See *Note.*]
292 *t*h*t*h* wat̆t̆ax, t̆t̆, *without*, s. os. [See *Note.*]
293 *t*hj* sit̆a, t̆, *gunpowder*, low s. os. [See *Note.*]
294 *t*hj*t*hj* [theoretical]
Se 295 *d*h âd̆aṅ, d̆, *morning*, s. os. [See *Note.*]
296 *d*h*d*h* wad̆d̆ax, d̆d̆, *without*, s. os. [See *Note.*]
297 *d*hj*sid̆a, d̆, *gunpowder*, high s. os. [See *Note.*]
298 *d*hj*d*hj* [theoretical]

15. Guttural Whishes.

Gutturo-chuintantes.

He 299 ˌsh* la chjai, chj, *the key*, tempiese sardinian
300 ˌshˌsh* vecchju, cchj, *old*, tempiese sardinian

301 „shwj* kyuir, kyu, *leather*, picard
Se 302 „zhwj* la ghjesgia, ghj, *the church*, tempiese sardinian
303 „zhwj„zhwj* ogghji, gghj, *to day*, tempiese sardinian

16. Gutturo-Palatals.

Gutturo-palatales.

He 304 *t* ط ar
305 *tj** ttorttoil, tt, *turtle dove*, labourdin basque
Se 306 *d* ض ar
307 *dj** yaun, y, *lord*, labourdin basque
Ne 308 *n* [theoretical]
Hc 309 ‚*s** [theoretical]
310 *s* su, s, *fire*, labourdin basque
Se 311 ‚*z** [theoretical]
312 *z* Jesus, *both* s, *Jesus*, souletin basque

17. Double Gutturals.

Gutturales Doubles.

Hc 313 ‚kh mac, c, *son*, ga

18. Gutturals.

Gutturales.

He 314 k key, k, e
315 kj ḳorn, ḳ, *nest*, k
316 kk bocca, cc, *mouth*, i
317 kjh komm, k, *come*, upper g [? kн, k[, kjh, kнh]
318 kjjh ḳala, ḳ, *white*, k
319 ‚kjh ḳok, ḳ, *foot*, thush
320 нh hand, h, *hand*, g
321 нhнh ahhoz, hh, *thereto*, hun
322 н hand, h, e [pure jerk (1130, *b'*)]
323 ; ء ar [hamza]
324 kj la chiave, chi, *the key*, i
325 kjkj occhio, cchi, *eye*, i
326 нhj la chiave, chi, *the key*, florentine i
327 kw quoi, quo, *what*, f
328 нwh [from my list, but ('hw) is the new form (p. 1341, 9*f*)]
329 нw [from my list, ('hwh) is the new form (p. 1341, 9*f*)]
330 kwj* biscuit, cu, *biscuit*, f
Se 331 g go, g, e
332 gg* veggo, gg, *I see*, i
333 'g urgem, g, *I sing*, os
334 н'w* huevo, hu, *egg*, sp
335 gj la ghianda, ghi, *the acorn*, i
336 gjgj* ragghiare, gghi, *to bray*, i
337 gw goître, go, *goiter*, f
338 gwj* aiguille, gu, *needle*, f
Ne 339 q singer, ng, e
340 qh sink, n, e, [Bell's (siqhk), see (1141, *a*)]
341 н'h‚* haλk, h, *multitude*, scutari al
342 qj sn [from my list, for which I now use (qj), see 1137, *e'*)]
Hc 343 kh dach, ch, *roof*, g
344 x [existence doubtful, see (9, *d*), where it was introduced because the real sound of sp *j* was unknown]
345 khkh* palchi, lch, *because*, sassarese sardinian
346 khjkhj* x''ot, x'', *shade*, k
347 khн [from my list]
348 kjh milch, ch, *milk*, g
349 kwh loch, ch, *lake*, south scotch
Se 350 gh tage, g, *days*, g
351 *x* [See B 344]
352 ghgh* olganu, lg, *organ*, sassarese sardinian
353 .gh [see B 347]
354 gjh selig, g, *blissful*, g
355 gwh [from my list, theoretical]
Ne 356 gh‚h* ẋonkodize, ẋ, *to snore*, avarian
Hl 357 *l*h [theoretical, from my list]
358 lhh llaw, ll, *hand*, welsh
359 lhhj* [theoretical]
360 lwh [theoretical, from my list, and that from Bell]
Sl 361 *l* łamac', ł, *to break*, pl
362 *l*hh* [theoretical voiced Welsh *ll*. The Manx sound spoken of as (*l*hh) in (756, *d''*) is properly B 141, a dental ɮ.]
363 *l*hhj* [theoretical]
364 *lw* [theoretical, from my list, and that from Bell.]
Ht 365 krh خ ar
366 .rh [theoretical, from my list]
St 367 grh غ ar
368 .r rock, r, Newcastle
369 ‚r* var, r, *was*, jutlandish
370 r* Paris, r, *Paris*, parisian
371 rr* irregulier, rr, *irregular*, parisian

19. Ultra-gutturals.

Ultra-gutturales.

He 372 к ق ar
373 кj* q̇apa, q̇, *hat*, k
Sc 374 g [theoretical, from my list]
375 gw [theoretical, from my list]
Ne 376 q [theoretical, from my list]
Hc 377 *k*h nacht, ch, *night*, dutch
378 *k*hj* x̣ort, x̣, *pear*, k
379 .*k*h* x̣'ata, x̣', *house*, k
380 кwh [theoretical, from my list]
Sc 381 gh God, G, *God*, dutch
382 gwh [theoretical, from my list]
Ht 383 ꞇh [theoretical, from my list]
St 384 ꞇ ret, r, *right*, da
385 ꞇ* var, r, *was* da

No. 8. German Dialectal Changes.

i. *Schmeller on Bavarian Dialectal Changes.*

In the present section, as in the former part of this work, reference has been very frequently made to the labours of Schmeller on the Bavarian dialects.[1] It seemed therefore that a complete systematic account of the variations of sounds he has observed would be the best possible introduction to the following fragmentary account of English dialectal usages.

Schmeller adopts a phonetic alphabet, of which the following seems to be the palaeotypic signification:

Vowels.

á (a), *â* or *a* (*a*), *à* (o), *è* (ɛ), *ê* (*e*) and perhaps (e), *é* (*i*), *i* (i), *ó* or *o* (*o*), *ö* (œ), *u* (u), *ü* (y), *ø* (ə).

Sometimes his symbols indicate etymological relations, thus *ę* shews the (') sound before *l* which replaces *ê* (*e*) and *ę̣ ę* an (*i*, i), which seems to have become some obscure palatal and may be vaguely represented by ('j), as in (*ee*'j). [·] indicates an omitted vowel, [~] sometimes merely the nasalisation (‿), sometimes also the omission of *m*, *n*.

Consonants.

g (g), *gg* (k), *gh* or *hh* (gh), *kh* (kн), *-l* (‿l), an (l) disunited from the preceding vowel; *-bm*, *-fm*, *-pm*, *-wm*, (-b'm, -f'm, -p'm, -bh'm) where ('m) has arisen from *en*, *-chng*, *-gng*, *-kng* (-kh'q, -g'q, -k'q), where ('q) has also arisen from *en*, but after a guttural; *hr* (rh), *s* (z), *ff* (s), *sch* (zh), *fch* (sh), z (‿d‿z), *tz* (‿t‿s); [′] omitted *l*, [~] an unpronounced *m* or *n*, after a nasalised vowel, or after a vowel which cannot be nasalised in the dialect, that is (i, u, ə), so that *ai*~ means (a‿i); [′] an unpronounced *r*, (') any other omitted letter, or an omitted *m* and *n* after an unnasalised vowel which might have been nasalised.

[1] Die Mundarten Bayerns grammatisch dargestellt von *Joh. Andreas Schmeller*. Beygegeben ist eine Sammlung von Mundart-Proben, d. i. kleinen Erzählungen, Gesprächen, Sing-Stücken, figürlichen Redensarten u. dergl. in den verschiedenen Dialekten des Königreichs, nebst einem Kärtchen zur geographischen Uebersicht dieser Dialekte. München, 1821. 8vo. pp. 568.

Bayerisches Wörterbuch. Sammlung von Wörtern und Ausdrücken, die in den lebenden Mundarten sowohl, als in der ältern und ältesten Provincial-Litteratur des Königreichs Bayern, besonders seiner ältern Lande, vorkommen, und in der heutigen allgemein-deutschen Schriftsprache entweder gar nicht, oder nicht in denselben Bedeutungen üblich sind, mit urkundlichen Belegen, nach den Stammsylben etymologisch-alphabetisch geordnet von *J. Andreas Schmeller*, Stuttgart and Tübingen, 8vo. vol. 1, 1827, pp. 640; vol. 2, 1828, pp. 722; vol. 3, 1836, pp. 691; vol. 4, 1837, pp. 310, xxx.

Unfortunately, in his verbal examples Schmeller generally confines his phonetic symbols to the point under consideration, and prints the rest of the word in ordinary gothic characters. Even in his literary examples, "in order not to render the text unnecessarily unintelligible, some letters, as *aū ei eu ö ü st*, etc., are *not always* translated into the peculiar forms belonging to the dialect," referring generally to the particular tables. This facilitates the reading of the *sense* to the detriment of the reading of the *sound*. The same feeling has unfortunately widely prevailed in writing English dialects, but it is altogether unscientific, and often produces the utmost bewilderment. It has materially added to the laboriousness and uncertainty of my own researches. The correct principle is to regard sound *only*, and when written words threaten to be unintelligible, on account of their differing so much from their ordinary appearance, the usual spelling should be given in addition, and sometimes a complete translation is requisite.

In the following notes the arrangement of Schmeller, arts. 102–691, has been followed. The whole is materially abridged. My own insertions are placed in brackets [ ], verbal translations between inverted commas. The numbers in parenthesis refer to Schmeller's articles. Sounds are given in palaeotype. Ordinary German spelling is given in italics, or capitals, large or small, and in the latter case *ä ö ü* have been resolved, as usual, into AE, OE, UE. Schmeller uses an etymological spelling, which is not generally followed, but will be explained as it arises. When some letters are put in a parenthesis in the midst of a German word, these only are in palaeotype, as *a*(f)*er*, for *aber*. This is to imitate Schmeller's notation, and to avoid the errors which I should almost certainly commit in attempting to give the whole word in the dialectal form, when there was no authority for the other sounds in his book. The particular localities of each pronunciation are omitted. But the following abbreviations will be used:

gen. generally, *fr.* frequently, *sm.* sometimes, *rr.* rarely. 1, 2, 3, etc., *pl.*, in one, two, three, etc., places. N. E. W. S., North, East, West, South of Bavaria. *tn.* town, *cn.* country, *ed.* educated.

Vowels.

A (102–123) is:—(aa, a) *gen.* in non-German words, *casse* (ka·sə), *rr.* in a few German words, before *m, n, r*, and others, *gans, spass, arg* (gans, sbpas, arg):—(*aa, a*) *gen.* in common non-German words, as *Max* (maks), and W. in all German words, but E. only before two or doubled or strong consonants, *acht* (akht); which *rr.* becomes (o), *graf* (groof):—(o) *fr.* before *l* and single or weak consonants, *alt, sagen* (olt, zoo·ghən). *sm.* otherwise:—(ɑ́u) *sm.* when long, *blasen* (blɑ́u·zən), or as (áuə) before *r*, *haar* (nháuər):—(óu) 1 *pl.* even before 2 consonants, *apfel* (óu·pfəl):—(áə) before lost *n* 1 *pl.*, before *r fr.*, before lost *ch* 1 *pl.*, and when long 2 *pl.*, *sanft* (zháəft), *arm* (háərm), *nacht* (náət), *schaf* (shháəf):—(*e*) in a few scattered words, *alles arbeit hart nah acht* (*e*·ləs *e*·rbet nhert nee ekht):—(i) *rr.*, in *sontag* (zu·ntigh):—(úə) 2 *pl.*, especially before *r*, *arm* (úərm), *halb* (nhúəlb):—(ə) *sm.* in unaccented syllables *sontag Laibach, davon* (zu·ntə Laa·bə dəfo·'). "If the pronunciation of high German by educated low Germans, or by educated upper Saxons, is to be taken as the rule, *a*, to be free of all provincialisms, should be (*a*)."

AE (124–139) short, and long, "in

good high German pronunciation *sm. è* (E, EE), and sometimes *ê* (e, ee)," is :—(a, aa) 3 *pl.* in various primitives *hächsen* (HHa·khsən), derivatives *wächse*) (bha·ksən), subj. pret. *ich nähme* (naam), diminutives *mädlein* (ma·d'l), plurals *plätze* (plaa·ts), etc. :—(e, E) *fr.* in most of the above cases :—(E'ə) 2 *pl.*, *später* (shpE'ə·tər) :—(E'i) 2 *pl.*, *gnädig, ich thäte, mäen, säen* (gnE'i·di, i tE'it, mE'i·ə, sE'i·ə) [observe, for English]:—(*i*) *fr.* in plurals, *kälber* (ki·lbər), comparatives and superlatives, *ärger, der kälteste* (*i*·rgər, ki·ltest), and conjugational forms, *er fällt* (fílt) :—(iə) *fr.* before *r*, *ärger, du fährst* (iə·rgər, du fiərst) :—(i) 2 *pl.* in a few words, *wächsen* (bhi·ksən) :—(œ) *rr.*, *kälter* (kœ·ltər).

AI (140–156), usually written *ei*, derived from original *ei*, gothic *ai*, "in good high German pronunciation (ái)," is :—(aa) 3 *pl. tn. cn.*, *breit fleisch klein* (braad flaash klaa,), and by *umlaut* becomes (E) in a few cases, *breiter kleiner* (brEE·tər klEE·nər) :—(ái) *gen. tn.*, hence ecclesiastical *geist, heilig*, and terminations *heit, keit*, have (ái) *gen.* :—(*a*, o) 2 *pl. tn. cn*, in uninflected forms, especially before *l, m, n, bein* (baa, boo,), *stein* (shtaa, shtoo,) :—(*ái*, ói) in inflected forms, although the inflection is *gen.* lost, *der kleine* (klá,i), *mit dem steine* (mi·t'n shtó,i), *breiter* (bróí·tər), *weinen* (bhó,in), and 1 *pl. cn.* in uninflected forms, *fleisch* (flóish) :—(*ə*) *fr.*, *klein, beiner* (klá,ə, báə·nə), which by *umlaut* becomes (E'ə), *breiter* (brE'ə·dər): —(EE) *fr.*, *flesch* (flEEsh) :—(*ee*) *fr.*, *klein* (klee), *leib* (leeb) :—(éi) 2 *pl.* in inflected forms, *reife* (réif) :—(*i*) 2 *pl.*, in certain forms of verbs, replacing *ag*, as *du saist* = *sagest* (du zíst) :—(úi) 2 *pl.* before *m* and *n*, *eins* (úis), *heim* (HHúi): —(ə) *gen.* in unemphatic article *ein*; and *fr.* in other unaccented syllables, *arbeit* (a·rbət), *gewohnheit* (gbhoo·nət); or is quite lost, *vortheil* (voo·rt'l).

AU (157–163), original U, "in good high German pronunciation (áu)," is :—(a) *sm.*, *aus dem hause* (aa·s'n HHas), especially before *l, m*, as *faul* (fa'l) :—(áu) *ed. gen.* except W. :—(*a*) 1 *pl.* (*aa*·s'n HHas) :—(áu) or (óu) W., *haus* (HHóus) :—(uu) according to origin in SW. and N., *auf brauch fausst* (uf bruu·kə fausht), but in N. often (úi), *braut faust* (brúit fúist).

AEU, the *umlaut* of AU (164–170), "in good high German pronunciation (áy)," is :—(ái) *fr.*, *häuser, mäuse* (HHái·zər, máis) :—(áy) *sm.* "more careful pronunciation *tn. cn. ed.*," (HHáy·zər, máys) :—(*ái*) 1 *pl.* :—(EE) 2 *pl.* :—(E'i) 2 *pl.*, *träublein* (trE'i·b'l): —(*éi*) W., *mäuse* (méis) :—(yy) where *au* from *u* is still (uu), which in SW. becomes (ii), *fäuste* (fyst), *häuser* (HHii·zər).

AU, or *âu*, older *ou*, gothic *au*, which in Scandinavian, low German, on upper Rhein, and in most high German dialects, is almost always distinguished in pronunciation from the former AU (171–178) "in good high German pronunciation (áu), the same as the former *au*," is : —(aa) E., *auch baum staub traum* (aa baam staab traam) :—(áu) W. and *ed. gen.* :—(*aa*) *rr.*, *glauben* (glaa·bə), *baum* (baam) :—(*áu*) :—(oo) 5 *pl.* (boom) :—(óu) 2 *pl.* (bóum) :—(EE) 1 *pl.* in several words when (aa) is not common, *glauben* (glEEb) ; 1 *pl. gen. staub* (shtEEb) :—(E'y) 1 *pl.* in some forms where (óu) is not heard, *glauben* (glE'yb).

AEU = *âeu*, the *umlaut* of the last AU = *âu* (179–182), is not distinguished from *âu* where the latter becomes (aa, EE, E'y) ; where *âu* = (áu), *âeu* becomes (*ái*) ; where *âu* = (oo), *âeu* becomes (ee, œœ), where *âu* = (óu), *âeu* becomes (E'i, ee).

E (183–208), "in those words where good high German pronunciation has (E, EE)," is :—(a, aa), as *sehen* (zaa), *geschehen* (gshaa), *geben* (gaab gaa) ; and 2 *pl. rr.*, *feld* (fáld).

E, "that long *e* of certain words, which, from the most ancient times in all high German dialects, although not in the same way in all, is distinguished from the usual short *e*," "in good high German pronunciation (*ee*)," "the *é aigu* of the French" (art. 71) [with which (e) seems to be confused], is :—(ái) 2 *pl. cn.*, *klee, schnee* (kláí, shnáí), *ich gehe* (i gái), and 1 *pl.* for (E) before *ch*, *hexe, schlecht* (HHáiks, shláikht) :—(E, EE) *fr.*, *beten, lecken* (bEE·tən, lE·kən) : —(E,) *gen.* before [lost] *m* and *n* "obscured by nasalisation," *mensch* (mE,sh) : —(E) *gen.* before *r*, *herr* (HHEr) :—(E'i) 2 *pl.*, *ehe* (E'i), *reh* (rE'i) :—(E'ə) *sm.* short *e* before *r*, *erde* (E'ərd), and 1 *pl.* before *l*, and other consonants, *geld pfeffer* (gE'əld pfE'ə·fər) :—(E'ə) *fr.* long *e*, *klee schnee* (klE'ə shnE'ə) :—(*e*, *ee*) E. *gen.*, even "in those words which Adelung pronounces with (EE); educated people of our parts pronounce almost all *e* like (*ee*)," and *sm.* before *l*,

"when it is not pronounced in conjunction with it (mit diesem verbunden)," as *gelb* (geelb) :—(ə) before *l*, *gen.* E. even *ed.*, *feld*, *geld* (fəld, gəld), and even (l) alone in 1 *pl.* :—(*ee*) before *r* in 1 *pl. cn.*, as *ernst* (eernst) :—(*ei*) *rr.*, as *beten* (bei·ten) :—(*i*) E. *tn. cn.*, "in most words which Adelung classes as (E)," as *geben* (gii·bən), *blech* (blíkh), "some of these words are peculiar to small districts" :—('j), "before *l*, the (*i*) is mutilated in a peculiar way, which cannot be described, and must be heard," E. in several *pl.* even *ed.*, as *stellen* (sht'j·l'n), *zählen* (ts'j·l'n); and *rr.* before (r), *herbst* (HH'jrbst) :—(*i*,) obscurely by nasalisation before *m* and *n* :—(*é*,ə) before *m* and *n* 2 *pl.*, *dem* (dé,əm) :—(i) 1 *pl.*, *esel*, *heben*, *leder* (ii·z·əl, HHii·bən, lii·dər) :—(ii, iɹ, iə) for *e* long, in several *pl.*, *schnee* (shniɹ, shníə), *gehen* (giin) :—(ə), or lost "in unaccented root syllables" E. *cn.*, *erdbeer* (*e*·rpə), *tagwerk* (ta·bhə), *herberg* (HHi·rbə).

E in initial syllables (209–216). *Be-*, *ge-*, have generally (ə). *Be-* is *sm.* only pronounced before explodents, as (b*e*, b*i*, bi), and is otherwise lost, as B(*e*)GEHREN, B(*i*)DEUTEN, B(i)K(*ee*)REN, B()HALTEN, *rr.* (bii) long and accented, (bii·faq, bii·HHaq, bii·klɛm). *Ge-* is *fr.* (g*e*-, g*i*), "only in substantives, adjectives, and adverbs before explodents," otherwise (g); *fr.* also the *e* being lost, *g* itself disappears before explodents, as 'BIET=*gebiet*, etc. *Ent-* =(*i*nt-, unt-) *sm.*, and *rr.* (*a*·nt-). *Ver-* very often (vor-).

É final (217–235). *E*, as ending in nom. sing. of subst., "in good high German pronunciation unaccented (-*e*)," is lost, *gen. cn. tn.* and *fr.* when used for *-en* fem., and *sm.* when used for *-en* mas.; but *-e* from old *-iu* is kept as (-*e*, -*i*) in *menge süsse kürze länge güte*, but it is omitted in N. *E*, as ending in dat. sing. and nom. and acc. pl. of subs., is *gen.* lost. *E.* as uninflected ending of some adjectives, as *böse enge müde öde*, is also lost. *E*, as old adverbial ending for adjectives and participles, on the Danube is (ə), on the Lower Inn (i), (ga·ntsə ga·ntsí) *entirely*, (NE·tə) *neatly*, etc. *E*, as nom. ending of adj. after *der*, *die*, *das*, is lost, *gen. tn. cn.*, but *rr.* kept as (*i*, ə). *E*, as fem. ending of adj. derived from old *iu*, is (iə, i, *i*) *sm.*, *eine rechte* (ə RE·khtiə, ə re·khtí), more *fr.* (ə re·khtə), and *sm.* lost, *eine gute* (ə guut). *E* in nom. and acc. pl. neut. derived from *iu*, and of mas. and fem. derived from *e* and *o*, remains *fr.* as (*é*), *gute herren* (gúə·d*é*), and *fr.* as (ə), (guu·tə). "On the upper Nab, *tn. cn.* the remarkable distinction is made, that *e* neut. from *iu* is (ə), and *e* mas. and fem. from *e* and *o* is lost, (dé,i) =*diese herren, frauen;* (dé,iə) =*diese weiber;* (góud shé,i o·ksən, ké,i), *gute schone ochsen, kühe;* (góu·də shé,i·nə pfaa), *gute schöne pferde.* Question: *Wie viel Ochsen, Kühe?* Ans.: (féiə fi·mf ze·ks). Qu.: *Wie viel Pferde?* Ans.: (fé,i·rə fi·mfə ze·ksə). Traces of this very old distinction are found elsewhere. Between the Lech and Inn uneducated countrymen, to the questions: *Wie viel aepfel, wie viel birnen?* will reply, (fiər fymf zeks); but to the question: *Wie viel häuser, kinder?* reply, (fiə·rə fy·mfə ze·ksə). *E*, as ending of the 1 pers. sing. pres., and 1 and 3 pers. pret. ind., and 3 pers. sing. pres. subj. of verbs, is lost, *gen. tn. cn.*, as *ich esse, suche, möchte, könnte, machte* (i is, zúəgh, mɛkht, kunt, makhət). *E* in *-el*, *-em*, *-en*, *-er*, *-es*, *-et*, is *sm.* (ə), more *fr.* (ə), or is quite lost, depending on preceding consonant, see under *l*, *m*, *n*, *r*, *s*, *t* below; "certain participles in *end*, *et*, by retaining *e* in pronunciation, have passed entirely over into the class of adj. and subs., E. *tn. cn.*, as *das* (re·nəd, shíə·səd; gshE·kət)." [The important bearing of this German final *e* treatment on English final *e* has made me give this account at greater length.]

EI, derived from original *i* (236–245), Gothic *ei* [for the other *ei* see AI], "in good high German pronunciation (âi)," is:—(aa) *rr.* in a few words, *sei* (saa); E. regularly before *l*, as *weil* (bhaal) :—(âi) E. *gen. tn. cn. ed.* in more careful pronunciation :—(*é*i) in 1 *pl.* :—(EE) in 3 *pl.*, *weiss*, *ihr seid* (bhEES, iir zEEt) :—(EÏ) 1 *pl.* :—(*é*i) W. *gen. tn. cn. ed.*, *drei* (dré,i) :—(ii) according to origin S., and *rr.* in other places, as *drei* (drii), *shreiben* (shrii·bə) :—(*o*) 1 *pl.* in *bey mir* (bo míə).

EU (246–261), see also AEU=*âem*, "in good high German pronunciation (ây)," is:—(aa) E. *rr.* before *l*, as *neulich* (naa·lə); and in neut., *drei* (draa) :—(âi) E. *gen. tn. cn. ed.*, as *neu* (nâi) :—(âu) 1 pl., *es reut* (ráut) *mich* :—(ây) on lower Mayn, especially *tn.*, *feuer* (fây·or) :—(*é*i) *fr.*, *deutch* (dé,itsh) :—(*ə*) *sm.* before *n*, *freund* (frə́ənd) :—(EE) 2 *pl.*, *neu deutsch* (NEE dEEtsh) :—

(éi) lower Mayn, *tn. cn. ed.* :—(*iiu*) 1 *pl.*, *neu* (nii̇u) :—(ii), properly (yy), 2 *pl.*, *deutsch* (diitsh) :—(i) short 2 *pl.* in pronoun *euch*, when forming an unaccented suffix :—(iiu) *sm.*, *neu* (níiu) :—(ói) *sm.* :—(óu) 1 *pl.* :—(úi) *sm.* :—(yy) 1 *pl.* "In none of these cases does *eu* sound according to its constituents, as the Spaniards pronounce it in *Europa*, namely (éu)," the Spanish sound is, I think, (éu).

I, and also where *ie* is usually written for a merely long old *i* (262-293), is :—(ái) E. *cn.* in *Katharina* (Katrá i), *Quirinus* (Kirá i), *anis firniss horniss paradis* (a·nâis fi·rnâis нhu·rnâis pa·ra-dâis), *in der stadt* (á i də shtod, á i-d shtod). [The interest attaching to the change of (ii) into (ái) induces me to add the following note at length] :—"Manuscript of the book of laws (*Rechtbuch*) of 1332: EIN DER STAT, EIN DI STAT, for *in der Stadt*, *in die Stadt*. The form *ein* for the original *in* has maintained itself in the written language only in composition (as *hinein*, *eingehen*). Written language has generally restored the original long *i* in many forms in which—following a high German inclination which was active even in very early times (*nach einem schon sehr frühe wirksamen hochdeutschen Hange*)—*i* had been resolved into *ei*. Thus, in the XIII th and XIV th centuries, not only was the present diminutive termination *lin* called LEIN, but also the adjective terminations *-lich* and *-in* were pronounced -LEICH and -EIN, as : MINNIGLEICH, HERLEICH, WEIBLEICH, — AULDEIN, HULZEIN, HURNEIN. Just as now we say *latein* from 'latin,' so formerly they said: MARTEIN for 'Martin,' CHRISTEIN for 'Christina;' and as we now have *Arzeney*, *Probstey*, they formerly used: SOPHEY, MAREY, PHILOSOPHEY, etc., resolving the termination *i* of 'i-a,' *i-e*, *i* into *ei*:"]—(E) before *r sm.*, *mir* (MER): —(*i*) before *n* and *m fr.*, *blind nicht nichts* (blínd nít níks), and in end of unaccented syllables, *habe ich* (нha·bi), *ewig* (ee·bhi) :—(i) in cases not included under (*i*) :—('j) before *l*, "a very peculiar indescribable sound; like the second syllable of the words *hasel sattel*, when pronounced without *e*," E., as *still*, *will*, *spielen* (sht'jl, bh'jl, shp'jl·n), but it is *sm.* so purely pronounced that it seems quite unconnected with the *l*, as *still* (shtijl); the same ('j) sound *sm.* occurs before *r*, as *kirche* (k'j·rəkh) :—(iə) before *r gen.*, *mir* (míər), *hirsch* (нhíərsh), but is *sm.* pure, as (mii, нhiish); *sm.* in other places, *nicht* (níət), *nichts* (níəs), *ihm* (íəm), *euch* (iək), *nieder* (níə·də) :—(u) *rr.*, as *tisch* (tush), *kind* (кнund), *fisch* (fush) :—(ə) *gen. tn. cn.* in the pronouns used as suffixes, as *wir*, *mir* (mər); E. *tn. cn.* in phrases like *hab' ich dich*, *lasse ich nich*, *thäte ich dir*, *denke ich nir* (нho·bədi, la·səmi, taa·tədə, dE·qkomə); and in many unaccented syllables, as *-inn*, *-lich*, *-in*, *-lin* = *-lein* :—lost *sm.* in *-ig*, *-lin* = *-lein*, *inn*; *gen. tn. cn.* in *hat sie*, *ist sie*, *sind sie*, *gib es ihm*, *ihnen*, *lass ihn* (нhats, ists, zints, gi·ps'n, la·s'n); and *ich* is lost in *da werfe ich dich*, *wenn ich dir es sage*, *so will ich dir es machen* (do bhE·rfdi, bhən dərz zag, zo bhíl dərz ma·khə).

IE (294-315), "where the old language has *ia*, *io*, *ie*, and *ie* is a real diphthong in the southern high German dialect; in good high German pronunciation (ii)." The old diphthong *iu* gave rise to *ie* by obscuring *u*, and *eu* by obscuring *i*. The *ie* readily passes into *i* long, and *eu* into *ü* long. Verbs conjugated like *bieten* may in southern places interchange *ie* with *eu*, pronounced as (*di iiu* iiu ói úi), in 2 and 3 pers. sing. pres., and *sm.* other tenses and words. IE is called :—(ai *di*) in 2 and 3 pers. sing. pres. of verbs conjugated like *biegen* :—(*ii*) in *die*, *wie*, *je* (*dii*, bhii, *ii*) :—(*éi*) *sm.*, as (déi, bhéi, éi), *lieb*, *tief* (léib, téif); *sm.* in 2 and 3 pers. sing. pres. of verbs like *biegen* :—(*iiu*) *sm.* in last case, and some others, as *biegung* (bíiu·gq) :—as (*iə*) or (E,ə) before *m* and *n sm.* :—(ii) *sm.* in *lieb* (liib), and *gen.*, *sie die* (zii dii); these last two forms vary in other places :—(íə) in the whole upper Rhine and Donau territory from the Vosges to Hungary, *tn. cn.* and even *ed.* (díə bhíə líəb, íəm'd) *jemand* :—(iu) *rr.* in particular cases, (tíuf díub) *tief dieb* :—(ói) *sm.* in certain words and forms (tóif, dóib) :—(úi) *sm.* ditto :—(ə) or is lost in suffixed pron. *sie*, as *ich habe sie* (ikнha·bzə), *gib mir sie* (gee·mərshə).

O, short, often inclining to *u*, and in gothic *u* (316-324), see O = *ó*, is called : —(*aa*) *sm.* lengthened before *m* and *n*, *von sohn baron* (faan zaan bâərаa·n) : —(áu) *sm.* before *l*, *hohl* (нhâul) :—(*o*), "as an *o* inclining to *u*," *fr.*, *boden gold* (boo·dən gold), but (o) is occasionally heard :—(œ) or (*e*) *rr.* in some words before *l*, *soldat solcher* (zœldaa·t

zö·lər) :—(óu) *rr.* and sporadically in lengthened syllables, as (bóu·dən):—(u, uu) *sm.*, (buu·den kupf) *kopf* :—(úə), *rr.* (búə·dən kúəpf).

OE, as *umlaut* of the last *o* (325-329), is treated as simple *e*, and hence *sm.* sounds as (*e*), but *gen.* as (*i*); *böcke* (bek), *oel* (*i*l 'jl); so that in old books *ö* is written for (*i*) in other cases. OE is :—(*i*) *sm.* as *umlaut* of *u*, *köpfe* (kipf) :—(iə) *sm.* as *umlaut* of (úə), (kíəpf) :—(œ) *sm. tn.* (kœpf).

O = *ó*, the long *o*, which inclines to *a*, and not to *u*, and is *au* in gothic (330-344), is called :—(áu) *sm.*, *cn. bloss* (bláus) :—(*aa*) before *m* and *n fr. tn. cn.* and even *ed.*, *strom* (shtraam); and before *r* in the same places, *cn.*, as *dorf* (dərf); and *sm. cn.*, *brod gross* (braad graas) :—(*də*) *fr.*, *bloss brod dorf* (bldəs brdəd dərf) :—(*áu*) *rr.*, *ochs* (*á*uks) :—(óu) *fr. cn.* (blóus bróud), and *sm.* before *r*, *thor* (tóur) :—(*íu*, *ío*) *sm. cn.*, *hoch* (nhíu), *tod* (tíud) :—(o) *fr.*, so that *roth rath*, *gross gras*, are confused as (root, groos) in the common pronunciation :—(óə) *rr. cn.*, *noth* (nóət) :—(*o*) *sm. tn. ed.* :—(u) *sm.* (bruud gruus):—(úə) *sm.* (grúəs), *dorf* (dúərf), *floh* (flúə).

OE = *óe*, the *umlaut* of the last O = *ó* (345—362), is :—(a) *sm.* as *umlaut* of (*a*) :—(ái) as *umlaut* of (áu) :—as (ói) *sm.*, *böse grösser höher hören schön* (bóis gróiˈsər nhóiˈər nhóiˈrˈn, shó,i):—(ɛ) as *umlaut* of (*a*) and before *r*:—(ɛˈə) as *umlaut* of (*aə*) :—(*e*, *ee*) *gen. tn.*, *blössen flöhen* (bleeˈsən fleeˈən), *nöthig* (neeˈdig), and even *rr.* before *r*, *frören* (freeˈrˈn) :—(ɛˈi) as *umlaut* of (*au*, *óu*) :—(*éə*) *rr.* :—(*i*) *rr.* :—(*iə*) *rr. getös* (gətíəˈs) :—(i) for (y) as *umlaut* of (u) :—(íə) for (yˈə) as *umlaut* of (úə) :—(œ) *tn. sm.* :—(y) as *umlaut* of (u) :—(yˈe) *rr.*, *böse schön* (byˈəs shy,ə).

U short (363-371) is :—(*a*, *aə*) *fr.* before *r*, as *durst* (dərsht) :—(i) *sm.* in *-ung* :—(*o*) *fr.* before *m* and *n*, as *jung hund* (yoq nhond); and *sm.* before *r*, as *burgh* (borgh) :—(u) pure *gen.* :—(y, i) *rr.* in a few words, *uns unter um* (yns yˈntər ym) :—(úi) *sm.* before *r*, *sturm* (shtúim) :—(úə) *sm.* before *r*, *durst* (dúərsht) :—(ə) in unemphatic words, *und* (əd, ə), *uns* suffixed *sm.* (əs), *gib uns* (giˈbəs), *-burg*, *-berg*, often both (bərg) :—lost *sm.* in *du*, as *was will'st du* (bhos bhilsht).

UE, as *umlaut* of the last *u* (372), is only *rr.* (y), but is generally treated as *i*, see I. Even in reading books *ü* is pronounced as *i*.

U long, or *ue*, "Gothic and Scandinavian *o* perhaps hovering in pronunciation between (*o*) and (u), has been better retained in Low than in High Germany, where it early passed into the diphthong *ou*, AU, UE. But it has remained especially in the diphthongal form (óu) by the northern affluents of the Danube. The tendency of this sound towards (u) is so strong, that Dutchmen and Englishmen, although they write it *oe* and *oo* respectively, pronounce it usually as (uu)," (373-385), is called :—(*aa*, *də*, *d*,ə) E. *tn. cn.* in some words before *m*, *n*, as *blume* (blaam bldəm), *muhme* (maam mdəm) :—(*oo*) 1 *pl.*, as *gut fuss* (good foos), 1 *pl.* before *l*, as *stuhl* (shtool) :—(ói) 1 *pl. gut blut bruder mutter* (góid blóid bróiˈder móiˈtər) [compare Leeds (góid) *good*] :—(óu) *fr.*, *bube buch* (bóub bóukh) :—(u) pure, *sm.*, and *ed. gen.* (buub buukh) :—(úi) *rr.*, *stute* (stúiˈtə) :—(úə) "from the Alps to the Danube below the Lech, and above the Lech to the Mayn regions, where (úə, u) interchange," *bube buch* (búə búəkh) :—(ə) before *l sm.*, *schule* (shəl) :—(ə) in unemphatic syllables *fr.*, as *zu uns* (,t,sə-n-yns, ,t,sə-r-yns), *zu dir* (,t,sə díər), *handshuh* (nhaˈndshə):—is lost in unemphatic syllables, as *zu thun* (,t,s,tuun).

UE = *üe*, the *umlaut* of the last U = *eu* (386-393, "in good high German pronunciation (y)," is sounded as :—(ɛˈ,ə) *fr.*, as *umlaut* of (*a*,ə), before *m* and *n*, *blümlein* (blɛˈ,ə·mˈl):—(*ee*) *sm.* as *umlaut* of (*oo*) :—(*éi*) *sm.* as *umlaut* of (óu) :—(i) *sm.* as *umlaut* of (u) :—as (iə) *sm.* as *umlaut* of (úə) :—as (ói) 1 *pl.*, *müde füsse* (móid fóis) :—(y, yə) as *umlaut* of (u, úə), where *ü* is not pronounced as (i) :—(ə) *rr.* before *l*, as *kühle* (kal).

Consonants.

B (394-413) is :—(b), "pure Italian *b*," *gen. tn. cn.*, at the end of words, *leib*; in the middle of words before consonants, *er gi*(b)*t*; uncertainly at the beginning of words, oscillating between (p, b) in (b)*ey*, (b)*ier*, (b)*ism*, (b)*rand*:—(f) in a few words and places, as *a*(f)*er*, *gel*(f)*licht*, *kno*(f)*lauch*; *pö*(f)*el*, *schnau*(f)*en*, *zwi*(f)*el*:—(p) *gen. tn. cn.*, "pure Italian *p*, not an affected German *p*, after which a certain amount of breath may be perceived," at the

beginning of words "where the high German, with an uncertainty peculiar to himself, cannot make any consistent distinction between *p* and *b*, so that in romance languages he is prone to confuse *beau* and *peau*, *boule* and *poule*; a fault which declaimers seek to remedy by introducing a certain after-breath, especially in foreign words, so that for (p)*anzer*, (p)*ein*, (P)*alermo*, (P)*aul*, one hears (p-нh)*anzer*, (p-нh)*ein*, (P-нh)*alermo*, (P-нh)*aul*. This seems to have been the origin of the middle Rhenish (p-нh), and high German *pf* at the beginning of non-German words. And it is to the circumstance that initial *b* has been used as *p* from the earliest times that there are so few genuine German words beginning with *p*" [see (1097, *d'*. 1113, *a'*. 1129, *d'*. 1136, *a.*)]:—(p) before lost *t*, *er gi*(p)=*gibt*, in which case, as always in such elisions, the remaining consonant is more strongly pronounced [that is, either (kipp) or (ki.p), see p. 799, note, on energetic Italian consonants]; "it is also a rule that final consonants are strengthened when a terminal syllable follows, even when it consists of a lost vowel":—(pf) [probably (pph)] when the initial syllable *be*, reduced to (b), is welded on to a following (нh) or (rh), as (pfendt) *behende*, (pf)*rait bereit*:—(bh) except initially, *gen. tn. cn.*, *obacht*, in the beginning of words from the Latin, (Bhe·nədikt) *Benedictus*; "in *-ben*, this *b* pronounced as (bh) is fused into (bhm), that is (-m)" [this is not distinct enough, compare the Westmorland and Cumberland (b‚) in this situation]:—often lost E. (búə gro нhol kʌr) *bube grob halb korb*, *sm.* in the end and middle, (нhʌn, gʌn gan) *haben*, *geben* [comparable to our loss of medial *v*].

C (414–415) is in E. in words of Latin origin perfect (k), as in Italian:—*sc*, *sk*, is *sm.* called *st*, *sp*.

CH, not initial (416–435), is as a rule (kh, *k*h), the following are exceptions. CH is:—(f) in E. *cn.*, *sei*(f)*t* for *seicht*, *gi*(f)*t* for *gicht* [compare our usual (f) for the lost guttural]:—(g) *sm.* in *-lich* followed by a vowel:—(gh, *g*h) E. *cn. tn.* at the end of uninflected words, (bogh) *bach*, (i magh) *ich mache*:—(k) before *s gen.*, in *-bach* final and a few words:—(q) in the termination *-lich*, *fruind*(liq), *herz*(liq) [compare our dialectal *-ling* for *-ly*, from ags. *-lig*]:—lost, *fr.* in various places, at end, (i) *ich*, (túə) *tuch*; in middle after *l*, (bhi·lər) *welcher*; after *r*, (ə ki·ə) *eine kirche*; before *s*, (bhâə·sə) *wachsen*; before *t*, (-it) *-icht*, (nit) *nicht*. It is in similar cases sometimes inserted, *achselwurm*=*assel* [woodlouse], *knichtel* =*knüttel*, (róu·khť'n) *ruthe*, (o·khtəm) *othem* [for *athem* breath].

D (436–451) is:—(‚d) pure final, medial between vowels, initial where the high German wavers between (‚t, ‚d):—(g) *rr.* before *l*, (si·gl) *sidel*, a seat; *rr.* after *n* [it does not appear whether his *ng* means (q) simply or not, and as this change of *nd* into *ng* is interesting in connection with our participial *-ing*, I give his orthography in Roman letters: beng *binden*, bleng *blind*, feng *finden*, gefongə˜ *gefunden*, empfongə˜ *empfunden*, keng *kinder*, ə˜ lengə˜ *linde*]:—(r) before ending *em*, (bu·rəm) *bodem*:—(‚t) *gen. cn. tn.* initial, no constant distinction between (‚d, ‚t) being made; E. *cn. tn.* at end and in middle before lost vowel, (нhɛnt) *hände*:—lost, *sm.* at end, (bo) *bad*, (kshâi) *gesheit*; *sm.* between a vowel and final *em*, *en*, (bom) *bodem*; *fr.* after *l*, *m*, *n*, and before a terminal *el*, *em*, *en*, *er*, the *l*, *m*, *n*, is then strengthened, (*a*·nər fe·lər) *ander felder*, (bhu·nər) *wunder*; *sm.* at the beginning of *da*, *der*, *die*, *das*, etc., (*ee*-z i ‚dis taat) *ehe dass ich dieses thäte*; (*i*·s‚tə) *desto*, (ə)*haim*=*daheim* [interesting in relation to the vexed question of dialectal *'at*=*that*]. "When the article appears simply as (‚d), and the following word begins with an explodent, the (‚d) cannot be heard alone [*für sich selbst*]. The preparation made by the tongue to pronounce it can only be perceived by the greater distinctness [*entschiedenheit*] with which the initial sound of the following word is then heard," as in the region of upper Rhine and Danube [using his orthography in roman letters], '·Bueben *die bueben*, '·Cutschen *die Kutchen*, '·Dieb' *die Diebe*, '·Gans '·Gäns· *die Gans die Gänse*, '·Kunst *die Kunst*, '·Pillen *die Pille*, '·Tag' *die Tage*, '·Zung (die Zunge). [The examples are quoted at length, because of the analogous case of the dialectal *t'* for *the* in English, where I think ('·t) is often heard, (1325 *e*). Certainly (‚t*buu·b'n),—where the tongue is placed in position for (t) and the lips in that for (b), and (‚t*b) must be distinguished from (‚tw), which is rather (‚t*bh) with a much looser

position of the lips—is quite different in effect from (.buu·b'n). The release from (ˌt, b) simultaneously on to the vowel (uu) produces a perceptibly different glide as well as a distinct 'hardness of edge,' so to translate *entschiedenheit*. Similarly for (ˌt*kunst). But in (ˌt-ˌt,su·q) nothing but ("ˌt ˌt,suq .ˌt,suq) occurs to me as possible.] "On the contrary, when this *d* occurs before vowels, it has the appearance of forming part of the word, and hence a radical initial (ˌt ˌd) is *sm.* omitted as if it were merely the article," (ən ai·ks'l) for *deichsel* [carriage pole], "and it is *sm.* prefixed where not radical," (ˌdər-a·rbərn) *erarbeiten*. [There seems to be a similar usage in *an adder, a nag*, in English.]

F (452–462) is:—(v) E. *en. tn. ed.* after vowels, as *gru*(v)*t*, *kra*(v)*t*, but elsewhere (f):—(pf) *rr.* initial;—(bh) *rr.* medial. FF, answering to low German [and English] p, is *sm.* (v) and *sm.* (f). F is *rr.* lost.

G (463–490) is:—(g), "pure French *g*," *fr.* at end and middle of words, *au*(g), *ja*(g)*d*, and regularly after *n*, [meaning (qg) ?]; but *sm.* only immediately before consonants, as *ma*(g)*d*:—wavering between (k, g) initially:—(k) *sm.* at end or middle, especially after *d, s, t*:—(gh, *gh*), "also in good high German pronunciation," *fr.* at end or after vowels, in the termination *-ig*, *sm.* before consonants:—"changes according to ancient custom into *i* before *d*, and in certain verbal terminations *st* and *t*: *jaid* for *jagd*, *maid* for *magd*, *du fraist*, *er frait*, *gefrait*, from *fragen*, etc. This *ai* is more usual along the Alps than N. of Danube, and has the sounds described under EI, from (EE) onwards." [This is interesting in relation to the formation of diphthongs in English from ags. *-ag*, *-æg*]:—(k) *sm.* final after *n* [that is (qk) is said for (q)] in *Din*(k), *gesan*(k), etc.:—(q) *rr.* in ending *-ig*:—(ˌt) *fr.* initial before *l*, *n*, (ˌt)*lanz* = *glanz*, (ˌt,nûə) *genug*, (ˌt,nu·mə) *genommen* [compare English (dl) for (gl), and presumed Cumberland (tnaa) for *know*; but is not this (ˌt,n) properly (ˌd,n) ?]:—(bh) *rr.* medial, (ploo·bhən) *plagen*:—lost, *fr.* final and medial, before consonants, and final vowelless *el*, *em*, *en*, *es*, *et*, and *sm.* in *-an* for *-agen*, the preceding vowel glides on to the *n* and is nasalised, so that all trace of *g* disappears; *sm.* the *n* is made (q), and the preceding vowel not nasalised. The prefix *ge*, reduced to (g), is heard before an explodent only by its greater distinctness, see (ˌd) for *die*, under D above. "G is *sm.* added in pronunciation to syllables ending in a vowel or *l*, *n*, *r* [using his spelling], E. *rr.* schaugen *schauen*, aug *au*, häugen *häuen*, make hay, kniegen *knien*; ilg, lilg *lilie*, galg *galg* [interesting for the Westmorland usages, and also in Robert of Brunne]; *sm.* to *s*, *sch*, as fleifsg *fleiss*, mifchgen *mischen*.

H (491–502) is:—*g* [with some of its pronunciations] *sm.* in middle and end, and even commencement of some foreign words, as (groo·ləs) *Hieronymus*:—(H) initially:—(gh, *gh*) *fr.* in the end and middle (in the Alps, in the Zillerthal, also at beginning) of words, and immediately before consonants:—(bh) *rr.* medially, (gəzaa·bhə) *gesehen*:—lost, "as in good high German, in the middle and at end of words where spoken as above":—*fr.* at beginning of suffixes *her*, *hin*, when following consonants, (*a*·bə, *a*·bi) for *herab*, *hinab*, *sm.* in *-heit*, (bóu·sət) *bosheit*. "H is *sm.* prefixed to words beginning with a consonant, as (Hho)*baus* = *abaus* = *hinab*; (Hh)*art* = *art* = *ort*; (Hh)*idrucken* = *indrucken* [chew the cud]; (Hh)*inter*, (Hh)*ünter* = *unter*." [These omissions and additions initially contrast strongly with the English habits.]

J (503–506) initial is *fr.* (g), "that is, passes into the distinct consonant (g), just as *w* becomes (b)," (G*d*uk'l) *Jacob*, and is added finally, especially after *i*, hence old *y* = *ij*.

K (507–520) is: (kh, *kh*) *sm.* at end of stem-syllables after *l*, *n*, *r*:—(g) *sm.* at end of uninflected words; and after *n* [that is, (qg) is used for (qk)]:—*rr.* (H), especially after (q), (baqH) *bank*:—(k) pure, as in French, Italian, or Spanish, very *gen.* medially, *sm.* finally, *gen.* initially before *l*, *n*, *r*:—(kh), "like a pure *k* with subsequent sensible breath, and also in all high Germany, *en. tn. ed.*," initially before a vowel, (kh)*alt*, (kh)*ind*, (kh)*ommen*, (kh)*urz*; *sm.* before a consonant (kh)*lein*, (kh)*necht*; and in the same places medially and finally:—(ˌt) *rr.* initially before *l* and *n*, (ˌt,laa, ˌt,lɛ,) *klem*, (ˌt,lɛ'ə) *kle*, (ˌt,nakht) *knecht*:—lost *rr.* finally (muu·zi) *musik*. [The interest attaching to post-aspiration (1136, *a*) induces me to give the following note at length.] "In low Germany

k does not receive the breath after it, which is common in high Germany; and this pronunciation ought to prevail generally if we upper Germans had only first learned not to confuse pure *k* with *g*,—because we should otherwise confuse *ga*, *ge*, *gi*, etc., with *ka*, *ke*, *ki*, etc., just as we now fail to distinguish *gl*, *gn*, *gr*, from *kl*, *kn*, *kr*. In Catullus's verse: 'Chommoda dicebat si quando commoda vellet,' the *ch* appears to answer precisely to our k-h. [Catullus's epigram is numbered 82 and 84, the whole of it is valuable.] This hard breathing (*starke Hauchen*) is common to many mountain people, as well as to us highlanders. Thus in the Apennines, the 'Gorgia fiorentina' is remarkable, and has earned for Florentines the nick-names 'hoboi, hahafagivoli,' because they persistently replace *c* by *h*. The Andalusian breathes the *h* in Arabic words, where other Spaniards omit it: 'Alhambra, Almohada, Albahaca, Atahona.' In the patois of the Vosges, a strong breathing, like our *ch*, replaces even *r*, *s* and *sch*—*chöch (sex* six), *cöch (coxae, les cuisses)*, *gâcho~ (garçon)*, *mâcho~ (maison)*, *ûchêi (uccello, oiseau)*, *wâch (vert)*." [We see here the usual confusions about aspiration, post-aspirations, and guttural hisses.]

L (521–545), "a certain obscure vowel-sound attaches to the semi-vowels (l m n q r), the sudden termination of which is what makes them really consonants; hence *l* acts as a pure consonant solely on those vowels which follow it in the same syllable, but on the preceding it acts to some extent (*gewissermassen*) as a vowel, by either forming a diphthong with it, that is, slurred (*legirt*), or quite purely and not united with it at all, that is, unslurred (*nicht legirt*)." [There is a difficulty in exactly interpreting the above into palaeotype. It seems as if the first case meant ('l), where (') forms a diphthong with preceding vowel, so that *all gold gulden* = (*a*'l gó'ld gû'l·d'n), a complete fracture being established, and thus *faul*, properly (fául), becomes (fá'l), see under AU (1359, *d*). The second case would then be simply pure *l*, as (olt) *alt*, not (ó'lt).] L is:—(i) *rr.* finally, as (kaa·ti) for (kaa·tl) *Katharina*:—(ii, ɹɔ) after *a*, *o*, *u*, (óɹid) *alt* [producing a suffracture], and, when after *e*, *i*, this vowel becomes [('j), or indeterminate palatal breath ʔ]:—(l) *fr.* as "generally in North Germany, only after *e*, *i*," (bild) *bild*; this (l) is generally preserved when a consonant has been omitted between it and preceding vowel, as (*al*) *adel*:—('l) *gen.* after *a*, *o*, *u*, and an altered *e*, *i*, *ö*, *ü* becoming (a, E'ə, ə). Final EL becomes wholly ('l) *gen. en. tn.* after linguals, and nearly ('l) *sm.* in stem-syllables, where the *e* or *ö* would be otherwise ('j), as (ʜh'l) *hölle*. Initial FL, GL, KL, PL, *rr.* take ('l), as (b'lood) *blatt*. L is also *rr.* (r), or lost before vowels, or added. LL medial does not shorten preceding vowel in E., so that *fall qual* rhyme.

M and N (546–555) frequently nasalise the preceding vowel in Bavaria when it is (a, e, o), or when these are the first elements of a preceding diphthong, making them (a, e, o,), but do not affect a preceding (i, u, ə). Such sounds as (ˌlam maˌn ráiˌn ˌtrâum shœœˌn), common in North Germany, never occur, but are replaced by (ˌlaˌm maˌ,n ráˌiˌn ˌtráˌum shɛˌ,n). The nasalisation is only omitted when an intervening consonant has been lost.

M (556–561) *sm.* sounds as (ˌn) at end of stem-syllables, and even in dat. sing.; after *l*, *n*, and also initially, it is *sm.* (bh).

N (562–609) in stem-syllables, before *d* and *s*, is *sm.* (m, mb, mp), and is sometimes *m* finally. N is *gen.* lost at end of stem-syllables, when no vowel follows, and the preceding vowel is then nasalised. [Much is here omitted, as not of interest for present purposes.] The final EN becomes (əˌn, 'ˌn), very frequently (ə), and is often only shewn by nasalising the preceding vowel. The ('n) alone,—becoming (m) after labials—is preserved in the E., and the (ə) alone in W., but, to avoid hiatus, the W. inserts the *n* before a following vowel. The E. also reinserts the *n* omitted in stem-syllables before following vowel. These habits give rise to an inserted pure euphonic *n*, where there was none originally, as wie-n-i sag = *wie ich sage*. In some words the *n* of the article has thus become fixed, as (ˌnost) = *ast*, and similarly an original *n* is omitted, as *ganz 'atürli*[3] = *natürlich*.

NG (612–614) is generally (q), but *sm.* (m), as (ˌdə ˌdum ˌduˑməd ˌduˑmə) for *der dung (dünger) düngen*; (nhuˑmər) = *hunger*; and *-um* is used for *-ung* in E.

P (615–618) is (p), *rr.* (b); *pf* rarely

(bv) final, and *sm.* (pɪh, pɪɪh, pH?) initial — *p-hann*, *p-hêrd*, *p-halz*, *p-hêffer* = *Pfanne*, *Pferd*, *Pfalz*, *Pfeffer*.

QU (620) is regarded as *kw* or *gw*, and the *w* is often omitted.

R (621–637), which is generally ('r), changes the preceding (*a*) to (a, âə, ûə, i), (óu) to (óuə), (*e*) to (a, E, E'ə, íə), (E'i) to (E'iə), (i) to (E, íə), (o) to (*a*, a, âə, ûə), (*ó*u) to (óuə), (œ) to (E), (u) to (*a*, *â*ə, o, ûi, ûə), as already seen under the vowels. R initial "in some regions near the Alps, on the Rot and Ilz, etc., is pronounced with a very perceptible aspiration, a sound which seems to be the same as the old HR, as in HRODPERT, HRABAN," which S. writes *hr*, *hhr*. [He has used *hh* for (gh). Whether this sound *hhr* is (rh) or (ghr) it is difficult to say. In his own symbols he writes ə̄ Hràb, ə̄ Hring, ə̄ Hroufn, ghhràd, ghhrous, ghhridn = *geritten*, and he says:] "Before *d*, *t*, *z*, only the *hh* of this *hhr* is heard, as èəhh'd = *erd*, hèəhh'd = *herde*, fuhh't *fort*," etc. [which may mean (E'əghd, HhE'əgh, fught), etc. In art. 663, referring to this place, he says, "where *r* sounds as *hh'* or *ch*," which gives (kh) and not (gh). The phenomenon is very interesting, and should be examined. It may be only *uvular* after all.] R is:—(l) in a few cases:—(r) in W. almost universally; this is the case in part of E., with *r*, *rr*, at the end of stem-syllables, but *rr* is constantly considered as simple *r* in E. [which means that the preceding vowel is not "stopped," but may be lengthened, or glides on to the consonant with a long vowel-glide; in fact is regarded and treated precisely as a long vowel, as in English]; the *r*, *rr*, have their due effect only before a following vowel. R may *sm.* be replaced by *s* in the forms *frieren verlieren*, but not in *gefrôren verlôren*; and *sm.* becomes *s* before *z*. [These interchanges of (r, s) are old, and valuable to note as existing.] R between vowels and consonants in stem-syllables is *fr.* lost, (dâf dâəf) *dorf*, and even after a consonant and before a vowel, as (ghod) *grade*, (shaqk) *shrank*. In final syllables, when no vowel follows, R is usually lost in E., and is consequently euphonically inserted between vowels where there was no original *r* [precisely as in English], and this euphonic *r* occasionally comes to be fixed on to the following word, as (ə róu·z'n) *ein asen* [beam]. An obscure vowel (ə) is inserted between *r* and the following consonant in W., as (dorəf) *dorf* [just as in our Irish after trilled *r*, in (wə·rək) *work*, etc.].

S, SS, SZ (638–663). [Schmeller writes *sz* for *s*, *ss*, *sz*, of ordinary spelling, which comes from an old high German *z* with a tail, something like ʒ, and corresponds to Scandinavian and low German *t*; and *s*, *ss*, for those *s*, *ss*, which correspond to *s* in Scandinavian and low German. The *ss* is used after a vowel to "stop" or "sharpen" it.] S in E. *cn. tn. ed.* "is always soft = (z), not merely where it is so in good high German pronunciation, but even before a *t* of uninflected forms," as *A*(z)*t*, *i*(z)*t*, *bi*(z)*t* [possibly (*a*zd, izd)], as *t* = (d) at the end of uninflected forms in E., see below; (*a*zt, *a*zst, *a*zdt) are, however, all possible]. In the same places SS is (z) at end of uninflected forms, *gwi*(z), *ku*(z), *Preu*(z), *ro*(z), and *rr.* in inflected. SZ = (z) at end of inflected forms, E. *cn. tn. ed.* S = (s), almost *gen. cn. tn. ed.* after consonants, as *dach*(s), *nich*(s); and E. *cn.* after vowels in inflected forms; E. *gen.* before *t* in inflected forms, *ac*(s)*t*, *fa*(s)*ten*. SZ = (s) in the middle and at the end of inflected forms, in E., and *sm.* of some uninflected forms, "as in good high German pronunciation," as *ha*(s), *nu*(s). S = (zh) initially, before *p*, *t*, *k*, quite *gen. cn. tn. ed.*, and even before *b* in names of places, as *Regensburg* (RE·qzhpurg), *Miesbach* (mía·zhpə), and occasionally before a vowel, as (zh)*unst* = *sonst* [Schmeller uses here his sign for (zh), see SCH]. S = (zh) *fr.* after *r* at end of words and syllables, *unser*(zh), *vater*(zh), *für*(zh)*i* = *für sich*; almost *gen. cn. tn. ed.* after *r* and before *t*, *dur*(zh)*t*, or also *dur*(sh)*t* = *durst*. [Schmeller here distinguishes his two signs (zh, sh), and both are possible, (turzhsh t) most probable; his signs for (zh, sh) being *sch*, *sch*, differ so slightly that confusion is inevitable, and hence I go by his original references to this place in his art. 92.] "S = (sh, zh) before *p*, *t*, and after every sound, from the upper Isar to the Vosges, from the Spessart range to the Saar, *cn. tn. ed.*," *Ang*(zh)*t*, *bi*(zh)*t*, *Ca*(sh)*per*, *Ha*(sh)*pel*, *ha*(zh)*t*, *i*(zh)*t*, *kan*(zh)*t*, *kun*(zh)*t*, *lu*(sh)*tig*, *Mi*(zh)*t*, *sag*(zh)*t*, *Schwe*(zh)*ter*, *die schön*(zh)*t*. [Here I have given all his examples, because he refers to this art. 654, in both art. 92

for (zh), where the reference is misprinted 644, and in art. 93 for (sh), so that the variations, which are extremely remarkable, are intentional. The sound (zh) is generally unknown in Germany, its introduction in Bavaria, and generally the use of (z, b, ‚d, g) final, are the exact German counterparts of the Somersetshire initial (z, zh, v) for (s, sh, f). To a north German these final (z, zh) are simply impossibilities, without long training.] In E. *en. tn. am*(sh)*el*, *dro*(sh)*el* = *amsel*, *drossel*. S = (‚d‚z) *rr. en.* E. after *l*, *fel*(‚d‚z)*en*, *hal*(‚d‚z) = *felsen*, *hals*; and after *n*, before *t*, it *sm.* becomes (‚d‚z), absorbing *t*, as *fen*(‚d‚z)*er*, *fin*(‚d‚z)*er* = *fenster*, *finster*; and *sm.* initially, as (‚d‚z)*arg*, (‚d‚z)*elner* = *sarg*, *seldner*. [It is with considerable doubt that I give (‚d‚z) as the translation of Schmeller's *z*, as distinguished from his *tz*, which is (‚t‚s). In art. 94 he merely calls his *z* a soft (*weiches*) German Z. The difficulty arises from the oppositions *soft*, *sharp*, and *soft*, *hard*. But (‚d‚z) seems to agree best with the above examples.] SZ *sm.* = (‚d‚z) [misprinted as old high German *z* with a tail], (*i*‚d‚z) *es*, (‚da‚d‚z) *dasz*, (‚di‚d‚z) *disz*, *dieses*, (‚tiə‚d‚z, ‚ti‚d‚z) *ihr* [in which Schmeller detects a remnant of the tailed *z*, as derived from *t*, art. 38]. In some words and places S is omitted, especially after *r* before *t*, (‚dur‚t) *durst*, and *sm.* final, and especially after *r* = (*k*h).

SCH (664–667), "at the beginning of words, both before a vowel and a consonant, has usually the soft sound, namely that which is heard in the French syllables *ja*, *je*, *ge*, *ji*, *gi*, *jo*, *ju*, not that heard in the syllables *cha*, *che*, *chi*, *cho*, *chu*," [that is, distinctly (zh)], *gen. en. tn. ed.* in *schâff*, *schiff*. [*Sch* in German is only written before vowels, *l*, *m*, *n*, *r*, and here no difficulty stands in the way of (zhaaf, zhif, zhlaa·gen), etc., but when we find Schmeller, art. 649, assume initial *sp*, *st*, *sk*, to be (zh)*p*, (zh)*t*, (zh)*k*, it is possible that there must be some mistake. He does not mean *stehen* to be (sh‚teen), as in high German, (zh‚teen) seems impossible, and hence probably (zh‚deen) is said, and we must interpret (zh)*p*, (zh)*t*, (zh)*k*, as (zhb-, zh‚d-, zhg-), which would be quite consistent with the absence of sharp distinction between initial (p b, ‚t ‚d, k g) in Bavarian. The difficulties arising from partial phonetic writing are here very evident.] SCH = (sh) always medially, but finally it is (zh), except in E. before a lost final *e*. [Schmeller here, art. 667, note, says that this is the case "in good high German pronunciation, but only after long vowels and diphthongs: *Rau*(zh), *Flei*(zh), *deut*(zh), whereas on the Nab they say *men*(sh), *deut*(sh)." Now, independently of the impossibility of (‚dây‚t‚zh), which should at least be (‚dây‚d‚zh), I certainly never noticed any high German pronunciation of final *sch* as (zh), nor have I seen it noticed as occurring. Rapp (Phys. d. Spr. 4, 42), referring to Schmeller's upper German (zh), seems to have overlooked this reference to high German. Rapp considers it "more exact to say that popular speech everywhere uses neither (sh) nor (zh), but an indifferent sound lying between them, for which our theory has no sign." This could only be ('zh), which would shew itself in the usual way as (shzh) before and (zhsh) after voiced letters. The interest to us lies in the Western English dialectal usages, their intimate relation with West Saxon, the use of Saxon *f* as *v*, the probable development of (th) from an original (dh), the dialectal habits of confusing voiced and voiceless letters, with the received sharp distinctions. Philologically these confusions are of great importance.]

T (668–681) initial = (‚t), "pure Italian *t*, not (tth, tth), but is often confused with *d*." [Schmeller complains much, in a note, p. 150, of that pronunciation, first, in the German pronunciation of foreign words, as T-h*itan*, T-h*itus*, T-h*artarey*, T-h*ee*, T-h*acitus*, T-h*empel*, and adds:] "This inserted *h* after initial *t* is quite inappropriate in foreign words, but it is disgusting (*widerlich*) and affected (*affectirt*), and as it were a mere mockery of our hardness of hearing (*wie Spott auf unsere Harthörigkeit*), when we hear it used in genuine German words by declaimers, actors, etc., so that we have to hear *Tag*, *Tod*, *teutsch*, *theuer*, *That*, as T-h*ag*, T-h*od*, t-h*eutsch*, t-h*euer*, T-h*at*, etc.," and also almost universally in the middle and end of many words. But in uninflected forms, final *t*, *tt*, often become (‚d), which disappears before *l* and *n*, as *bi*(d), *bla*(d), *bre*(d), *Go*(d); (be·‚d'‚l‚n) *betteln*. [Here, again, Schmeller has a note implying that *t* final is (‚d) "in good high German pronunciation only after

long vowels and diphthongs: Blûd, bráid, Hûd, Rad *Rath*, rôd *roth*, wáid *weit*, záid *Zeit*." His symbols are left uninterpreted. This pronunciation is not usually admitted.] TW medial becomes (p), *gen. cn. tn.* (i·pə i·pəs) *etwas etwasz*, and E. (a·p'm na·p'm a·bm a·bm,d) all = *athem*. T or TT medial is sometimes (r), as (a·rəm) *athem*, (bhɛ·dər) *wetter*. T is often lost, in conjugation endings, after *s*, *sch*; but is sometimes added after *s*, *ch*, *f*.

W (682–687), "as a *u* contracted to a consonant (*zum Consonanten verkürzt*), has usually the sound known in German," [certainly (bh) so far south as Bavaria. How can German (bh) be considered as a compressed (u)? A key is furnished by Helmholtz, who says (*Lehre von den Tonempfindungen*, 3rd ed. p. 166, and p. 157 of my translation): "for the vowels of the lower series, O (*o* in *more*) and U (*oo* in *poor*), the opening of the mouth is contracted by means of the lips, more for U than for O, while the cavity is enlarged as much as possible *by depression of the tongue*" (1283, *b*). This makes German *u* = (ʌu), with tongue as if for (ʌ), quite low, whereas English *u* has the tongue high. The proportion (ʌu): (bh) = (u): (w), is perfectly correct. I have always assumed German *u* = English *oo*. This must be my faulty appreciation.] "This sound is sometimes so indistinct (*unentschieden*) as to be scarcely observed," thus *rr*. (aal) for (bhaal) *weil*, (a·rgaq) *argwohn*, (mi·,dikhə) *mittwochen* [corresponding to our (Gri·nidzh) *Greenwich*]. "Sometimes it is too consonantal, and becomes quite (b), as (B)*urzgarten* for *Wurzgarten*," (báil, bos, bu) *weil*, *wasz*, *wo* and after *b*, *n*, it becomes (m). Possibly *mir* for *wir*, common in all High Germany, has a similar origin. *W* is often inserted between vowels as a consonantal termination of an open syllable, (iets geebh-i) *jetzt geh ich*, (bhos ,túəbh-i) *was thue ich*.

Z (688–690) initially = (,t,s), after vowels *sm.* (s), finally, "in uninflected forms, it is soft" (,d,z), as *Bli*(,d,z), *Klo*(,d,z), *Pla*(,d,z) [which Schmeller admits to be good high German after vowels and diphthongs, as *Kreuz*, *Schweiz*, *Geiz*, that is, (kráy,d,z, shbhái,d,z, gái,d,z); this must be taken with his remarks on *Sch* (1367, *e*)], but before (even lost) inflectional syllables it becomes "sharp" (,t,s), as (mi,t'n krái,t,s) *mit dem Kreuze*.

"*On the Sharpening and non-Sharpening of Consonants*" (691). [The German phrase "sharpening a consonant" shews that it "stops" a vowel, that is, that the preceding vowel is short, and glides strongly on to the consonant.] "The peculiarity of the dialect east of the [river] Lech, [in Bavaria], in pronouncing a consonant at the end of uninflected forms soft [voiced], and lengthening the preceding vowel, when transferred to the pronunciation of literary German, is offensive to educated ears whenever the consonant should be sharp [voiceless] and preceding vowel short. Before the inflectional syllables the consonants receive their proper sharpening, and the lengthened consonants are generally shewn by their diphthongal [fractured] dialectal pronunciation. Now when the native is speaking high German, he pronounces simple vowels, but it is repugnant to his feelings to lengthen them before the sharpened [voiceless] consonants. Hence he unsuspectingly shortens the long vowel before *ch*, taking the place of his own (gh), in *brachen*, *Sprache*, *riechen*, *Buches*, *fluchen*, *Kuchen*; also before *f* in *Schäfer*, *schlafen*, *strafen*, *traf*; before *k* in *Ekel*, *Haken*, *spuken*, *erschrak*, *stak*, *buk*; before *sz*, with short vowel and distinct *ss*, instead of with lengthened vowel before a somewhat softened (*gemildertem*) *ss* [meaning (z) or ('z)?], in *Blösze*, *Flösze*, *Füsze*, *genieszen*, *gieszen*, *gröszer*, *grüszen*, and after this analogy, the South Germans say *bitten* for *bieten*, *blutten* for *blûten*, *Gütter* for *Güter*, *ratten* for *râten* = *rathen*, etc. This is properly a provincialism, to be avoided by educated speakers. Yet a similar error seems to have crept into the received high German pronunciation, in so far as a short vowel is used in several words before *tt*, as *Blatter*, *Natter*, *Futter*, *Mutter*, whereas most dialects lengthen it as *â*, *û*." [This passage is quoted mainly to shew how local habits override historical usage with respect to quantity, and especially to shew the influence which voiced and voiceless consonants have over the real or apparent or accepted quantity of the preceding vowel, and to confirm my previously-expressed opinion (1274, *b*) that vowel-quantity, as an existing phenomenon in living languages and dialects, has to be entirely restudied on a new basis.]

ii. *Winkler on Low German and Friesian Dialects.*

In a note to p. 1323 I gave the title of Winkler's great *Dialecticon*, into which I had then merely peeped. It was not till after receiving the first proofs of the preceding abstract of Schmeller's researches on the comparative phonology of the Bavarian section of High German dialects, that I became fully aware of the necessity of devoting even more space to giving an account of Winkler's collections of Low German and Friesian dialects. Schmeller's researches shew the influence of precisely similar forces to those which have acted in producing the varieties of our own dialectal pronunciation, working on a sister language. Winkler's researches shew how the pronunciation of the same language as our own varies over its native, extra-British area. Schmeller's researches present most important analogies, and thus explain seeming anomalies. Winkler's collections, by being spread over such a wide region, remove the anomalies at once, and shew them to be part of one organic system.

English is a Low German language, much altered in its present condition, both in sound, as we have had occasion to see, and construction, under the influence of well-known special circumstances which have reversed the usual rule (20, *a*), and have made the emigrant language alter with far greater rapidity than the stay-at-home. On the flat lands in the Netherlands and North Germany the Low German language has, except in the single province of Holland, ceased to be a literary language. It has therefore been allowed to change organically, in its native air, instead of in the forcing-houses of literature. It is chiefly now a collection of peasant tongues, like our own dialects, with here and there some solitary exceptions, where the old citizens still cling to the old tongue they knew as children, or some poet, like our own Burns, gives it a more than local life.[1] There has been no reason for codification and uniformation. The language of education is merely High German, Dutch, and French, though the clergy have occasionally found it necessary to speak to the peasant in the only language which goes to his heart. Pronunciation, vocabulary, and grammar differ almost from village to village.

Low German is therefore much older than its apparent date, much older than English, much older than the English dialects. As I have gone one by one through the surprising collection of examples which Winkler has been happy enough to find and print, I have had most strongly forced upon me the conviction that Low German is two or three centuries older than our own dialects, and that it therefore presents us with a resuscitation of the Early English which we have hitherto met with only in the dead shape of old manuscripts. It gives a new meaning and force to our old orthographies and our old manuscripts; it shews *in sitū* the *dējecta membra* which have been thrown piecemeal on our islands, and will, I think, allow us to reconstruct our language after its true type.

[1] Mr. Klaassen of Emden, an East Friesian, tells me that in his own country, as well as in England, dialects must be collected now or never. Even street labourers in Emden (specimen 37) now speak High German.

It may be said that this is all well known; that our Anglo-Saxon and Old Saxon MSS. and our many Low German specimens have done all this already. But MSS. represent shades of dialectal forms very few and very far between, *doctored by literary men* in the first instance, who, knowing Latin, and hence knowing a language grammatically taught, have endeavoured to force "improved" constructions on to their own language (we are still doing so), and, considering medieval Latin orthography another name for perfection, have endeavoured to give a regularity to the written forms of pronunciation which did not exist in reality. No blame is meant to attach to these efforts, which, had the language really fought its way to the literary stage, would have been most valuable, and, no doubt, have been most valuable, in paving the way for the dialect which ultimately prevailed. It is only for the *history* of language that such treatment of language is lamentable. For that, it poisons the stream at the source, and throws the observer and systematiser on false tracks. But further still, the MSS. we possess are but rarely original. They have been transcribed, and re-transcribed, and "edited" by early writers, to whom the very conception of correct tradition was unknown, and who indeed wished to "adapt" them to general use. Excluding then the horrors perpetrated by more modern editors, which the most modern are learning to eschew, the consequence is that the best old writings were the most exposed to literary deformation. It is difficult frequently to discover amid the mass of change what was the *meaning* of the author:—it is almost impossible to determine what were the *sounds* he actually used or meant to represent. The manuscript record of language reminds us, then, of the geological record of life. It gapes with "missing links," and the very links it furnishes are so broken, unconnected, disguised, charred, silicated, distributed, that it requires immense ability and insight to piece them into a whole.

Such collections as Winkler's furnish the missing links, erect the fossil animals, and make them breathe and live. We have no longer to guess how such a radical change as we forefeel on examining our museums *could* have occurred,—we see it occurring! And it is this feeling that has induced me to devote so much space to an account of Winkler's collections. Those who can read Dutch should study the original, and pursue it into its details. In the mean time I believe that even the following mutilated presentment of his work will prove one of the most essential parts of mine, by making my readers feel what must have been that Early English, to which we owe the texts that our Societies are now issuing, those English dialects which still prevail in a continually dwindling state, and finally the English language itself as it exists to-day.

Winkler's work presents many difficulties to an Englishman. In the first place, it contains 948 closely-printed pages of Dutch, a language which few Englishmen read with the necessary fluency. In the next place, the Parable of the Prodigal Son, which was selected as fullest of peasant life, is presented in versions written by very numerous contributors, and each in his own orthography, very

little, if at all modified by Winkler himself, and often insufficiently explained. These orthographies are, however, greatly more intelligible than those used by Englishmen, as, for example, in No. 10 of this section, because the High German, Friesian, and Dutch orthographies are themselves much more phonetical, and hence form a much securer basis, to those that know them, than our own. But, in the first place, the generality of Englishmen do not know them. Then their sounds are decidedly different in different parts of the countries, where German and Dutch are spoken as the languages of educated people. And, lastly, the sounds to be represented were frequently not to be found in these languages, and hence signs for them had to be supplied conventionally, and of course different writers have fancied different orthographical expedients. Hence a direct comparison of the different dialects from the letters used in Winkler's book is not possible. It seemed to me therefore that I should be doing some service if I merely reduced the whole, albeit it but approximatively, to my own palaeotype. In working out this conception, I have, however, met with considerable difficulty, and I am fully aware how faulty many of my interpretations of these versions must be, especially in delicate distinctions of sound. But I trust that I come near enough for a reader who glances through the following extracts to arrive at general conclusions.

As regards High German, a long residence in Dresden, and considerable attention paid to the varieties of local pronunciations, have made me tolerably well acquainted with its sounds; but I have not resided and scarcely passed through the Low German districts. This occasioned me great difficulties. I have not felt sure as to the sounds given in High German on the spot from which the writer came to the vowels *a* (a, *a*, ah), *e* (*e*, e, ɛ), or *o* (*o*, o, ɔ); and as to the diphthongs *ei* (éi, ái, ɔ'i), and *eu* (ói, ʌ'i, óy, áy, əh'y, œ'y). I have therefore, except when especially warned, contented myself with (a, e, o, éi, œ'y). I selected (éi) because the late Prof. Goldstücker of Königsberg objected to my calling *ei* (ái), which is the general Middle German sound; and I selected (œ'y) because Rapp gives this or (əh'y) as the North-East German pronunciation of *eu*, and because, where *eu* was used, the sound (ói) appeared impossible; whereas even Donders would have said (ɔɔ'ɪ); see (1292, *a'*) and (1101, *b*) for the Dutch and (1117, *c*) for the German. The ö might be (œ, ə), I have selected (œ). Thus my vowels are (a, e, i, o, u, œ, y,) and (ə) for the unaccented *e*, unless specially warned that other sounds were meant, and then I have selected the others in the series on (1285, *ab*) which seemed to be indicated by Winkler. I have treated the Dutch spelling in the same manner, so that Dutch *eu* appears as (œœ), *u* short as (œ), *ui* as (œ'i), etc. For particulars of Dutch vowels I was fortunate in having Mr. Sweet's trustworthy report given on p. 1292. For Friesian I have had mainly to rely on Winkler. But I received some valuable *vīvā vōce* hints from two West Friesian gentlemen born at Grouw (see specimen 87* below), and an East Friesian lady born at Emden (see specimen 37 below). The reality of the fractures, together with many points of interest

which I have detailed in the specimens cited, and in the notes appended to them, were thus made clear to me.

The consonants presented another difficulty. I have given p, b, k, as written, and used (t, d) for *t*, *d*, although the latter ought almost certainly to be (ˌt, ˌd). It is a point of considerable interest in relation to English usage, which I have not yet been able to settle. My impression is that the dental (ˌt, ˌd) are original even in English, but this is scarcely more than an impression. The (pɩ, tɩ, kɩ), see (1097, *a'*. 1129, *c*), I have not even thought of discriminating. There were a few allusions to them, but not safe enough for me to deal with. The *g* is a great difficulty. Finding that the Emden lady used (gh) or even (ɢh), although the specimen was written on a High German basis, and hence had simple *g* in all cases, I have used (gh) for *g* throughout; but my West Friesian authorities more generally used simple (g) initially. This (gh) will be right for Dutch dialects no doubt, but may be erroneous initially for the North-East of Germany.

As to *b*, *d*, final, I have "followed copy," but no doubt the rules of Dutch, given at (1114, *b*, *c*), are carried out pretty generally. My Friesian authorities did not wholly agree in their practice, and I did not think it safe, therefore, to change anything.

The initial *s* in German I have treated as (z), and the initial *sch* as (sh) in the German and (skh) in Dutch. I have felt doubt at times whether the German writer's *sch* did not also occasionally mean (skh) in Low German. The Dutch *sj* I have generally left indefinitely as (sj), the Polish sound, intermediate between (s, sh), and only rarely made it (sh) when this seemed certain. The *tj* in Friesic I have made (tj, tɹ, ti-), the latter before a vowel. My Emden authority repudiated (tsh) in such places, but my West Friesian authorities were more distinctly in favour of (tsh), although (tsi-) still seemed to linger. Certainly (si-, ti-, tsi-), diphthongising with the following vowel, were older forms. The case is similar to our *nation*, *nature*. The final Brussels "sneeze" (see specimen 156), which Winkler writes *tjsj*, I have left as (tjsj), which may be called (t.sh) or (t.shj), with very energetic (.shj).

The glottal *r* (ɹ) is not sufficiently marked in Winkler. All the final *r*'s in the North of Germany are very doubtful. They are not the Italian lip-trilled (r), and at times fall into (r_o) perhaps, see (1098, *c*). I have generally left them, but have sometimes written (ˌr). There is also a peculiar *d* on the North Coast of Germany, into which *r* falls, and I am almost inclined to consider this as (r_o), which is certainly not an *r* in the usual sense of a trill, and which is ready to become (d, dh, l, z) or a vowel. This is not marked by Winkler, and hence is left unnoticed.

The *w* I have given as (bh), except where it is expressly stated to be "English *w*." In the Netherlands this will probably be right, and all my authorities used it in Friesian. The *v* I have left (v), even in the specimens written on a High German basis; but my Emden authority said ('v), and told me that the sound lay "between" (f) and (v); and one of my West Friesian authorities

volunteered the same remark. An initial (fv-) will be quite near enough, like the High German initial (sz-) and our final (-zs), see (1104, *c*). The difference between *v*, *w*, was strongly marked by all three. See also Mr. Sweet's remarks (1292, *c'*).

The *h* I have left as simple (н). It is no doubt often (нh, ɦh), see (1132, *d*), and was distinctly so spoken by my Friesian authorities; but as it is also frequently omitted altogether, and also frequently misplaced, or regularly used where no *h* is written, I felt too much doubt to venture upon any but a conventional sign.

Some other peculiarities are noted as they arise in the specimens. The account of the pronunciation of Antwerp (specimen 160) and Ghent (specimen 168) prefixed to the specimens, and the complete transcription of the Parable in the West Friesian pronunciation (specimen 87*), will be of assistance.

As to the length of the vowels, I have often felt much uncertainty, especially in North Germany, but I have followed the rule of marking the vowel as short unless the writer clearly indicated that it was long. Perhaps I have been wrong in treating Dutch *oe* and *ie* as representing (uu, ii); Mr. Sweet and Land both say that these vowels are short in literary Dutch (that is, pure Hollandish), except before *r*, but this gives no way of expressing the long sound in the dialects. It did not seem to be a sufficient reason to make the vowel long in Low because it was long in High German. There are too many examples of exactly contrary usage in this respect, see the Bavarian usages on p. 1368, col. 2. In literary Dutch, as in English, length often determines quality, but not so dialectally, and we have Winkler talking of "imperfect vowels" (short in closed syllables) being made "perfect" or "half perfect" (long or medial in open syllables). In such cases of course the converse is also true, and quality gives the feeling of length, see (1271, *b*).

These remarks are sufficient to shew the difficulties to be overcome in this reduction, and the amount of allowance that has consequently to be made by the reader for the necessarily imperfect transcription here presented. Enough however remains, I trust, to make the result very valuable to the student of comparative phonology, the basis of comparative etymology.

Winkler's work gives 186 numbered and some unnumbered versions of the Parable of the Prodigal Son, Luke xv. 11–32. The unnumbered ones are chiefly older forms from books, and there are also a few other book forms, and the two last numbered specimens are in a species of slang, very peculiar and interesting in other connections, but not in the present. Hence I have confined my attention to the first 184 numbered versions. It might be thought that the number could have been materially reduced without inconvenience. But many links of the chain would thus have been snapped, and the completeness with which Low German and Friesian will be represented in this book from the borders of Russia to the Land's End in England, and from Magdeburg in Germany to Caithness in Scotland, would thus have been defeated. It is the

very completeness of the view, in which all these forms of speech are represented in *one alphabet*, thus rendering comparison easy and direct, that forms its great value to the student. And though the subject translated is not the same in England as abroad, yet there are practically only two subjects, Winkler's Parable and my Comparative Specimen; for Prince L. L. Bonaparte's Songs of Solomon are given below in glossic, and not in palaeotype. It would, of course, have been impossible to reproduce the whole Parable in palaeotype. Hence a selection of a few verses and phrases has been made, the same for each as far as was practicable, which was not always the case, on account of the very free treatment of the subject by some of the translators. As indeed each verse is frequently treated very differently, I have thought it best to prefix in English the general character of each fraction of verse given, and when anything out of the way occurs, to annex the translation in the specimen itself. All such notes and additions are bracketed, so as not to interfere with the general palaeotype. Each verse is numbered for the same reason. Sometimes a few additional words are given. As another basis of comparison, I prefix the literary High German and Dutch versions, as given in the usual editions used in churches, and I have added the pronunciation, as well as I could,—not distinguishing (ˌt, ˌd) however. The *Authorised English Version* according to the original edition will be found above, p. 1178, and the present literary English pronunciation of it, as given by Mr. Melville Bell and myself, occurs on p. 1171. The *older Wycliffite Version* and its conjectural pronunciation are given on p. 740; the *Anglosaxon Version* and conjectural pronunciation on p. 534; the *Modern Icelandic Version* of Mr. Magnússon, with the pronunciation as gathered from his own lips, on p. 550; and the *Gothic Version* with conjectural pronunciation on p. 561. Hence the comparison can be carried backwards to the oldest records, and most divergent modern forms. It would of course have been advisable to have the Danish and Swedish versions, and especially the various Norwegian dialectal forms, to compare; but these I am not able to give.

The arrangement is *geographical*. The countries and provinces are numbered with Roman numerals, and distinguished by capital and small capital letters. Winkler's Dutch name is generally placed first, and then the German, English or French added, with a reference to the volume and page of his book. Where he has distinguished linguistic districts, as the Low German and Friesian, by separate sub-headings, these have also been introduced in small capitals. The *place* to which each version relates is numbered in the usual Arabic numerals, and printed in Italics, first as given by Winkler, and then, if necessary, in English or French, and its style as district, city, town, small country town, village, or hamlet, is added. As the names thus given are not very well known, and indeed were sometimes not to be found on maps, I have added the latitude and longitude from Keith Johnstone's Index Geographicus, which is generally correct enough for finding the place, although I have detected a few glaring errors occasionally. When the name

could not be found even there, I have added the name of some town or village which is mentioned by Winkler as adjacent, and which could be there found. The reader will therefore find no difficulty in referring each version to its proper locality. The reference to Winkler is added as before, and occasionally a few words of explanation are subjoined to the title of the specimen; but the necessity for brevity has caused me generally to omit such remarks, and always to abridge what I have given. They are generally on Winkler's authority, and substantially in his words.

These arrangements preclude the necessity of an index. The student fixing on any word in any verse can trace it through its various forms with great rapidity. The words selected had always especial reference to our English habits. Thus:—

The *omission* or *retention* of final *-e* or *-en* is shewn by: 11 *had*, 12 *dealt*, 15 the *swine*, to *feed*, *heed* or *watch*, 18 I *have*, 22 *the best* robe, *shoes*, *his feet*, 23 a or the *fatted* calf, 24 is *found*, 25 his *eldest* son, in the *field*, near the *house*, he *heard*, 29 with *my friends*. It will also be found in some versions, especially in Belgium, that *-e* has been *added on*, so that the use and disuse of the *-e* has become a mere matter of feeling, independently of any supposed origin.

The passage of a, not always original, (ii) or (ee) to an (ái) form is well shewn by: 11 *two*, 12 *he*, *dealt*, 15 *swine*, 22 *his*, 24 *my*, 31 *my*, *ever with me*. It will be seen how local such changes are, and how impossible would be the hypothesis of an original (ái) sound of *i* in English. The word 12 *dealt* was selected with especial reference to the forms in Havelok, suprà p. 473, and it thus appears that there is no occasion to assume Danish influence for such a form as *to deyle*, but that Low German forms fully suffice; and subsequently, when we come to English dialects in the East of Yorkshire, we shall see how rooted such forms still are in England.

The changes of the (uu) and (oo) are well shewn by the words: 11 *sons*, 22 *shoes*, *feet*, 24 *dead*, 25 *son*, *house*, 27 *brother*.

The changes of (a) may be traced in: 1 *man*, 18 *father*, 22 *clothes*, 23 *calf*, 25 *came*.

The changes of (e) in: 1 *man* in the form *mensch*, 11 *dealt*, Gothic *ai*, 25 *field*, 27 *friends* properly (i). For *er* falling into *ar* see 15 *farrow*.

In addition to this, the great number of *fractures* which occur, especially in the Friesian dialects, are very observable. An examination will, I think, fully justify the application of the laws (suprà p. 1307) which I had previously deduced from English and Bavarian dialects only. But this is a subject requiring extensive additional inquiries.

For the consonants the chief points of interest seem to be the following. The lost *r* and interchange or loss of *h* have been already referred to. But the approach of *d* to (dh) in parts of North Friesian (at least according to Winkler, my East and West Friesian authorities knew nothing of it, and it may be a Danism in North Friesian), and of *w* to (w) in the same (according to Winkler again), marks the tendency more fully developed in English. It is ob-

servable that we have English dialects (as in Kent) where the (dh) of pronouns sinks to (d). The loss of (dh) in most Low German dialects and its preservation in Anglosaxon, English, and Danish (the last only final and medial), or its transformation into (th), is a point which still requires investigation.

The loss of final *-d*, either by passing through (r̥) or (ɪ) and then vocalising to (ə), or by passing through (ɹ) and then vocalising to (i), is remarkable. We have the old Latin and modern Italian loss of final *-d* in quite another domain. But in Low German it presents peculiar features, and it is further complicated by its medial disappearance. Compare especially the various forms of 11 *had*, 15 *feed* or *heed*, 18 *father*, 22 *clothes*, 27 *brother*, and again after *l*, 25 *field*, and after *n*, 24 *found*, and 29 *friends*. The treatment of *n* in such cases as (q) in many dialects is singular, as is also the frequent lengthening of the vowel preceding (q). The change of (q) final into (qk) was perhaps more frequent than is marked. That *l* in 23 *calf* should have been almost uniformly retained is, in consideration of the loss of *d*, and frequent loss of *l* before *s* in 25 *as*, very remarkable. But the word was frequently dissyllabic, and has some very strange forms.

The (gh) has already been referred to. On the locality whence our ancestors came, its existence is undoubted. Even Holsteiners are accused of saying (khuu·tər Khot), and we know that Berliners indulge in (ɹnu·tər Jot). The change of (gh) to (ɹ) is not unfrequent in the word 18, 31, *you*. Combined with the elaborate Icelandic treatment of *g* (see p. 543), and the English reductions of Anglosaxon *g*, it renders the guttural character of this last letter (512, *d*) nearly certain.

These hints are merely for the purpose of drawing attention to some salient points which have engaged our attention hitherto. The Low German seems almost to settle some of these disputed points, especially long *i*, *ei* and *ai*, and final *-e*. As to the open and close *e* and *o*, their treatment has been remarkably different. They have generally been distinguished by the different courses which they have run; but this has by no means always favoured the change of the close to (ii, uu), and the preservation of the open. On the contrary, the close tend to (éi, óu), and the open to (i', u'). This fracturing is very remarkable at Antwerp (specimen 160), and when completed by a juncturing, would often lead to precisely opposite results, making the open vowels thin, as (ii, uu), and the close vowels diphthongal, as (éi, óu), which result again in broad (EE, oo, ɔɔ, AA). In the examples as written, when no actual change was made in orthography, I was obliged to take refuge in an indifferent (e, o); but when any marks or directions justified me, I have distinguished (*e*, e, E, æ) and (*o*, o, ɔ). Winkler himself comes from Leeuwarden in Friesland, where, however, a variety of Low German, not Friesian, is spoken (specimen 91), so that I cannot feel certain that I have rightly understood these indications. Mr. Sweet tells me that there is no (EE) in literary Dutch, but only (*éei*), the rules in grammars being purely orthographical. But Winkler continually inveighs against the prevalence of Hollandish

pronunciation. The general consideration of this very difficult subject of the double pronunciation of *e* and *o*, especially in reference to Early English, on which Mr. Sweet has recently made some important studies, in his "History of English Sounds" (Trans. Phil. Soc. 1873–4, pp. 461–623), is reserved for Ch. XII. (suprà pp. 1318–21).

PRELIMINARY VERSIONS.

i. *English version* corresponding to the general forms of Low German versions in the passages selected from Luke xv.

11 a certain man (mensch, married man, churl, rich man, father) had two sons (lads, young ones, young men, unmarried men, servants). There was once (one time, one turn) a man (etc.) who had two sons (etc.).

12 and he (the father, the old man) divided (dealt) his (the) property (goods, estate) among them (both, each other). and he did it. and he gave each his part (portion, lot, effects). he gave them-people (usual polite Dutch *hunlieden* for them) their, (etc.). he gave the younger his mother's inheritance.

15 to feed (heed, watch, guard) swine (farrow). to be a swinedriver, swineherd.

18 father, I have sinned (done wrong, misbehaved, done sins, done evil, done unseemly) before (towards) you.

22 (haste and) bring (fetch, haul) forth immediately (quickly, nimbly, in an instant) the best (gladdest, smartest, Sunday's, Easter's) robe (pack of dress, chest-dress, store-clothes, breeches with silver seams) and put (draw) it on him, and give (do, put) a ring (finger-ring, gold-ring) on his hand (finger) and (new) shoes (with buckles, boots) on his feet (legs, used politely for feet).

23 the fatted (masted, fat) calf. the calf in the stall.

24 for this my son (son of mine, man, lad) was (as good as) dead, and he is found (caught) again.

25 but (meanwhile) the eldest son was in (on, upon) the field (acre, mark, for work, for some days, and knew nothing of it), and as he then (now) nearer to (close to, within a bowshot of) the house (farmyard) came, he heard music (singing) and dancing (playing).

27 your brother.

29 that I might (can, may) make merry (have a feast, jollification) with my friends (mates, comrades, companions). to treat my friends (etc.) to eat it (the kid) up with my friends (etc.).

31 my son (child, young one), thou (you) art (are) always (ever, all times, always all times) with me.

ii. *Dutch Version.* Lukas, Hoofdstuk 15.

Ordinary Spelling.

11 een zeker mensch had twee zonen.

12 en hij deelde hun het goed.

15 om de zwijnen te weiden.

18 vader, ik heb gezondigd tegen (voor) u.

22 brengt hier voort het beste kleed, en doet het hem aan, en geeft eenen ring aan zijne hand, en schoenen aan de voeten.

23 het gemeste kalf.

24 want deze mijn zoon was dood, en is gevonden.

25 en zijn oudste zoon was in het veld, en als hij kwam, en het huis genaakte, hoorde hij het gezang en het gerei.

27 uw broeder.

29 op dat ik met mijne vrienden mogt vrolijk zijn.

31 kind, gij zijt altijd bij mij.

Literary Pronunciation, as revised by Mr. Sweet, see pp. 1292 and 1114.

11 ən zéei·kər mɛns ʜhat tbhéei zóou·nən.

12 ən ʜhɛ'i déei·ldə ʜhœn ʜət khut.

15 om də zbhɛ'i·nən tə bhɛ'i·dən.

18 'vaa·dər, e¹k ʜhɛp khəzo·ndikht téei·ghən ('voor) ɪ.

22 brɛqkt ʜhiir voort ʜhəd bɛ·stə kléeid ən dut ʜhɛt ʜhɛm aan, ən ghéeift ən re¹q aan zən ʜhant, ən skhu·nən aan də 'vu·tən.

23 ʜhət khəmɛ·stə kalf.

24 bhand déei·zə mən zóoun bhar dóoud, ən e¹s khəvo·ndən.

25 ən zən óu·tstə zóoun bhaz e¹n ʜhət fɛlt, ən as ʜhɛ'i kbham, ən ʜhət ʜhəh'wjs khənaa·ktə, ʜhoo·rdə ʜhɛ'i ʜhət khəza·q ən ʜhət khərɛ'i.

27 ɪ bru·dər.

29 ob dat e¹k mɛt mən 'vrii·ndən mokht fróou·lək sɛ'in.

31 ke¹nt, khɛ'i zɛ'it a·ltɛ'id bɛ'i mɛ'i.

iii. *High German Version.* Lucae, das 15 Capitel.

Ordinary Spelling.

11 ein mensch hatte zween soehne.
12 und er theilte ihnen das gut.
15 der saeue zu hueten.
18 vater, ich habe gesuendiget vor dir.
22 bringet das beste kleid hervor, und thut ihn an, und gebet ihm einen fingerreif an seine hand, und schuhe an seine fuesze.
23 ein gemaestetes kalb.
24 denn dieser mein sohn war todt, und ist gefunden worden.
25 aber der aelteste sohn war auf dem felde, und als er nahe zum hause kam, hoerete er das gesaenge und den reigen.
27 dein bruder
29 dass ich mit meinen freunden froehlich waere.
31 mein sohn, du bist allezeit bei mir.

My usual Pronunciation.

11 áin mensh ha·tə tsbhœn zɐɐ·nə.
12 ɯnd ər táí·ltə ii·n'n das guut.
15 deer zóí·jə tsu ɯyy·t'n.
18 faa·tər, ɪkjh haa·bə gəzy·n-dígjhət foor diir.
22 brí·qət das be·stə klâid hərfoo·r, undt tuut iin an, und gee·bət iim âi·n'n fí·qərrâi·f an zâi·nə handt, ɯnt shuu·ə an zâi·nə fyy·sə.
23 áin gəme·stətes kalbp.
24 den dii·zər máin zoon bhaar toodt, ɯnd ɪst gəfɯ·ndən bho·rd'n.
25 aa·bər dər e·ltəstə zoon bhaar áuf dəm fe·ldə, ɯnd als ər naa·ə tsuum háu·zə kaam, hɐɐ·rətə eer das gəza·qə und dən ráí·gjhən.
27 dâin bruu·dər.
29 das ɪkjh mɪt máí·nən fróí·ndən frɐɐ·likjh bhee·rə.
31 máin zoon, duu bɪst a·lə-tsâi·t bâi miir.

ABSTRACT OF WINKLER'S UNIVERSAL LOW GERMAN AND FRIESIAN DIALECTICON.

I. RUSSIA. I. 1.

[The German inhabitants of Esthonia, Livonia and Curland were originally Low German; and though High German is now exclusively spoken, it has a strong Low German colouring.]

II. GERMANY. I. 3.

[North of a line from Aix-la-Chapelle, Cologne or Bonn by Göttingen and Wittenberg to Berlin, and thence to Koenigsberg, the language is Low German, except two little parts of Oldenburg and Schleswig, where Friesian prevails, and some parts of Pomerania and East and West Prussia, where Cassubian, Polish and Lithuanian are spoken. This part of the Low German language is divided into Low Saxon and Low Frankish, and is generically called *plattdütsk*, and *plattdeutsch* (pla·tdói·tsh).]

III. EAST PRUSSIA. I. 6.

1. *Königsberg*, town (54 *n* 42, 20 *e* 30). I. 8.

11 en mœnsh ha·də tsbhee zeens. 12 on néi dee·ltə e·nə dat ghood. 15 dee sœ'y ə to hœœ·də. 18 vaa·dər, œk he·bə ghezy·ndight ver dii. 22 bri·qət dat be·stə kleed harvœr, on doot em dat an, on gheeft em ee·nən fi·qərréif an zii nə hand, on shoo·ə an zii·nə fœœ·tə. 23 een ghəme·stet kalf. 24 den dis·ər miin zeen bher doot, on néi œs ghəfu·ndə bho·rdə. 25 aa·bhər dee œ·lstər zeen bher opp dem fœ·ldə. on als néi naa·ə tom huu·zə keem hœ·rtə hei dat ghəze·qə on dən réi·ghən. 27 diin broo·dər. 29 dat œk med mii·nən fri·ndən frœœ·likh bhee·rə. 31 miin zeen, duu best a·lətiit bi mii.

IV. WEST PRUSSIA. I. 12.

2. *Dantzig*, town (54 *n* 22, 18 *e* 39). I. 14.

11 daa bher maal 'n man déi had tbhéi zeens. 12 on néi dee·ldə e·nə ziin ghâud. 15 de shbhiin tân hee·də. 18 vaa·dər, ek hebh shbhaar zi ndikht veer dii. 22 haald ɯ dat be·stə kleed on trekd-əm dat an, on gheebht-əm ee·n'n riqk an zii·nə hand on shâu up de feet. 23 ee·n ma·stka·lbh. 24 den dis miin zeen bheer doo·dikh, on néi es nuu bhe·dərfu·qə. 25 aa·bhersht ziin e·ldstər zeen bher up det feld, on as néi nee·ghər keem an-t huus daa heerd néi si·qə ook da·ntsə. 27 diin broo·dər. 29 dat ek kun lo·stikh ziin med mii·nə frind. 31 miin zeen, duu best e·mersh bi mii.

V. POMERANIA. I. 20.

3. *Grijpswoud*, in German *Greifswald*, town (54 *n* 5, 13 *e* 21). I. 21.

11 en minsh HAAR tbhee zœœns. [described *umlaut* of (AA), between (EE) and (œœ), opener than the first, duller than the second; it may be only (əh), it may be (æh); it is most probably one of the three (œ, əh, æh).] 12 un HE dee·ldə ən dat ghoot. 15 de zbhiin too HŒŒ·dən. 18 va·dər, ik HEF sy·ndikht vœr dii. 22 briqt dat be·stə kleet HER un doot əm dat an, un ghevt əm ee·nən fi·qərri·qk an zii·nə HANT un shoo up zii·nə fœœt. 23 en ma·stka·lf. 24 den dees min zœœn bhas doot, un is fu·nən bho·r'n. 25 de œ·lstə zœœn œœ·vərst bhas up-'n feld un as HE dikht an-t HUUS kam, húərdə HE dat si·qən un da·nsən. 27 diin broodər. 29 dat ik mit mii·nə fry·n'n lu·stikh bhiir. 31 miin zœœn, duu byst y·mər bi mii.

4. *Rügen*, island (54 *n* 30, 12 *e* 30). I. 25.

11 en minsh HER tbhee zœœns. 12 un HE deelt en dat ghood. 15 de zœœ·ghən to HŒŒ·dən. 18 va·dər, ik HEB sy·ndight vœr dii. 22 briqt dat be·stə kleed HER un trekt əm dat an, un ghebht əm ee·nən fi·qərree·p an zii·nə HAND un SHAA an zii·nə fœt. 23 en u·tMEE·st kalf. 24 den di·sər min zœœn bhAAS dood, un is fu·ndən bho·rdən. 25 œœ·bhər də œ·ldstə zœœn bhAAS in 'n feld, un as HE dikht an d't HUUS KEEM HY·RT HƏ dat zi·qən un da·ntsən. 27 diin broo·rər. 29 dat ik mit mii·nə fry·n'n kyn frœœ·likh zin. 31 min zœœn, duu bist a·ltiid bi mii.

VI. Brandenburg. I. 28.

5. *Neumark*, district about *Frankfurt* on the Oder, town (52 *n* 21, 14 *e* 32). I. 29.

11 t-HA·də -n minsh tbhee zœœn. 12 un de ol dee·ltə [spelled *dheelte*] dat ghûot. 15 de shbhiin HŒŒ·'n. 18 VAA·'r, ik HEEBh sy·night vœr dii. 22 sœkt dat be·stə kleed fœœr un trek-'t əm an, un stœœkt əm 'n riq an ziin HAND, un ghœœbht əm shûo fœr ziin been. 23 'n gəME·st't kabh. 24 den di·sər miin zœœn bhiir doot un HEE is bhe·dər fu·n'n. 25 AA·bhər də œ·lsə zœœn bheer up -t feld, un a·s'r HAA HUU·zə keem HYRT-'r dat ghəzi·qə un ghəda·ntsə. 27 diin brûo'r. 29 dat 'k met miin fryn frœœ·likh ziin kyn. 31 miin zœœn, doo bis a·ltiid bi mii.

VII. Saksen, in English Prussian Saxony. I. 33.

[About Magdeburg; the kingdom and dukedoms of Saxony are Upper Saxon.]

6. *Altmark*, district from *Sälzwedel*, town (52 *n* 51, 11 *e* 9), to *Stendal*, town. (52 *n* 36, 11 *e* 51). I. 34.

11 een minsh HAT tbhee zœœn. 12 un de VAA·dər ghEEf-t-əm. 15 de sbhii·nə to HŒŒ·ghən. 18 VAA·dər, ik HEF mi zoo shlekht bədRAA·ghən. 22 breqt det best kleed, un trekt-ət-əm an, un ghEF əm ee·nən fi·qərri·q an zii·nə HAND un shoo·ə an zii·nə vœœ·tə. 23 een gəME·st kalf. 24 dys miin zœœn bhas dod, un is bher fu·ndən. 25 as də œœlst zœœn von-t feld rin kam un dat si·qən un da·ntsən HŒRT. 27 ziin BRAA·dər. 31 miin zœœn, duu bist a·ltiid bi mii.

7. *Meitzendorf*, village, in environs of *Magdeburg* (52 *n* 9, 11 *e* 38). I. 37.

11 et bhas en minshə de HA·TƏ tbhee zéi·nə. 12 un néi déi·ldə u·ndər eer ziin als. 15 de zbhii·nə HŒ'y·ən. 18 VAA·dər, ik HAR zy·ndə DAAN vör dik. 22 HAALt mi dat be·stə kleed von 'n bo·dən un trekt əm dat an, un 'n riq dâut an zii·nən fi·qər un shûu·ə an zii·nə fœ'y·tə. 23 en fe·tet kalf. 24 den di·sə miin kint bhas dood un ik HE·bə əm nuu fu·nən. 25 derbhii·lə bhas də grœ·tstə von də zœœ·nə op 'n feld. as de HAA·ə bi dat HUUS kam dun HŒ·rtə néi də muzii kə un dat ghəzi·qə. 27 diin brâu·dər. 29 dat ik mik ku·ndə lu·stikh MAA·kən mit mii·nə fryn. 31 miin kint, dâu bist a·lə tiid bi mik.

8. *Hohen Dodeleben*, village in environs of Magdeburg, see No. 7. I. 41.

11 et bhAAr MAAl en mensh, der HA·TƏ tsbhee JU·qənz. 12 un néi déi·ltə u·ndər zee zii·nən HOOF. 15 də shbhii·nə tə HŒ'y·ən. 18 VAA·dər, ik HE·bə sy·nə ədAA·'n vor dik. 22 sœ'ykt dat be·stə kleet for un trekt ət əm an un 'n riqk dâut an zii·nə HE·nə un shâu·ə an zii·nə fœ'y·tə. 23 'n kalf dat əme·st is. 24 den di·sər mii·n zoo·nə bhAAr doot, un néi is əfu·n'n. 25 dərbhii·lə bhAAr də grœ·tstə von də zœœ·nə op'n fe·lə, un als néi di·khdə an-t HUUS kaam dun HŒ·rtə néi də muzii·kə un dat ghəda·ntsə. 27 diin

bráu·dər. 29 dat ik mik HA·rə ke·nən lu·stikh MAA·kən mit mii·nə fri·ndshap. 31 miin kint, duu bist a·lətiit bi mik əbhe·st.

VIII. MECKLENBURG. I. 46.

9. *New Brandenburg*, town (53 *n* 32, 13 *e* 15). I. 47.

11 dAAr bhas MAAl eens en man, dee HHaar tbhee ZŒŒNS. 12 un də va·tər dee·ltə en dat fərmœœ·ghən. 15 de shbhiin to HŒŒ·dən. 18 va·tər, ik HEF mi fərsy·night ghee·ghən dii. 22 briqt den a·lərbe·stən rok HEEF un trekt əm den an, un stekt ən nən riq an'n fi·qər un ghEEbht em shoo an zii·nə fœœ·tə. 23 'n fe·təs kalf. 24 bhiil dis miin zœœn as dood bhas, un HE is bher·ər fu·nən. 25 de œ·lstə zœœn œœ·bhər bhas up 'n feld, un as HE HAA to HUUS kam HY·rtə HE də muzii·k un dat da·ntsənt. 27 diin broo·rər. 29 dat ik mit mii·nə fry·n 'n mi lu·stigh HO·lən kun. 31 miin zœœn, duu byst a·lbhegh bi mii.

10. *Stevenhagen*, town (53*n*41, 12 *e* 53). I. 50.

11 dor bhas mal en man, déi HAR tbhéi ZEENS. 12 un HéI déi·ltə u·nə zéi dat fərMEE·ghən. 15 de zbhiin táu HŒ'y·rən. 18 VAA·TƏ, ik HEBH zy·ndight vœr dii. 22 briqt dat be·stə kleed HERA·n un trekt əm dat an un ghebht em éi·nən fi·qərri·q an zii·nə HAND un sháu an zii·nə fœ'yt. 23 en ma·stkalbh. 24 den dee·zə min ZEEN bhas dood, un is fu·nən bho·r'n. 25 də œ·lstə ZEEN E·bhər bhas up dən fe·l'n, un as HéI HEE·ghər an-t HUUS kam, HYRT HéI dat zi·qən un da·ntsən. 27 diin bráu·rə. 29 dat ik mit mii·nə fry·n'n frœœ·likh bhiir. 31 min ZEEN, duu byst táu JEE·RE ['every'] stun bi mii.

IX. HOLSTEIN. I. 54.

11. *Friederichstadt*, town on the Eider (54 *n* 23, 9 *e* 4). I. 56.

11 een minsh HAR tbhee zœœns. 12 un HE dee·ldə zə dat ghuud. 15 de zbhiin to HYY·ən. 18 fa·dər, ik HEBH zy·ndight vór dii. 22 briqt dat be·stə kleed HƏRfœ·r, un doot ət əm an, un ghEEbhd əm ən fi·qərri·q an ziin HAND, un shoo an ziin fœœt. 23 en ma·stkalv. 24 den di·sə miin zœœn bheer dood, un is fyn bho·r'n. 25 aa·bhər də œ·lstə zœœn bheer op dat feld, un as HE neegh an-t HUUS keem, HŒ·rdə HE dat zi·qən un dat da·nzən. 27 diin broo·dər. 29 dat ik mit miin frœn frœœ·li bheer. 31 miin zœœn, duu bis y·mər bi mii.

12. *Dithmarsch*, district about *Meldorf*, town (54 *n* 6, 9 *e* 4). I. 59.

11 en man HAR tbhee ZŒŒNS. 12 un de ol deel dat ghuut. 15 de zbhiin to HŒŒ·dən. 18 VAA·dər, ik HEF mi slekht bədRAA·ghən ghee·ghən dii. 22 briqt de be·stə a·ntoogh un trekt əm dən an, un stekt əm ən riqk an'n fi·qər un gheevt əm shoo an ə fœœt. 23 en ma·stkalf. 24 den min zœœn HIIR bheer dot, un is bhe·dər fun. 25 aa·bhər də œ·lstə zœœn bheer to feld un as HI neegh bi-t HUUS keem, HŒR HE dat si·q'n un dants'n. 27 diin broo·dər. 29 dat ik mal mit miin fryn lu·stigh bheer. 31 min JUQ, duu byst a·ldaagh bi mii.

X. SCHLESWIG. I. 62.

a. LOW GERMAN IN SCHLESWIG. I. 63.

13. *Angelen*, district between the *Schley* river and *Flensborg* fiord (54 *n* 50, 9 *e* 35). I. 65.

11 en man HAR tbhee ZEENS. 12 un zoo dee·lər də oo·lə ziin ghood. 15 as swi·ndrii·vər. 18 va·tər, ik HEV groo·tə syn bəgAA·n vœr dii. 22 HAAL dat be·stə von miin klee·dər fœr ziin a·rmə liiv ['body'], go·lnə fi·qərri·qə fœr ziin HEN un nii shoo fœr ziin fœœt. 23 en fe·tə kalv. 24 HEE bher dood, un is we·dər fu·nən. 25 aa·bər də œ·lstə ZEEN bher op dat feld; un as HE HUU op de bheegh HAA HUUS in de neegh dat zi·qən un da·nzən to HŒŒ·rən kreegh. 27 din broo·dər. 29 um mi mit min fryn frœœ·likh zin to LAA·tən. 31 min ZEEN, duu bist a·ltiid bi mii.

b. FRIESIAN IN SCHLESWIG. I. 70.

[In these Friesian dialects the short *i* is said by Winkler to be "nearly perfect," by which he apparently means that it is pure (i), and not (*i*, e', *e*, *e*), or other Dutch sounds of short *i*. These dialects seem also to have (dh), see note to specimen 14.]

14. *Bökingharde* variety of the *Moringer* dialect, which is spoken in a district containing *Niebüll*, town (54 *n* 34, 8 *e* 49). I. 78.

11 an mon HéI tbhéi·ər SAA·nə. 12 an HE diild JAM at ghœd. 15 da sbhin to JHœ·rdərn [(JœrdƏrn) simply ?]. 18 tee·tə, ik HEBH me fərsee·night in dee.

22 bre'jq da be·stə kluu·dhə ɟhurt an tii-s нam œn; dóu нam an gho·lre'jq áu·ər a fái·qər an skur áu·ər a fe'jt. 23 an fat kuu·lebh. 24 aa·bhər de нə·rə fon min bii·dhə zaa·nə bhas dyd, un as bhii·dhər fy·nən bho·rdən. 25 óu·ərs də a·lstə saan bhas to fe'j·ldə, an as ər ta·ghdə ['thought'] to-d нys kóum нird ər at síu·qən [(shu·qən) ?] an do·nsin. 27 dan bróu·dhər. 29 dat ik ma min fry·nə frœ'i·lik bhee·ze kyy. 31 man saan, dyy bast a·ltet bái mee.

[(kluu·dhə, bii·dhə, bhii·dhər, bróu·dhər) are spelled by Winkler with *th*, as *kluthe*, *bithe*, *wither*, *brouther*, and similarly *lithan* to suffer, *ethe* to eat, *wethere* wether, or kid, *bleth* blithe, *tofrethe* content, German *zufrieden*, but *louð* only has a crossed ð, which he says is "a soft *th* as in English, sounding almost as *s*." I have supposed that where he wrote *th*, he meant the same thing, that is, (dh), or to a Dutchman almost (z). similarly in specimen 15.]

15. *Karrharde*, district about *Stedesand* town (54 *n* 44, 8 *e* 56). I. 81.

11 en mon нéi tbhéi·ər see·nə. 12 an нi dild ɟem dat ghœd. 15 de sbhin to ghii·tən. 18 tee·tə, ik нebh me fərzee night ɟin dee. 22 briq dat best klee·dadhe ɟhurt an tii-t нam œn; duu нam en go·lriq au·ər a fe·qər an skur áu·ər a fe'jt. 23 en fat kuu·lebh. 24 áu·ər də нe·rə fon min bii·dhə see·nə bhas dud, an нee es bhii·dhər fy·nən bho·rdən. 25 aa·bhə də a·lstə sen bhas to fe'j·ldhə, an as ər ta·ghdə ['thought'] to-d нys kóum нird ər dat síu·qan [(shu·qan) ?] an do·nsin. 27 dan bróu·dhər. 29 dat ik me min fry·nə frœ'i·lik bhee·ze kyy. 31 man sen, dyy best a·ltid bái mee. [See note to specimen 14.]

16. *Gosharder* dialect about *Hattstedt*, *Bredstedt* and *Husum*, town (54 *n* 28, 9 *e* 3). I. 84.

11 diir bher en me·nshe, dii нéi tbhen sens. 12 un di faa dər día·led dat ghœd u·nər нa·mən. 15 bhur sbhii·nhœ·rdər. 18 faa·dər, ik нee se·ndighet, for dii. 22 bri·qet dat best klee dadhe ɟhu·rtə un tii-t нam œn, un stee·ghət нam en gho·lriq am a fii·qər un tii·et нam shyy·rə œn. 23 en faaht kúalf. 24 den man sen bhər dúad, un ik нéi нam we·dər fy·nən. 25 di a·lstə sen bher tœ fee·lə; es нi nyy tœ нys ghiiq нiirt нi al fon fii·rəns ['all from far'] dat síu·qən [(shu·qən) ?] un dat spe·lin ['play']. 27 dan broo·dər. 29 dat ik miin fry·nə bebhe·rti kyy. 31 man lii·bhə ɟu·qə, dyy best i·mər bai mii.

17. *Amrum*, island (54 *n* 38, 8 *e* 20). I. 89.

11 an maan нed táu sœns. 12 an нii diald ɟha [this (ɟh) is doubtful] at ghud. 15 a sbhin to нœ·rdin. 18 atj ik нaa za·naght ɟin ɟóu. 22 briq нam a best klúadər an tjii-m-s нam un, an duu-m нam an fa·qərriq áu·ər a нun an skur áu·ər a fet. 23 an feet kúa·lebh. 24 áu·ər dasнii·r man sœn bhéar dúad, an нii as bhe·dər fy·ndhən ['softened English *th*, nearly like *sh* or *zh* and ð,' here written, 'sounds generally as *dj* or *dy*'] bhu·rdən. 25 man di eelst sœn bhéar áu·ər fíal, an ys нi bhat nái·ər to-d нys kaam an нird at sío·qen [(sho·qən) ?] an daa·nsin. 27 dan bru·dər. 29 dat ik mii mee min fri·ndər нœ·ghi kyd. 31 man sœn, dyy best a·ltiid bi mii.

18. *Sylt*, island (54*n*54,8*e*21). I. 94.

11 en man нed táu dreeq·qər ['servants,' lads]. 12 en de faa·dhər dii·lət ɟam diit gud. 15 de sbhiin tœ ɟee·tən. 18 faa·dhər! ik нaa ze ndhikht tœœ·ghən ɟuu. 22 briq dit beest klúadh ɟaart, en tii ət нœm œn; ən dœœ нœm ən fi·qərriq œn sin нundh, en skuur áur sin fet. 23 en fat kúalet. 24 for desji·rəm min dreeq bhéar dúad, ən es bhe dhər fy·ndhən uu·dhən. 25 man də falst dreeq bhir yp mark, ən ys нii néi bii-t нys kaam ɟert нii dit siú·qən [(shu·qən) ?] ən daa nzin. 27 diin bro·dhər. 29 dat ik mee miin fri·nɟər mii ɟens fry·ghə kydh. 31 miin dreeq, dyy best a·ltiid bi mii.

19. *Helgoland*, island (54 *n* 11, 7 *e* 53). I. 99.

11 diar bhíar ian·maal 'n man, dee нiid táu ɟo·qən. 12 en daa deelt de ool man ɟam det ghood. 15 de sbhiin to нo·dərn. 18. faar! ik нaa syn deen. 22 briqt də bast kloor dúat, ən tiid нəm det un, ən dood нem 'n riq om siin fi·qər, ən skuu o·vər siin fu·tən. 23 'n fat ka·ləvken. 24 den miin zœn нat dúad bheen, ən es bher fin bhurn. 25 oov·ər de oldst sœn bhíar un-t feld, ən as нee néi bii de ɟhyys [sounds at present like (нiis), according to Winkler] kim нiard нe det si·qən ən spri·qən. 27 diin brur. 29 dat ik met miin fren ferghnöght bhees kiid. 31 miin lif ɟoq, dee нas al·ə tii·dən bi mii bheen.

XI. TERRITORY OF THE FREE CITIES OF LUEBECK, HAMBURG AND BREMEN. I. 103.

20. *Schlutup*, village near *Lübeck* (53 *n* 52, 10 *e* 51). I. 104. [To serve in place of a *Lübeck* specimen, which Winkler could not obtain.]

11 een minsh нar tbhee zœns. 12 un нe dee·ldə dat ghood u·nər eer. 15 de sbhiin нœœ·dən. 18 vaa·dər, ik нev zyn daan fœr dii. 22 нaalt mi dat be·stə kleed нeruu·t, un tee -t em an, un doot əm een riq an zin нand un shoo an ziin fœt. 23 een ma·stkalf. 24 den bhat min zœn is bhas dood, un is bhe·dər fun. 25 də œ·lstə zœn œœ·vərs bhas in -t feld, un as нe nee·ghər an -t нuus keem нœr нe dat zi·qən un da·nsən. 27 din broo·dər. 29 dat ik mii mit mii·nə fryn shul lu·stikh нo·lən. 31 min zœn, duu byst a·ltiid bi mii.

21. *Hamburg*, town (53 *n* 33, 10 *e* 0). I. 109.

11 een minsh нar tbhee zœœns. 12 un нee dee·ldə dat ghood maq ɟym. 15 de sbhiin to нœœ·dən. 18 vaa·dər, ik нev zy·ndight vœr dii. 22 briqt dat be·stə kleed нeru·t un trekt ət əm an, un ghevt əm ee·nən fi·qərriq an zii·nə нand un shœœ an zii·nə fœœt. 23 een ma·sted kalf. 24 den dy·sə miin zœœn bhas dood, un нee is bhe·dər fun. 25 aa·bərs ziin œ·lstə zœœn bhas up -n feld, un as нe dat нuus нœœ·ghər kœm daa нœ·rdə dat zi·qən un dat da·ntsən. 27 diin broo·dər. 29 up dat ik mit mii·nə fry·ndən lu·stigh bhee·zən kyn. 31 miin zœœn, duu byst ɟy·mərs bi mii.

22. *Bremen*, town (53 *n* 5, 8 *e* 48). I. 117.

11 daar bhas en minsh de нar tbhee ɟu·qəns. 12 un нe dee·lədə dat ghood u·nər ɟem. 15 dat нe daar de sbhii·nə нœœ·dən shol. 18 vaa·dər, ik нebh zu·night ghee·ghən dii. 22 нaalt mi dat be·stə kleed нeruu·t un teet id əm an, un steekt əm ee·nən riq an zii·nə нand un trekt əm shoo an. 23 ən mee·sted kalbh. 24 den min zœœn [for (œ) see spec. 3, v. 11; here however it is said to be "a middle sound between *oe* and *œ* or *ö* and *ä* German, and that it sounds at Bremen very nearly as *œ* or *ä*," that is (ɛn); this would favour the supposition that the sounds were nearer (əh) or (əh),] bhas dood, un is нuu bhe·dər fu·nən. 25 aa·vər də o·lstə zœœn bhas up dəm fe·lə, un as нe duun bi нuu·zə keem нœœ·rədə нee dat zi·qəndə un da·ntsəndə. 27 diin broo·dər. 29 dat ik meel ['once'] mit mii·nən fru·ndən ferghnœœ·ght ziin shul. 31 miin kind, du byyst ɟy·mər bi mii.

XII. HANOVER, BRUNSWICK, SCHAUMBURG, OLDENBURG. I. 122.

23. *Deister*, district (52 *n* 16, 9 *e* 28). I. 124. [A remnant of the old Hanoverian speech of the Calemberg species.]

11 e mi·nshə нa·rə tbhéi ɟu·qəns. 12 un нéi déi·lə u·nər zéi dat a·rídéil. 15 də sbhii·nə tə нœ'y·an. 18 vaa·dər, ek нe·və zy·nighət vœr ɟyk. 22 bri·qət dat ghla·destə kleed, un trek ət œm an, un ghee·vet ən riq an zii·nə нand un shau·ə an zii·n fœ'y·tə. 23 dat fet əmaa·ketə kalf. 24 den dy·sə miin zoon bhas doot, un нéi is əfu·nən. 25 ziin œ·lstə zoon na·bər bhas up en fe·lə, un as нéi in də nee·ghdə zii·nəs нuu·zəs kam нœœ·rə нéi spee'l ['playing'] un dans. 27 ɟûə brâur. 29 dat ek mit mii nən fry·nən lu·stigh bhœœ·rə. 31 miin léi·bhə kind, duu bist ɟy·mər béi mek.

[Some additional words are given compared with German, on account of their vowel fractures.] 12 gûitərn *gütern*. 14 vərtéərt *verzehrt*, liən *leiden*. 17 véə·lə *wiele*. 19 bhiərt *wird*. 27 bhéər *wieder*. 29 zy'ə *siehe*. 32 gûər *guter*.

24. *Oldendorf-Himmelpforten* village (53 *n* 35, 9 *e* 13). I. 137.

11 da bhœr ins en minsh, de'j нar tbhe'j zœœns. 12 un нe'j deel ɟym dat ghood. 15 de'j sbhin to нœœ·dən. 18 vaa'r, ik нef zy·ndight ɟe'j·ghans ɟoo. 22 briqt dat be·stə tygh нer un trekt əm dat an, un gheeft əm ən fi·qərriq an də нand un shoo an də fœt. 23 en me'jbst kalf. 24 den dy·se ɟuq bhœr dood, un is bhe·dər fu·n'n [32 fy·u'n]. 25 bhii·ldərs bhœr də œ·lstə zœœn op'n fe·l'n, un as нe'j bi нuus kœm нœr нee'j dat zi·qən un da·ntsən. 27 ɟon broo·dər. 29 dit ik mit mii·nən fry·u'n fərghnœœ·ght bhœœr. 31 min zœœn, duu bys a·ltiids bi mii.

[Additional illustrations compared with German.] 12 sɛn *sagte*. 14 fyq *fing*. 16 nyms *niemand*. 19 mee'jr

bhe'jrt *mehr werth.* 20 see'jgh *sah,* ym *um.* 26 e'jnen *einen,* frœgh *frug.* 29 zyy *sieh,* œœ·bhərtree·ən *übertreten.*

25. *Altendorf,* village (53*n*36, 9 *e* 27). I. 140.

11 en VAA·dər HAR tbhee zœœns. 12 un de VAA·dər deel JYM dat ghood. 15 də sbhin to HŒŒ·dən. 18 VAA·dər, ik HEEbh u·nrekht DAAN vœr dii. 22 briqt dat best kleed HƏRUU·t un tee -t əm an, un ghebht em ən fi·qərriq an zin HAND un shoo an zin fœœt. 23 ən ME·st't kalbh. 24 den min zœœn bhœr dood, un is bhe·lər fu·nd'n. 25 AA·bher də œ·lstə zœœn bhœr op -'m feld, un as HE nœœ·ghər NAA HUS kœm HŒR HE dat zi·qen un da·nsən. 27 din broo·dər. 29 dat ik mit mii·n'n fry·nd'n fərghnœœ·ght BHEEN kun. 31 min zœœn, duu byst JY·mər bi mii.

[Additional illustrations compared with German.] 12 ghœœ·dərn *gütern.* 13 ghyq *ging,* HINDŒŒ·T *hindurch.* 19 ik byn *ich bin.* 26 frœgh *frug.* 29 duu bheest *du weissest,* ŒŒ·bhə-GAAN *übergangen.* 32 ghoo·dəs moo·ds *gutes muthes.*

26. *Rechtenfleth,* village between Bremen and Bremerhaven (53 *n* 32, 8 *e* 84). I. 143. [The speech is Friso-Saxon.]

11 en minsk HAR tbhee sœœ·nən. 12 un HEE dee·ldə JƏM dat ghood. 15 də sœœ·ghən to HŒŒ·ən. 18 VAA·dər, ik HEF zu·ndight for dii. 22 briqt dat be·stə tygh HER un trek-t əm an, un ghevt əm ən fi·qərriq an ziin HAND un shoo an ziin fœœ·tə. 23 en mee·st'd kalf. 24 den di·sə, min zœœn bheer dod, un iz bhe·dər fu·ndən. 25 də o·lste sœœn AA·vər bher op-n fe·ldə, un as HE NAA HUS keem HŒŒ·rdə HEE dat zi·qən un dat da·ntsən. 27 diin broo·ər. 29 dat ik mit mii·nə fru·ndə lu·stigh bher. 31 min sœœn, du bist a·ltiid bi mii.

[Additional illustrations compared with German.] 12 ZEE *sagte.* 14 fuq *fing.* 15 HUQ *hing.* 16 buk *bauch,* nums *niemand.* 29 zyy *sieh,* AA·vər-TREE·ən *übertreten.*

a. LOW GERMAN IN OLDENBURG. I. 145.

27. *Eckwarden,* village between Jahde river (53 *n* 26, 8 *e* 12) and Weser river. I. 147.

11 ee·nmal ins ['once,' Dutch *eens,* a repetition] bheer d'r een man, de HAR tbhee zœœns. 12 un HEE dee·ldə ER dat ghood. 15 də sbhii·n'n to HŒŒ·ən. 16 VAA·dər, ik HEBH ghroo·tə zyn DAAN ghee·ghən dii. 22 HAALt dat be·stə kleed HER un teed əm-t an un STEKT əm 'n RIQK an 'n fi·qər un shoo ŒŒ·vər ziin fœœt. 23 'n good fet kalbh. 24 den di·sə miin zœœn bheer dood, un is fu·n'n bhoo·rən. 25 AA·bhər də œ·lstə zœœn bheer up-t land, un as HE dikht bi-t HUUS keem HŒ·rdə HE dat zi·qən un spri·qən. 27 diin broor. 29 dat ik mit miin frœ·n'n fər-ghnœœ·ght BHEE·zən kun. 31 miin zœœn, duu byst JOO a·ltiid bi mii.

[Additional illustrations compared with German.] 14 ghuqk *ging.* 16 buuk *bauch,* nymms *niemand.* 17 ZEE *sagte.* 20 zeegh *sah.* 29 zyy *sieh,* noo·nikh *noch nicht.*

28. *Jever,* town and district (53 *n* 35, 7 *e* 54). I. 150.

11 t-bheer mal ins ['once,' Dutch *eens*] een minsk, dee HAR tbhee zœœns. 12 un də VAA·dər deé dat. 15 ziin sbhiin to bhaa·rən. 18 VAA·dər, ik HEF u·nrekht DAAN tee·ghən dii. 22 briqt up də stee HER de be·stə klee·dazii un trekt ym dee an un gheeft ym ee·nən riq ym ziin vi·qər un gheeft ym shoo œœ·bhər ziin fœœt. 23 'n fet kalf. 24 den di·sən zœœn bheer doot, un HEE is bheer fu·ndən. 25 də ölstə zœœn bheer up dən a·kər, un as HE keem un dikht bii-t HUUS bheer doo HŒŒ·rə HEE ly·stikh ['merrily'] zi·qən un la·rmən ['making a noise'] van də ze·lshup ['from the company,' German *gesellschaft*]. 27 diin brœœ·ər. 29 dat ik mit miin goo·də fryn ly·stikh bhee·zən kyn. 31 miin JUQ, duu byst y·mər bi mii.

[Additional illustrations compared with German.] 13 't- dyy·rdə *es dauerte,* de bhii·də bhelt *die weite welt,* 14 fuq *fing.* 15 gyqk *ging.* 24 'n ghroo·tə MAA·ltiit *eine grosse mahlzeit.* 26 froogh *frug.* 27 ZEE *sagte.*

29. *Rastede,* village (53 *n* 14, 8 *e* 11). I. 153.

11 en minsh HAR tbhee zœœns. 12 un HE dee·ldə ER dat ghood. 15 də sbhiin to HŒŒ·ən. 18 VAA·dər, ik HEF zy·ndə DAAN vor dii. 22 HAALt dat be·stə kleed HER un tee-t əm an, un STEKT -'m 'n riq an-ə̂ hand, un shoo AA·vər ziin fœœt. 23 'n MEST kalf. 24 den di·sə miin zœœn bheer doot, un is bhe·dər fu·nən bhu rn. 25 AA·bhər də o·lstə zœœn bheer up-t feld, un as

HE dikht bii·t HUUS keem HŒ·RDƏ HE dat zi·qən un dat da·ntsən. 27 diin broor. 29 dat ik mit miin fru·nə fərghnœœ·ght bhee·zən kun. 31 miin zœœn, duu byst a·ltiid bi mii.

[Additional illustrations compared with German.] 13 HERDŒŒ·R *hindurch*. 17 ZEE *sagte*. 26 to bədyy·ən ZU *bedeuten*. [N.B. Final *r* scarcely heard; *d*, *l*, soft *r* confused, so that *wedder* sounds nearly *wedde*, *wedda*, *werre*, *werra*, *welle*, *wella*, in Winkler's spelling.]

b. FRIESIAN IN OLDENBURG. I. 155.

30. *Sagelterland*, district about *Friesoythe*, town (53*n*1, 7*e*51). I. 158. [The inhabitants are genuine Friesians in descent, language, dress, and customs.]

11 DEER bhas ins en MAA'·nskə un dii nii·də tbhee·n suu·nə. 12 doo DEE·lədə di oo·ldə mon it HIM too un RAA't HIM bhet HIM too·KEEM. 15 uum də sbhii·nə to bhAA'·RJƏN. 18 bAA·bə, ['father'] ik HE·bə se·ndighed JUUN dii. 22 HAA·lə mi ins ['once'] ghâu ['quickly'] do be·stə kloo·dərə HIIR, un luu·kət HIM do oon, nii·mət ook ən riq med, un dwoot ['do,' put] HIM dii oon ziin HOO·ndə UN REEK HIM skoo·ə oon-ə fee·tə. 23 en ma·stəd koolv. 24 dən dis zuun fon mii bhas foor uus zoo ghood as dood, un nuu HE·bə bhi HIM bhiir fuu·ndən. 25 too bhii·lən bhas di oo·lstə suun op-t feeld too a·rbéi-djEN ['work']; man doo nii-s éeunds [almost spoken *s'evends*, says Winkler, 'in the evening,' old Friesic *iond*] fon·t feeld e·tər ['after'] HUUS bhéi ['away'] giq HAA·rədə nii det shu·qən un det doo·nsJən fon doo bhe·rskuplJyy·də ['workpeople']. 27 diin broo'r. 29 det ik un mii·ne fríy·ndə ook ins ly·stigh bhEE·zo kuu·dənə. 31 miin liôou bee(r)·d'n, [the (r) scarcely heard] duu best a·ltiid bi mii.

[Additional illustrations compared with German.] 12 do bee' *den beiden*, 13 fRAA'md *fremd*, JEELD *geld*, to liiuJən *zu leben*. 14 lii·də *leiden*, niks neen *nichts kein*, broo'd *brodt*. 15 dwoo *thun*, bhel bhiil HIM ook in ziin tJonst nii·mə? *wer will ihn auch in seinen dienst nehmen*, buur *bauer*, SAA'·ntə *sandte*. 16 Je(r)·dən *gern*. 17 nii bito·ghtə zi'k *er bedachte sich*, KWAAD *sagte* [English *quoth*], fuu·lə *viele*, stee·ruê *darben*, HÉEUD nii·də *gehabt hatte*. 18 blii·uê *bleiben*, kwee·de *sagen*. 20 bloo·kəd *geblickt*. 21 lJyy·də *leute*. 26 to bitJyy·dən *zu bedeuten*. 29 siûkh *sieh*, NAA'n lii·tJə buk *keinen kleinen bock* [English *little*, (li·tik) in other positions].

31. *Wangeroog*, or in North Friesian *Wrangeroog*, island (53 *n* 47, 7 *e* 52). I. 171.

11 dər is ĥinmoo·l EN shee'l ['churl,' used for married man] bhi·ziin, dan HÂID tbhéin fe·ntər ['unmarried men']. 12 daa fardéi·ld dan oo'l mon siin JIL ['money,' *geld*] un ghood fonoo·rn [Dutch *van elkander*, from each other, apart] u·nər da béidh, un ro't oon dan JUQST siin déil, saa fel as HIM too kâum. 15 um da sbhiin too waa·riin. 18 bab! ['father,' (maam) 'mother'] ik HEB sy·nikht JEN dii. 22 HAA·liit JUUM mii ins ['once'] ki·tiigh ['quickly'] da best kloo'·dər HOO'd ['hither'] un tjoot HIM da oon; réi·kət HIM uk EN riq oon siin HÂUN un nii skoo'r ['new shoes'] oon siin foot. 23 EN fat kalf. 24 umde·t din fent fon mii sa ghood as doo'd bheer, un nuu HE·bət bhi HIM bhii·dər fuu·nən. 25 u·nərstu·skən bheer dan mon siin alst fent up-t felt bhi siin, to a·rbéi·dən. man daa ni âi·vəns ['in the evening'] naa HUUS ghiiq un thikht bii ki·miin bheer daa HEERD nii dâit shô·qən un dâit do·nsən. 27 diin broo'r. 29 dâit ik un miin fryn uus âi·nmool frân kuu·nən. 31 miin liûuəf bee(r)n, duu BEST JA a·ltiid bi mii.

[*th* is both (th) and (dh); (dh) is assigned in (béidh, kwi·dhiin, liidh, up stii·dhi, siin lee·dhiigh), in German *beide*, *sprechen*, *leiden*, *zur stelle*, *sein lebtag*; in (thikht, thôo'·nstən) German *dicht*, *dienstknechten*, it is not assigned, but it is stated that no rule can be given for the different use of (th) and (dh); (sh, tj, dj) are conjectures for *sj*, *tj*, *dj*. Winkler in his notes writes in v. 11, *sjeel scheht*, but an East Friesian lady would not hear of (sh, tsh) for her *sj*, *tsj*, which are nearly (sj, tsj), see notes on specimen 87*; the plural in *u* is remarkable, as (uuu·su, skyy·pu) German *häuser*, *schiffer*. The whole dialect is remarkable.]

XIII. EAST FRIESLAND. I. 182.

[East Friesian consists at present of Low German, Frisio-saxon (chiefly), and Old Friesian (as a trace). In Emden and near it Hollandish has also influenced the speech.]

32. *Esens*, town (53 *n* 39, 7 *e* 36). I. 187.

11 'n minsk HAR tbhee ZEENS. 12 un HE dee·ld HER-t ghood. 15 de sbhiin to bhAA·rdən. 18 VAA·dər, ik HEB zy·ndight VEER dii. 22 briqt-t best kleed HER un doot HYM-t an, un GHEEFT HYM 'n fi·qərriq an ziin HAND un shoo an ziin fœœt. 23 'n ME·st't kalf. 24 den dis miin ZEEN bheer dood, un is bheer fu·nd'n bhu·rd'n. 25 man də olst ZEEN bheer up-t land, un as HE naa bii-t HUUS kweem HŒR HE dat ghəzi·q ['singing'] un-d rii·ghdants ['country dance']. 27 diin brœœr. 29 dat-'k mit miin fry·nd'n ly·stigh bheer. 31 miin ZEEN, duu bist a·ltiid bi mii.

33. *Nesse*, village, near *Norden*, town (53 *n* 36, 7 *e* 12). I. 190.

11 en minsk HAR tbhee ZŒŒNS. 13 un də VAA·dər deeld HŒŒR dat ghood. 15 to sbhiin bhAA·rən. 18 VAA·dər, ik HEB zy·nighd VŒŒR dii. 22 briqt dat best styk klee·ər HEER un doo-t HYM-t an, un GHEEFT HYM 'n fi·qərriq an ziin HAND un shoo an ziin foo·tən. 23 'n mesd [mest?] kalf. 24 den dis miin ZŒŒN bheer dood, un is bhee·ər fu·n'n. 25 man də o·lstə ZŒŒN bheer up-t feld, un as HE dikht bii-t HUUS kbheem, HŒŒR HE dat zi·q'n un spri·q'n. 27 diin brœœr. 29 dat ik mit miin fryn ly·stigh bheer. 31 miin ZŒŒN, duu best a·ltiid bi mii.

34. *Norden*, town (53 *n* 36, 7 *e* 12). I. 192.

11 en minsk HAR tbhee ZŒŒNS. 12 un HE vərdee·ltə dat ghood u·nər HŒR. 15 de sbhiin to HŒŒ·dən. 18 VAA·dər, ik HEF zy·ndight VŒR dii. 22 HAALt dat be·stə kleed HER un trekt HUM dat an, un GHEEFT HUM 'n fi·qərriq an ziin HAND un shoo an ziin foo·tən. 23 'n fet kalf. 24 den dis miin ZŒŒN bhas dood, un is BHEER fu·nən. 25 AA·bər də o·lstə ZŒŒN bhas up-t feld, un as HE dikht bi HUUS keem, HŒŒR HE dat zi·qən un da·nzən. 27 diin brœœr. 29 dat ik mit miin fryn ly·stigh BHEE·zən kun. 31 miin ZŒŒN, duu byst a·ltiid bi mii.

35. *Norderneï*, island (53 *n* 43, 7 *e* 11). I. 195.

11 en minsk HA' tbhúi zœns. 12 un HŒ'i deel HŒ'a dat ghood. 15 də sbhii·nən to HŒŒ·dən. 18 VAA·da, ik HEB zyn DAAN VŒ dii. 22 briqt dat móist ['most beautiful,' Dutch *mooiste*] kleed héa un doot HUM 't an un GHEEFT HUM 'n riq um ziin fi·qa un shoo·ən um ziin foo·tən. 23 'n fet kalf. 24 din di·sə miin zœn bhas dood, un HŒ'i is bhéea·fu·nən. 25 AA·bherst dœ'i olst zyn bhas up-t feld, un as HŒ'i náu bii-t HUUS kbheem, HŒ'a HŒ'i dat zi·qən un spri·qən. 27 dii brœ'a. 29 dat ik mit miin fry·nən mu·nta bhéea. 31 miin zœn, duu byst a·ltiid bi mii.

[Additional illustrations compared with German.] 12 zái *sagte*, paat *part*, *theil*. 15 HŒ'i vərHyy'a zyk *er vermiethete sich*. 17 ik vəgáu· *ich vergehe*. 20 HŒ'i mook zyk up *er machte sich auf*. ["The *r* final is pronounced indistinctly or not at all; if unaccented *e* precedes it, *er* sounds almost as *a*, *vadar* as *vada*. The *r* is a stumbling-block for all Friesians and all Saxons that live near the coast." This final *r* has therefore been omitted throughout this transcript.]

36. *Borkum*, island (53 *n* 44, 6 *e* 52). I. 201. [This dialect is nearer Groningenish than East Friesian.]

11 'n see·kər mi·nskə HAR twéi zœœns. 12 *on* HƏ'i déi·ldə HŒR-t ghóut. 15 de swii·nən tə WAA·rən. 18 VAA·dər, ik HEB zœ·ndight tee·ghən dii. 22 breqt-'t be·stə kléid HEER *on* trekt HƏM-t an *on* gheeft HƏM 'n riq an ziin HAND un skhóu an də fóu·tən. 23 't-me·stə kalf. 24 want miin zœœn was dood, *on* is HƏ'i weer fo·ndən. 25 *on* ziin o·lstə zœœn was *op*-t feld, *on* as HƏ'i kbham, *on*-t HUUS naa·dərdə, HŒŒ·rdə HƏ'i-t zi·qən *on* da·nzən. 27 JóU brœ'ir. 29 dat ik mii met miin fru ndən vərmAA·kən kon. 31 kind, duu bist a·ltiid bi mii.

["The letter *o* in the words *on*, *jongste*, *honger*, *hom*, etc., is very obscure, almost exactly like High German *u* in *und*, *hunger*, etc.," and hence is here given as (*o*). "The *w* is the usual Friesian and English *w*." I have hitherto used the German and Dutch (bh) even for Friesian; but in this example I have employed (w). Is Winkler right here? I shall venture to use (bh), except when specially directed not to do so. My Emden authority said (bh) distinctly, even in (kbham), not (kwam, k*w*am). See notes to specimen 87*.]

37. *Emden*, town (53 *n* 22, 7 *e* 12). I. 205.

[A lady, who is a native of Emden, kindly read over this version to me, and I give her pronunciation as well as I can remember, which is not very

distinctly, as there was not time to write anything from dictation. She found fault with some of the phrases, and supposed the writer to have been a German. I have followed her changes.]

11 dər bhas eens 'n minsk, də HAR [the (r) effective, but almost (r_c)] tbhee zœœns. 12 un də VAA·'r dee·ldə də bóu·dəl [distinctly, not merely 'nearly' as Winkler says] u·nər də báí·dən [distinctly (ái), not (éi)]. 15 tu sbhii·nə bhaa·rən. 18 VAA·'r, ik bin 'n free·sl'k ghróu·tə zu·ndər tee·ghən dii. 22 zee zu·lən up-ə stee-t best pak klee·'r bre·qən un zə zu·lən zii zœœn dat a·ntre·kən, un HUM óuk 'n go·l'n riq an-d HAND stee·kən un zu·lən HUM shóo'u an ziin fóu·tən dóun. 23 'n fet kalf. 24 umda·t ziin JUQ tu də doo·dən al HŒRT HAR, un bhas tu fi·ndən ko·mən. 25 man də o·lstə zœœn bhas up-t feld bhest. as HE NUU dikht bi HUUS kbham, doo vərna·m HƏ al fon fe·rən-t zi·qən un spœœ·lən un da·nsən. 27 JUN brœœr. 29 dat ik mit mii·nə kla·ntən mii dər bhat bii vərMAA·kən kun. 31 miin JUQ, duu bist JAA a·ltii·dən bi mii.

38. *Leer*, town (53 *n* 13, 7 *e* 27). I. 212. [My Emden authority said the writer of this was a native personally known to her, and the version good.]

11 dər bhas ins 'n man d*ee*'j HAR tbh*ee*'j zœœns. 12 un de o·lə d*ee*'j·ldə dat ghɪióud [(ɪióu) one tetraphthong, in rapid speaking sounds as (ióu)] u·ndə HŒŒR. 15 də sbhii·nə *to* HŒ'idən. 18 VAA·dər, ik HEB mi an dii vərzy·ndight. 22 breqt də be·stə kl*ee*'j·rə HEER un trekt zə HUM an, un steekt HUM 'n ri·qə up də fi·qər un trekt HUM shɪióu um də fɪióu·tən. 23 'n me·stkalf. 24 den kikt, di·sə miin zœœn bhas dood, un H*ee*'j is bheer fu·nən. 25 man də o·lstə zœœn bhas up't feld, un as H*ee*'j di·khtə bii-t HUUS kbham, HŒŒ·rdə HÉEI dat zi·qən un spri·qən. 27 diin brœ·ir. 29 dat ik MAAL mit miin fry·ndə ly·stigh bhee·zən kun. 31 miin l*ee*'j·və zœœn, duu byst a·ltiid bi mii.

["(*ee*'j) is a dull sound, like Dutch *ee*, approaching Dutch *ij*." I have taken it as the London long *a*. "The fracture *áiou* (ɪióu) in the Dutch words *goed*, *to*, *boven*, *scho*, *foten*, etc., as pronounced in Leer, is difficult to render. In Dutch letters *eiou* would come nearest; the stress is on *ou*. In rapid speech the sound is nearly *iou*, *jou* (ióu, jóu). The *öi* (œi) sound in *hòiden*, *bröir*, is nearest to Dutch *ui*."]

XIV. WESTFALEN, in English WESTPHALIA. I. 216.

39. *Wittlage*, village, near *Osnabrück*, town (52*n*17, 8*e*3). I. 218. [Transitional from Friso-Saxon to Low-Saxon.]

11 een minsk HA·rə tbhee zœœ·nəns. 12 un HE dee·ldə tu·sən də bee·dən dat vərmyy·ghən. 15 dat HEE də sbhii·nə HŒ·də. 18 VAAr, ik HE·bhə zy·ndə dáun vor dii. 22 HAA·lət dat be·stə kléid un tee·ət ət em an, un ghii·bhət əm en riq an de HAND un shoo·ə an zii·nə fœœ·tə. 23 ən ME·stət kalbh. 24 den dy·sə miin zœœ·nə bhas dáut, un is bhiir fu·nən. 25 aa·bhər də œ·lstə zœœ·nə bhas up den féi·ldə, un as HE néi·ghər an dat HUUS kbham, HŒ·rdə HE zi·qən un spel ['play']. 27 diin broo·or. 29 dat ik mii mit mii·ne fry·ndə en vərghnœœ·ghən MAA·kədə. 31 miin zœœ·nə, duu bist a·lə tiit bi mii.

40. *Vreden*, town (52 *n* 3, 6 *e* 49). I. 221.

11 DAAr bhas es 'n man, dee HAD tbhee zœ·nə. 12 un HE vərdee·ldə u·ndə HŒŒR-t vermɛ'y·ghən. 15 də va·rkən tə HŒŒ·rən. 18 VAA·dər, ik HE·bə zy·ndə DAAN te·ghən dii. 22 HAA·lt 't be·stə kleed un trekt 't əm an, STEKT 'n riq an zii·nə HAND un trekt em shoo an zii·nə vœœ·tə. 23 't me·stkalf. 24 den dy·sə zœ·nə bhas dood, un HEE is bheer vu·nən. 25 doo bhas də œ·lstə zœ·nə in-t feld doo də noo kam un NAA an -t HUUS bhas, HEE'ordə HEE də vioo·l ['violin'] un-t da·nsən. 27 diin broor. 29 dat ik met mii·nə frœ·ndə met pleséar 'n MAA·ltii·d kon HO·lən. 31 miin zœ·nə, duu bist a·ltiid bi mii.

[Additional illustrations compared with German.] 13 VTE'amd *fremd*, vədEE· *verthat*, dɛ'ar *durch*. 14 vərtɛ'a·rd *verzehrt*. 15 kœ·tər [Eng. *cotter*]. 18 uu *euch*. 19 ik byn *ich bin*. 20 ghyqk *ging*, medlii·digh *mitleidig*, em tə mœ'itə [Eng. *him to meet*]. ["(ZŒ·nə) is pronounced nearly as Dutch *zonne*," variously with (ə, œ, əh), see (1292, *a*'). "(ɛ'y) in (vermɛ'y·ghən) is between Dutch *vermuggen* and *vermuigen*."]

41. *Münster*, town (51 *n* 57, 7 *e* 37). I. 224.

11 et bhas dərMAA·l en man, de NA·də tbhee ZŒŒ·nə. 12 un HE vərdee·ldə ziin vərmyy·ghən u·ndər də béi·dən. 15 də sbhii·nə to HŒŒ·dən.

18 VAA·dər, ik HE·və mi vərféilt ghii·ghən dii. 22 nuu men, fiiks ['quickly'] un HAA·lət den a·lərbe·stən rok un tre·kət ən əm an, stiEE'kət əm ee·nən riqk an də fi·qər un ghi·vət əm shoo·e an də fœœ·tə. 23 ən fet kalv. 24 den dy·sə miin ZAAN bhas dáud, un HE is bhiir fu·nən bhAA·rən. 25 u·ndərde·sən kbham ziin œ·ldstə ZAAN fom fe·ldə NAA HUU·zə, un as HE in də néi·ghdə bhas un də muzii·k un dat da·ntsen HŒŒ·rdə. 27 diin brAAr. 28 dat ik mii met mii·nən frœ ndən HE·də lu·stigh MAA·kən kœ·nən. 31 miin ZAAN, duu bli·vəst y·mər bi mii.

[Additional illustrations compared with German.] 12 too·kymp *zukommt*. 13 liEE'·vən *leben*. 14 fAqk *fing*, to lii·dən *zu leiden*. 15 bhúə·ndə *wohnte*, kúə·tən [Westphalian word, Eng. *cots*]. 16 giEE'·rnə *gern*. 17 bráut *brodt*, stiEE·rve [Eng. *starve*]. 21 bhiEE·rt *werth*. 22 liyy·dən *leuten*. 23 lAA·tət us iEE'·tən [Eng. *let us eat*], ghúədər *guter*. 26 râip *rief*, fraagh *frug*, bədyy·dən *bedeuten*. 28 to frâi·dən *zufrieden*. 29 nyms *niemals*.

42. *Paderborn*, town (51 *n* 43, 8 *e* 45). I. 229.

11 et bhas mol en man déi HA·də tbhéi zyy·nə. 12 doo déi·ldə déi VAA'r un ghaf -nə bhat -nə táukam. 15 de sbhii·nə táu HŒ'y·ən. 18 VAA'r, ik HE·bə zy·ndighət vœœr dii. 22 HAALT mi den be·stən rok, un tre·kət nə ee·nə an, stEE·kət nə áuk ən riq an zii·nən fi·qər un ghii·bət nə shâu·ə an də fœ'y·tə. 23 dat be·stə kalf. 24 den di·sə JU·qə bhas vœr mii dEET, un HéI is noo bhiir fu·nən. 25 un déi o·lstə JU·qə bhas tər tiit ghraa·də ['at that time exactly'] up en fe·lə, un as də nuu tər HéI·mə kam un dat zi·qən un spektaa·kəln HœŒ·rdə. 27 diin bráu'r. 29 dat ik mit mii·nən fry·ndən mi mol lu·stigh MAA·kən kun. 31 miin zuun, duu bist o·ltiit bi mii.

[Additional illustrations compared with German.] 12 ki·nəsdéi·l *kindes theil*, táukymt *zukommt*. 14 nə ghrEE·tə HU·qərzNEE·t *eine grosse hungersnoth*. 15 vərméi·ədə *vermiethete*. 16 krEE·ghən *kriegen*. 17 brEEd *brodt*, ghenáugh *genug*. 26 réip *rief*, froo·ədə *fragte*. 30 hâu·rəntykh *hurenzeug*.

43. *Sauerland*, district about *Soest*, town (51 *n* 35, 8 *e* 7). I. 233.

11 et bhas mol nə man, dái HAR tbhEE'i zyy·nə. 12 un də va·tər shi·khtədə ['shed,' divided] ty·skər [Dutch *tusschen*, between] diEE'n be·ghən ['both,' (d) changed to (gh)]. 15 də sbhéeinə HáIn ['heed,' (d) omitted]. 18 VAAr, ik HE·və zy·nə doon tii·ghən dik. 22 ghoot un HAALt də stœœ·dighstən ['stateliest'] rok un tre·kər nə iE·mə an un ghiEE't ['give'] mə nə riqk an də HAND un shâu an zéeinə fâi·tə. 23 en fet kalf. 24 bhéeila·qk ['because'] HII méein zuun bhas dáut, un HIE't zik bhiir fu·nən. 25 níu bhas AA·bhər də œ·ləstə zuun bíu·tən op 'm fe·lə, un as ə ran kam un noo·ghə béei HUâ·bhə [German *hofe*, 'farmyard'] bhas, doo HORT ə muuzika·ntən ['musicians] spii·lən un zi·qən. 27 déein bráu·ər. 29 dar ik trakhtəmE·ntə fii·rən ['celebrate' as a church feast] kon mit méei·nər frœ·ndskop. 31 méein zuun, diu bist y·mər un a·ltéeit béei méei.

[Additional illustrations compared with German.] 12 fyEE·r *vor*, táu·kyy·mət *zukommt*. 13 də bhéei·ə bhelt *die weite welt*, dái JY·qəstə láit séei bhuál zéein *der jüngste liess sich wohl sein*. 14 in diEE'r ghii·ghend *in dieser gegend*, 't feqk iE·mə [*ihm* dat., (iEE·nə) *ihm* acc.] an kúuim tə ghoon *es fing ihm an kaum zu gehn*. 15 buu·rən *bauer*, kuâ·tən [*cots*]. 16 doo HER HáI zéei ghe·rən *da hätte er sehr gern*, det léeif vul ghiE'·tən *den leib voll essen* (?), van dem ríu·túi·gə *von dem rauhzeuge*, boo mee de sbhéei·nə met fâuərdə *wo man die schweine mit fütterte*. 17 dAA·ghlói·nər *tagelöhner*, ter hE'i·mə *in der heimath*, ik goo HI dáut *ich gehe hier todt*. 20 bho·rtə bhE'i·mái·digh *wurde wehmüthig*, láip 'me in de máite *lief ihm entgegen* [Eng. *to meet him*], ky·sər nə *küsste ihn* [*-r* for *-d*, in weak imperfect]. 23 bhéei bhelt iEE·tən *wir wollen essen*. 24 vərluâ·ren *verloren*. 25 bíutən [Eng. dial. *beouten, without*; similarly (íut) *out*, (níu) *now*, (bíu) *how* = *wie*]. 26 râip *rief*, froo·ghər *fragte*, luâs *los*. 27 HEE'il un gezu·nd [Eng. *whole and sound*]. 29 a·mfədə *antwortete*, gebuâ·t *gebot* [(éei), (e) distincter than (i); (iu, úi, uâ, YE', iE', E'i) have their stress vowel thus distinguished by Winkler].

XV. NEDER-RIJNLAND, in English LOWER RHINE, province. I. 239.

44. *Emmerik*, in German, *Emmerich*, town (51 *n* 51, 6 *e* 15). I. 241.

11 'n mins HAD tbhee zoons. 12 en HéI déi·ldə zin vərmœœ·ghən met ən. 15 əm də ve·rkəs tə HUU·rən. 18

VAA·dər, ik HEB min vərzə·ndighd tee·ghə óu. 22 ghâu ['quick'] breqd œm 't be·stə kleed, trekt ət *œm* aan, ən duud *œm* 'n riq aan zin HAND ən shuun aan zin vyyt. 23 't ghəmi·stə kalf. 24 bhant dee·zə min zoon bhaas dood, en HÉI is bheer ghəvo·ndə. 25 zin o·ldstə zoon ER·bhər bhas op-t veld, duu HÉI nóu dikht béi HYYS kbham, HŒŒ·rdə HÉI də muuzii·k ən dən dans. 27 óu bruur. 29 dat ik met min vri·ndə 'n vrœœ·likə partéi·kon HO·ldə. 31 min zoon, ghéi bənt a ltoos béi min.

[I have generally not distinguished Dutch *eu*, *u*, except as long and short (œœ, œ), considering it very uncertain whether in the specimens (œ, *ə*) were consistently distinguished; but as Mr. Sweet gives (*œ*) for long Dutch *eu* (1292, *a'*), and as Winkler here states that his *ö* is used for short Dutch *eu*, "which cannot be easily rendered in Dutch letters," I have used (*ə*) for his *ö* in this example.]

45. *Gelderen*, in English *Guelders*, town (51 *n* 31, 6 *e* 19). I. 244.

11 ee·ne vaa·dər HAD tbhee zœœn. 12 gheft mikh min ki·ndsdeel ['give me my child's-share'] en də vaa·dər déi dat. 15 œm də ve·rkəs tə HYY·zən. 21 vaa·dər, ek HEB gezœ·ndighd tee·ghən âu. 22 zə zo lən zii·nən zoon néi kleer ghee·vən, œm ee·nən riqk an də fi·qərs stee·kə en œm néi shuun a·ntre·kə. 23 een vet kalf. 24 bhant ghéi mot bhe·te ['for you must know'] dee·ze mii·nə zon bhor vœr mikh vərloo·rə, mar HEN HET zikh bəke·rt ['he has reformed, converted, himself'] ən es náu bher min kind. bhóí zéi náu tə zaa mən bhoren, 25 kbhom den e·lstə zon van-t veld təry·gh ən HŒ·rdə dat zi·qən ən da·nsə. 27 din bryyr. 29 dat ek mikh met min vrii·ndən ly·stigh maa·kə kos. 31 min kind, duu blyfst œ·mər bâi mikh.

46. *Meurs*, in German *Mörs*, county, and town (51 *n* 27, 6 *e* 37). I. 247.

11 ee·nə man HAD tbhee zœœn. 12 on HE dee·ldə œn HET ghud. 15 œm də poo·kən tə HYY·zən. 18 faa·dər, ik HŒB zœ·yn ghədAA·n for dikh. 22 briqd dat be·stə kleed HIIR on trekd-ət œm aan, on gheefd-œm ee·nə fi·qərri·q aan zin HAND, ən shuun aan zin fyyt. 23 ən ghəmaa·st kalf. 24 dən dee·zə mii·nə zoon bhor dood, on *œs* bhiir ghefo·ndən. 25 maar də e·lstə zoon bhor op ət feld, on *ES* HE kort be-t HUUS kbhoom, HŒ·rdə HE dat spœœ·lən un da·nsən. 29 dat ik ens mid min frœ·yn frœœ·lik koos ziin. 31 mii·nə zoon, dóu bœs œ·mər bee mikh ghəbhee·s.

47. *Düsseldorp*, in German *Düsseldorf*, town (51 *n* 13, 6 *e* 46). I. 250.

11 nə man HAD tbhéi [High German form] zo·qəs. 12 doo de·ldə œ·nə dər va·tər də e·rfshaft ['inheritance']. 15 də ve·rkəs tso HŒŒ·də. 18 va·tər, ekh HAN ghezo·ndight ghee·ghən dekh. 22 BREQT op dər stel ət be·stə kleid, on trekt ət œm an, ən dod-'m ən reqk on də HAQK ['hand'] on shoon an də fœœs. 23 dat fe·tə kalf. 24 den HEE mi·nə zoq bhoor dood, on es bhi·dər ghəfo·qə bhoo·də. 25 zi·nə E·lstə zoq bhoor e·bhər op dəm feld; as HEE noo ['now'] no HUUS koom, HŒŒ·dən-ə speel on dants. 27 dii broo·dər. 29 dat ekh met min frœ·ndə ə e·sə HA·ldə kuunt. 31 zykh ['see'] zoq, duu bes i·mər béi mekh.

48. *Keulen*, in German *Köln*, in English and French *Cologne*, town (50 *n* 56, 6 *e* 59). I. 254.

11 nə va·tər HAT tbhéi zœn. 12 un HEB déi·lən dat vərmœœ·ghə u·qər zee. 15 də ve·rkə tsə HŒŒ·də. 18 va·tər! ikh HAN mikh vərzy·ndigh ghEB·ghən deer. 22 flœk ['quick'] BREQK im dər be·stə rok eruu·s, trekt em im aan, doot ee·nə riq aan ziq HAND un shoon aan ziq fœœs. 23 dat ma·skalbh. 24 dan di·zə, mi·qə zon, bhor duut, un noo es HEB bhi·dər fu·qə bhoo·də. 25 et bhor E·vər si·qən ['his'] o·lstə zon om feld. als DER HUU náim ghiq un ob et HUUS aa·nkoom HOOT HEB dii muuzii·k un dat da·ntsə. 27 diin broo·dər. 29 dat ikh met mi·qə ['my'] fry·ndən ens ə fe·sttE·qkhən [diminutive from French *festin*] HA·ldə kunt. 31 zykh ['see'] zuq, doo bes i·mər béi meer.

[Additional illustrations compared with German.] 12 ZEET *sagte* tsen kyt *zukommt*. 13 bhys *weise* ['manner']. 15 boor *bauer*. 16 kein ziil ghoof zə im *keine seele gab sie ihm*. 19 bhERT *wertb*. 20 FERN *fern*. 27 KREE·ghən *kriegen*.

49. *Bonn*, town (50*n*43, 7*e*5). I. 258.

11 nə man HAT tbhéi zœn. 12 on E DERT dat vəmœœ·ghə u·qə zə dee·lə. 15 də zœ·y tsə HŒŒ·də. 18 va·tər,

ikh HAM mikh vəzy·ndigh ghEE·ghə dikh. 22 ghəshbhi·nd ['quickly'], brEqt em -t be·stə kleed əruu·s, doot ət em aan, on stekht ee·nə riqk aan ziq HAND on shoon aan ziq fœœs. 23 't ghəmE·stə kalf. 24 den di·sə mi·qə zon bhoor duut, on es bhi·də ghəfu·qə bhoo·də. 25 ət bhoor E·vər zi·qə ELst zon op den fEld. alts dEE nuu koom on dem HUUS noo bhoor, HYYt-ə də muuzii·k on dən danz. 27 di·qə broo·dər. 29 dat ikh met mi·qə frœnd ee·nə frœ'y·dəmoo·ltsik [German *freudemaalzeit*, 'joy-meal-time,' jollification] gəHAA·lə HET. 31 mi·qə lee·və zon, duu bes i·mər béi miir.

[Additional illustrations compared with German.] 12 ZEET *sagte*. 14 HU·qərshnuu·t *hungersnoth*. 17 bruud *brodt*. 26 reef *rief*, KNE·khdə *knechte*. 29 ghəgho·və *gegeben*.

50. *Aken*, in German *Aachen*, in French and English *Aix-la-Chapelle*, town (50 *n* 46, 6 *e* 8). I. 261.

11 e·qə man háu tsbhéi JœœqsghEr·ə. 12 ghef mikh mi·qe a·ndeel. dər áu·ə ['old man'] dogh dat. 15 də ve·rkəs Hœœ'y·ə. 18 va·dər, ik HAN be·qklikh [? German *bengel-lich*, 'like a rascal'] ghəzœ·ndight an dər HI·məl. 22 brEqt HEM də béi·stə montuu·r, en trekt déi HEM an; gheft HEM nə req a·qən ['on the'] HAQK ['hand'] 'n shoq ['shoes'] a·qə puu·tə ['feet,' either an interchange of *f* and *p*, or related to Dutch *pooten*, paws; in Zeeland (puu·tən puu·tJəs) are hands, and in Leeuwarden, in children's language, both hands and feet are called (puu·tən, puu·təkəs) or (pəə·tən, pəə·təkəs); compare the English nursery term, 'little *patches*']. 23 en fet káuf. — [This specimen contains only 23 verses.]

XVI. NEDERLAND, in English THE NETHERLANDS or kingdom of HOLLAND. I. 265.

[Winkler prefers calling the present kingdom of Holland, the *North* Netherlands, and the kingdom of Belgium, the *South* Netherlands. This is chiefly because the whole language is Low German. See No. XXVIII.]

XVII. LIMBURG, North-Netherlandish or Dutch portion. I. 269.

51. *Maastricht*, town (50*n*51, 5*e*42). I. 272.

11 dAA bhAAs ins nə maan, dee HAT tbhii zœœns. 12 ən duu verdéi·ldən ər zə ghoot o·ndər z'n tbhii zœœns. 15 œm də ve·rkəs tə Hœœ·Jə. 18 vaa·Jər, ikh HœB tee·ghə œkh zbhuur ghəzœ·ndigh. 22 briqk se·fəns ['fast,' a Flemish word] éin van də be·stə kléi·ər ən doot-ət-əm AAN; ghef-əm nə riqk AAN z'n vi·qər en doot m shœœen [sjœœen] AAN z'n vœœt. 23 't vetstə kaaf. 24 bhant dee zoon van mikh bhAAs duut ən nuu is ər bheer ghəvo·ndə. 25 den a·bhtstə zoon bhAAr op-t feld, ən bhii ər tərœ·k KAAM, ən al kort bə'i z'n HUUS bhAAr, HYY·rdən ər dAA zi·qə ən da·nsə. 27 œœr broor. 29 œm m'n vrœn ins ['once'] tə traktee·rə ['treat']. 31 HYYr ins héi, JOQ, dikh bis a·ltiid bə'i mikh.

52. *Sittard*, town (51 *n* 0, 5 *e* 52). I. 277.

11 nə minsh HEET tbhee zœœn. 12 ən HEE vərdee·ldən o·qər HœœN-t ghóut. 15 om də ve·rkəs tə œœ·Jə ['heed,' (H) lost, (d) changed to (J)]. 18 vaa·dər, ikh HœB ghəzuu·nigjh, tee·ghə·n œkh. 22 briq nuu rekht tuu zi ghóu ['good,' W.] kleer ən doogh zə-m AAN, ən gjhEEf œœm nə riqk AAN ziin enj en shuun AAN də vœœt. 23 't vit káuf. 24 bhent mii·nə zoon bhAAr doot, en zə Hœœbən-'m bheer ghefuu·nəə. 25 ən dən áau·tstə zoon dEE bhAAr in -t feldj, ən bhii ər ee·vesh [Dutch *heemwaarts*, 'homewards'] koom, duu Hœœrdən HEE-t zi·qən en-t da·nsən. 27 dii bróur. 29 omdat· ikh mit miin fœœnj ookh ins də gjhek [Dutch *gek*, German *geck*, English *gawk*, here for 'mad fun'], koos af·gjhEE·və. 31 kindj, duu bis altiid bii mikh.—[The Limburgers pronounce *g* = (gh) in Dutch as (gjh) or nearly (J), and also palatalise *d*, *n*, and change *st*, *sl*, *sn*, into (sht, shl, shn). Possibly the (dj) may become (dzh).]

53. *Roermond*, town (51 *n* 12, 6 *e* 0). I. 280.

11 éi·nə zee·kərə mins HAD tbhee zœœn. 12 ən HE déi·ldə HœœR -t ghood. 15 om də VE·rkəs tə Hœœ·Jə. 18 vaa·dər, igh HœB zœnj ghədAA·n TEE·ghən œgh. 22 briqt VAART 't BE·stə kléid HII, ən doot 't HəM aan, ən ghEft éi·nən riqk aan ziin HANDj en skhoon aan də vœœt. 23 't VET kalf. 24 bhant dee·zə mii·nə zoon bhaas doot, ən is tərœ·k ghəvo·nJə. 25 ən zii·nən a·ldstən zoon bhas in-t veldj,

ən bhii DEE kbhaam ən kort bii-t HUUS kbhaam, HŒŒ·RDƏ HEE zank ['song'] ən dans. 27 œœr broor. 29 det igh mit miin vrœnj éins lœ·stigh zeen kos. 31 kindj, duu bœs a·ltiid bii migh.

54. *Venlo*, town (51 *n* 22, 6 *e* 10). I. 283.

11 éine zee·kərə mins HAD tbhee zœœn. 12 ən HEE déi·ldə œœr-t ghood. 15 œm də ve·rkəs tə HUU·jə. 18 vaa·dər, ik HEB zœnt ghədAAN TEE·ghən ogh. 22 breq bedéin [*bed* for *med*, 'with one,' 'at once'] -t be·stə kléid HÉI, en doot t-œm aan, GHEEF éi·nə riqk aan ziin HAND, ən skhoon aan də vœœt. 23 't vet kalf. 24 bhant dee·zə miin zoon bhaas dóoəd, ən is tərœ·k ghə-vo·ndə. 25 ən zii·nən a·ldstə zoon bhas in -t veld, ən bhie DEE kbhaam ən kort be'j-t HUUS kbhaam, HYY'ə·rdə HEE zaqk ən dans. 29 det ik mit miin vri·ndən éins lœ·stigh ziin kos. 31 kind, dikh bis a·ltiid be'j migh ən't miint ['mine'] is-t tiint ['thine'].

55. *Weert*, town (51 *n* 16, 5 *e* 43). I. 286.

11 DAA bhaas nə mins, DEE HÂAI tbhee zœœn. 12 ən HEE skhe·də -t in də HELFT. 15 met də ve·rkən. 18 vaa·dər, ikh HEB zœnj ghədAAN vœr œkh. 22 lâupjt ən HAALJT voort 't skhoo·nstə kléid ən doogh t- œm aan, aukh éi·nen riqk aan ziin vi·qər ən skhoon aan ziin vœœt. 23 ə vet KAAF. 24 bhant mii·nə zoo'n, DEE ghə zeetj, bhaas dóo·at ən BHE HE·bən œm vrœm [Dutch *wederom*, 'again'] ghəvo·nJə. 25 mer ['but'] bhii-d'n *aa*·elstə [*oa* and *ao* are here said to be between *o* and *a*, but *oa* nearer *o*, and *ao* nearer *a*; I have hence transcribed them as (AA, *aa*) respectively] zoo'n uut 't veljd HŒ'i·vərs [Dutch *huiswaarts*, 'housewards,' homewards] kbhaam, ən z'n HUUS HAA·dərdjən, HŒŒ·rdjən HEE-t ghəskhe·l ['sound'] van-t ghespœœ·l ən -t da·nsə. 27 œœr broor. 29 œm ens met miin vrœnj tə fié·stə. 31 mii·ne zoo'n, umde·t JEE bi mikh ghəblii'·və zeetj es al miin ghood vœr dikh.

56. *Stamproi*, village (51 *n* 12, 5 *e* 43). I. 290. [This is a specimen of the Kempenland, a large, mostly barren and heathy district in Dutch and Belgian Limburg, which, owing to isolation, has preserved many peculiar words and expressions.]

11 'nə mins HA tbhii' zœœn. 12 ən HE vərdéi·ljdən zi ghood o·qər éin. 15 om ve·rəkən tə HŒŒ·ən. 18 vaa·jər, [formerly (tâai)] ik HEB zœnj ghə-DAA·n tee·ghə œkh. 22 lâuptj mər ghóu ['quickly'] də be·stə kléi·ər HAA·lən, ən dootj zə-n-œm aan: dootj œm éi·nən riqk in zin vi·qər ən shoon aan zin vœœt. 23 HET vet KAAF. 24 bhant də zoon DEE ik me·ndjən ['minded,' thought] det doo't bhas, es bhrom vo·njən. 25 zii·nen *aa*·dstə zoon bhaas op-t veldj, bhii DEE HÉI·vərz ['homewards'] kbhaam, en doo·ndər bi-t huus kwaam, HŒŒ·rdjən-t-ər det binnən -t spœœl ghiq ['heard that within play was going on']. 27 œœr broor. 29 om ens met miin vrinj ke·rəmis ['Christmas,' feasting] tə HAA·ən ['hold']. 31 joq, duu best a·ltiid bi mikh.

[Additional illustrations compared with German.] 17 zeet *sagt* [but 12 *zagt* (zaght)]. 18 zegghen *sagen*. 19 mii' *mehr*. 20 kompas·i [*compassion*, used also in Belgium and Zeeland, where *medelijden* is as unknown as *kompassi* is in northern Netherlands.]

XVIII. NOORD-BRABANT, in English DUTCH BRABANT. I. 294. [Closely related to No. XXX. 152, etc.]

57. *Helmond*, town (51 *n* 28, 5 *e* 39).

11 ənə mens HAA tbhéi·ə zœns. 12 ən tuu HIIL zə va·dər dâi·liq ['dealing,' dividing]. 15 dii ma·ktə n'm VEE·rkəshyy·JƏR. 18 va·dər, 'k HEB-'r HEE·və ghədAAN [German *ich habe neben gethan*, I have done *beside*—what is right, i.e. wrong, a euphemism] ti·ghə âu. 22 GHAA GHÂU ['go quickly'] in HÓIS ən vat 't skhAA·nstə JE·skə, det i -t aa·ndy ['on-do,' don] ən skhuun an z'n vóu·ət: en HÂI dee-m ənən riqk an z'n HAND. 23 't vat kalf. 24 bhant mənə JO·qə HIEJE·T bhaar zoovœœ·l as dâud ən nâu neb k-'m bhoru·m [Dutch *wiederom*, again]. 25 ən zənən âu·tstə JO·qə bhas op-t veld, ə as i tôis [(tə óis) to the house] kbhamp, HŒ'i·ərdən ii -t zi·qə ən-t da·nsə. 27 âu bruu·JƏR. 29 dər ik m'n ka·mərAA·tə op kos traktee·rə. 31 mənə JO·qə, âu neb ik e·vəl al zə lee·və HIIJƏ·r, ən WAS ik neb is e·vəl œk t-âu.

58. *Sambeek*, village in the north-east part of North Brabant, the

so-called Land of Kuik (51*n*37, 5*e*58). I. 299.

11 dər bhaas-əs ['was once,' (əs) is the remains of *eens*] 'n mins dii tbhee zoons HAJ. 12 ən də vaa·dər déi·ldə z'n ghuud en ghaaf-'m ziin porsii·. 15 om də vee·rkəs tə HŒŒ·JƏN. 18 vaa·dər, 'k-HƏB bi·tər ghəzœ·ndight tœœ·ghən óu. 22 HAAl-s gáu ['quickly'] mə zo·ndaghsə ['Sunday's'] spœ·lən yyt də kiis ən trek-'m dii-s an, ən duu-m e·nən riqk an ziin HANT ən skhyyn en də vyyt. 23 't ve·tə kalf. 24 bhaant dœœ·zə mii·nə zoon bhaas doot, ən ii is bher ghəvo·ndə. 25 en də áu·stə zoon bhaas in-t veld, MAAR tuun i kort bə'i HYYS kwam, HŒŒ·rdə ii-t ghəzi·q ən gheda·ns. 27 uu bryyr. 29 om ris ['once,' apparently *daar-eens*, German *dareinst*] vroo·lik met mə vry·ndə tə bhee·zə. 31 HŒŒR əs JUQ, JƏ'i bint ən blə'ift a·ltiid bə'i mee.

59. *Oorschot*, hamlet (51 *n* 30, 5 *e* 18). I. 302.

11 ə·nə mins HA tbhee zœœns. 12 ən də VAA·JƏR déi·ldə MEE œ·lJə [contraction of Dutch *hunlieden*, 'them'] af. 15 op də ve·rkəs tə pa·sə ['attend']. 18 VAA·JƏR, 'k HEE-t 'r nee·və ghədAA·n 'k bin ənə sle·khtə mins. 22 laq mə də be·stə keel [Dutch *kiel*, a peculiar frock worn by the Brabanters] ən IAAT i 'm a·nskii·tə ən duu -m 'nə riq AAN zənə HAND ən skuu·nə AAN də vuu·tə. 23 't ghəme·stə kalf. 24 bhant dee·zə mənə zœœn bhAAR doo'd, ən ii is əvo·ndə. 25 ən d'n óu·dstə zœœn bhAAR œp d'n a·kər, ən kwamp op HŒ'is AAN, ən HŒŒ·rdə-ə iit ['somewhat'] af HUU-t-ər sne·tərdə ['was jolly']. 27 JƏ bruu·ər. 29 œm tə vərtee·rə. 31 joqk, ghee zə'it a·ltə'id bə'i mee.

60. *Rijsbergen*, village (51*n*31, 4 *e* 41). I. 306.

11 nə zee·kərə meens HAAJ tbhee zœœ·nən. 12 ən də VAA·dər ghAAf AAN a·ləbáai bhat-ər tuu·kbham. 15 dAAr mos i də vœœ·rkəs HYY·JƏ. 18 VAA·dər, 'k HEB misdAA·n tee·ghə JÓU. 22 HAAl də be·stə kleer ən skhiit zə 'm AAN, ən duut- 'm ənə riq AAN zənə vi·qər ən skhuun AAN z'n vuu·tə. 23 't me·stkalf. 24 bhant dee·zə zœœn bhas dood, ən is bheer ghəvo·nə. 25 den óu·dstən zœœn bhAAr in-t veld, ən tœn i op də bherf ['wharf,' barn, homestead] kbham, HOO·rdən i dat-ər ghəspœ·ld ən ghəda·nst bhiir. 27 JœƐ'i·liən [= Dutch *jelieder* or *jeluider* for *ulieder*, your] bryyr. 29 om mee mə ka·mə-RAA·də deegh tə MAA·ke. 31 JO·qə, ghə'i zə'it a·ltii bə'i mee.

61. *Dussen*, village (51 *n* 44, 4 *e* 58). I. 309.

11 ins bhas-tər is ['once was there once'] nə miinskh dii-dər ghuud bə'i kost, ən dii HA tbhee zœœns. 12 en i dee·ldə AAN iilk zən paart. 15 om me verrekes tə hyy·JƏ. 18 oo VAA·dər! ik vyyl in mən HAART da-k grəə'·tə zynd gədAAN HEB. 22 ghAA·də ghə'i is ['once'] se·fes ['quickly'] -t be·stə stœk kleer yyt də kaast HAA·lə ən da mo·tə -m aa·nskhii·tə, ən stekt ənə moo·JƏ ['beautiful'] riq aan zənə vi·qər: briq dan medEE'·nə ['at once] 'n PAAr skhuun mee, da [(a) quite short, "as if the consonant were to follow"] i nii le·qər be·rəvuu·ts HUUft tə ghAAn. 23 da ghəmi·stə ka·lef. 24 nóu-k mənə jo·qə, dii-k vyr doo'd HIIl, bheer IEE·vəndigh [the Germans accentuate *leben·dig*] bə'i miir magh ziin ə dii-k bhee·r ghəvo·ndə hee. 25 s-bhə'iləs da da a·ləs vœ·r'ghəva·lə bhas, bhas dən au·dstə zœœn op-t veld. tuu i on·derdeha·nd bheer NAA HŒ'is kbhaamp en di·khtə bə'i bəgo·st tə ko·mə, dokht i; bha-s da nóu vœr-n a·lərm da zə in HŒis MAA·kə? 27 z'n JO·qərə bryyr. 29 dAAr -k mə kamərAA·ts is ['once'] op traktee·rə kos. 31 zə'i·də ghə'i dan nii al·tə'i bə'i mee?

XIX. Gelderland. I. 317.

62. *Betuwe* district, between *Arnhem*, town (51 *n* 58, 5 *e* 53), and *Nijmegen*, town (51 *n* 51, 5 *e* 52). I. 318. [This may be taken as the type of the Frankish dialects in Gelderland].

11 'n zee·kər mins HAD tbhee zœœns. 12 en HI déi·ldə HŒŒrly· -t ghuud. 15 œm də ve·rkes tə HYY·JƏN. 18 'k bin 'n zo·ndAAr vœœr óu, VAA·dər. 22 breqt 't ka·stəntyygh ['the chest-dress,' stored clothes] vo·rtəbhegh HIIr, ən trekt 't HŒM AAN ən STEKT-əm-ən riq AAN də vi·qər, ən duut-əm skhuun AAN də vyyt. 23 't ve·tə kalf. 24 bhent dee·zə, miin zœœn, bhas dood, ə ii is bhee·rghəvo·ndən. 25 ən ziin óu·dstə zœœn bhas iin-t veld, ən tuun i NAAr HYYS ghuuq, ən dikht bə'i də HO·fstee kbhiim, tuun HŒŒ·rdə ii-t ghezi·q ən gheda·ns. 27 uu bryyr. 29 da-k ook is ['once'] met miin kamərAA·dz kos vroo·lik zin. 31 kiind, ghə'i bint a·ltə'id bə'i mə.

63. *Tielerwaard*, district (51 *n* 53, 5 *e* 27). I. 322.

11 'n mins HA thhee zoons. 12 en i DEE'·ldə HŒLII· -t ghuud. 15 om də ve·rkes tə HYY·JƏ. 18 VAA·dər! 'k HEE kbhAAd ['sin'] ghədAA·n tee·ghən óu. 22 bre·qdə ghœlii· -t be·stə KLEE'd ən trekt-ət-əm AAN, ən gheeft-əm -ənən riq AAN də HAA·nd, ən skhuun AAN də vuu·tə. 23 't ve·tə kalf. 24 bhant dœœz m'n zoon bhas dood, ə ii is ghəvo·ndə. 25 ən z'n óu·dstə zoon bhas in-t veld, ən tuu ii-t HŒ'is kbham, HŒŒ·rdən ii-t si·qən ən-t myyzii·k. 27 uu bryy·ər. 29 da-k mee m'n vri·ndə kon vroo·lə'ik bhee·zə. 31 ko'ind! ghə'i zə'it a·ltə'id bə'i mə'i.

64. *Uddel*, village (52 *n* 16, 5 *e* 46). I. 326.

11 'n mins AA·rghəns HAD thhee JO·qəns. 12 en HII doq-t ['did it']. 15 om də kœœ·ən tə HYY·JƏ. 18 VAA·JƏR, ik HEB-t nii zoo best əmAA·kt met JUU. 22 kriigh-t be·stə ghərə'i· [or (ghəréi·), clothing, in Friesland *gereid* is 'horse-cloth'] yyt də ka·stə, ən trekt-ət-əm an, ən steekt-ən ri·qə an z'n vi·qər en LAAT HI skhuu·nen an duun. 23 't ve·tstə van də kyy·sJəs [or (kyy·shəs), 'calf.' occurs in other Gelder dialects, but Winkler does not know its origin.] dii bhe bhe·tərən ['water,' that is, fatten, eat and drink]. 24 bhant di·sə miin zoonə bhas yyt də tiid, ən is bheer əko·mən. 25 tuu də o·ldstə JOQ bi HYYS kbham, HŒŒ·rdə HII -n ghəzi·q ən ghəbhii·r AS van-ən nee·lə vizii·t. 27 un brœœr. 29 dat ik-s met-'t JO·qə volk skhik ['jollification' same as Dutch *gek?*] sol HA·bən. 31 JO·qən, JI bheer·rə a·lətiid bi miin.

65. *Nijkerk*, town (52 *n* 13, 5 *e* 29). I. 330.

11 'n man dii thhee JO·qes HAD. 12 ən z'n VAA·ər dii dee bhat ii-m vrœœgh ən ghaf 'm z'n part. 15 om op də kœœ·ən tə pa·sən. 18 VAA·ər, 'k HEE HII ghuud ədAA·n tee·ghən JUU. 22 breq zoo ghóu a JƏ kynt ['as fast as ye can'] də be·stə kleer HIIR ən trekt 'm dii an, ən duut-əm-ən riq an z'n vi·qər ən trekt 'm ook shuu·nən [or (siúu·nən)] an. 23 't fii·nstə ve·tə kalf. 24 bhant dee·zə JOQ van mee bhas dood, ən HUU HEE bhee·m bheer tərœ·g əvœ·ndən. 25 də ou·stə JOQ, dii bhas op-t land, ən tuu dii bheer op HYYS an ghœq, en kort bi HYYS kbham, tuu HŒŒ·rdə ii zə zi·qən ən da·nsən. 27 z'n brœœr. 29 da -k ook ees met də AA·rə JO·qəs pleziir kost maa·kən. 31 mə JOQ, JI bi·nən a·ltiit bii m'n.

66. *Scherpenzeel*, village (52*n*4, 6 *e* 30). I. 333.

11 dər bhas əs 'n man dii thhee zuuns HAD. 12 ən daa ghaf z'n VAA·dər-əm. 15 om də vaa·rkes tə HŒŒ·ən. 18 VAA·dər, 'k HET zœn ədAAN en JUU HEE-k slekht bəHaa·ndeld. 22 ghAAt dAA·dəlik ['quickly'] də be·stə kleer HAA·lən ən trekt-əm dii an, ən duu·n riq an z'n HAAND ən gheef-əm shuun [or (siúun)] an z'n vuu·tə. 23 't əme·stə kalf. 24 bhant m'n zuun bhas dood, ən ii is bheero·m əvo·ndən. 25 ən z'n óu·stə zuun bhas op-t laand, en tuu dii dikht bə'i HYYS kbham, HOO·rdən ii zə zi·qən ən da·nsən. 27 JƏ brœœr. 29 om-s vroo·lik tə bhəə·zən mit m'n kammerAA·ds. 31 kiind! JII bint a·ltooe bə'i mee.

67. *Dinxperlo*, village (51*n*52, 6 *e* 30). I. 337.

11 iimes HAD thhee zœns. 12 ən də vaa·dər déi·ldə œœr-t ghood. 15 œm də va·rkes tə HYY·dən. 18 vaa·dər, ik HEB əzœ·ndighd tee·ghən óu. 22 HAALT 't be·stə kleed ən trekt-ət-əm an, ən dood-əm-ən ə riqk an də HAND, ən skhuu·nə an də vyy·tə. 23 't ve·tə kalf. 24 bhant di·sə miin zœ·nə bhas dood, ən is əvo·nən. 25 ən ziin o·ldstən JO·qə bhas op-t land, ə too ə kort *bij* [like a short Dutch *i* followed by *j*, possibly (béijh), which is on the way to (béi bə'i)] 't HYYS kbham, HŒŒ·rdə *nij*-t zi·qən ən-t da·nsən. 27 óu bryy·r. 29 œm met mii·nə vre·ndə vrœœ·lik tə bhœœ·zən. 31 kind, *ij* bœnt a·ltiid *bij* m*ij*.

68. *Varseveld*, village (51*n*57, 6 *e* 28). I. 340.

11 iimes HA·də thhee zœns [a brighter (that is, open) sound than ə in French *sonnet*]. 12 ən nii déi·ldən œœr-t ghuud. 15 œm də va·rkens tə HYY·dən. 18 vaa·dər! ik HEB əzœ·ndighd tee·ghən óu. 22 kriigh də be·stə kleer·rə HIIR ən duut zə-m an, stek-ən riqk an zii·nən HAND ən skhuu·nə an də vyy·tə. 23 't me·stə kalf. 24 bhant di·sən mii·nən zə·nə bhas dood, ə nii is bheer əvo·nən. 25 ən ziinən o·ldstən zə·nə bhas op-t land, ən as ee kort *bij* HYYS kbham, HŒŒ·rdən ee-t zi·qən ən-t da·nsən. 27 óu bry·r. 29 œm mə met mii·nə kamərAA·də vrœœ·lik tə maa·kən. 31 kind, *ij* bœnt a·ltiid *bij* m*ij*.

69. *Winterswijk*, small town (51 *n* 58, 6 *e* 43). I. 342.

11 daar bhas ens-ənə man, dii tbhii zœns ha·də. 12 hə'i ghiqk daarœ·mə tot də dii·liqə aa·vər. 15 œm də va·rkens tə hyy·ən. 18 vaa·dər, ik he·bə mə'i bəzœ·ndighd tææ·ghən óu [(óu) is said to be obscure, that is, close]. 22 haalt-ən nə'i pak klee·rə, ən tre·ket 'm dat an; duut-əm-ənə go·ldən riqk an dən vi·qər ən skhuu·nə an də vy'·tə. 23 't mə·stə kalf. 24 œmda·t 'k mii·nə zœ·nə bheer əkrææ·ghən he·bə. 25 dən o·ldstən zœ·nə kbham tææ·ghən dən aa·vond van-t land, ən hœœ·rdə, duu ə nogh bhiid van huus bhas, al dat ghəza·qk ən ghəspyy'ə·l. 27 ziin brœœr. 29 œm miin vre·ndə tə traktee·rən. 31 miin kind, duu bœ·stə tokh a·ltiid bə'i mə'i.

70. *Zutfen*, town (52 *n* 8, 6 *e* 12). I. 346.

11 ee·mand had tbhee zœœns. 12 ən hee déi·ldən œœr -t ghuud. 15 œm də va·rkens tə hœœ·ən. 18 vaa·dər, ik heb ghəzœ·ndighd tee·ghən uu. 22 breqt hiir vœœrt 't be·stə kleed ən doot-ət-əm an, ən gheeft-əm-ən riq an ziin hand ən skhoo·nən an də voo·tən. 23 't ghəme·stə kalf. 24 bhant di·sən miin zœœn bhas dood, ən is ghəvo·ndən. 25 ən ziin o·ldstən zœœn bhas in-t veld, ən too ee kbham ən-t hyys naa·dərdən, hœœ·rdən ee-t ghəza·q ən-t ghəda·ns. 27 uu brœœr. 29 dat ik met miin vri·ndən vrœœ·lik mokh bhææ·zən. 31 kind, i bint a·ltiid bii miin.

XX. Utrecht. I. 349.

71. *Soest*, village (52 *n* 10, 5 *e* 18). I. 350.

11 'n· zeekar mins had tbhee zuu·nə. 12 ən hi déi·ldə hem 't ghuud. 15 om də va·rkes tə bhéi·ən. 18 vaa·dər, ik heb əzo·ndighd tœœ·ghən juu. 22 briqt də be·stə klee·rə hiir ən duu hœm dii aan, ən gheeft 'n riq aan z'n hand ən skuu·nə aan də bee·nə. 23 't ghəme·stə half. 24 bhant dee·ze miq zuun bhas dood, ən i is əvo·qən. 25 z'n óu·stə zuun bhas in-t veld, ən tuu dii kbham ən dikht bə'i -t huus kbham, hoo·rdə hii -t ghezi·q ən-t ghəraa·s ['noise']. 27 juu brœœr. 29 dat ik mit miq vri·ndən skik kon he·bən. 31 kiqd! ji bint a·ltiid bi mi¹q ["the (i) in (miq) is somewhat longer than the usual short (i), so that the word sounds between (miin) and (miq); this pronunciation of (n) as (q) was usual in peasant speech of the xvi th and xvii th centuries in other Dutch dialects, especially in Holland. It is still found in some dialects on the lower Rhine."]

72. *Utrecht*, city (52 *n* 5, 5 *e* 7). I. 353. [Older dialect, formerly common in Utrecht, and still spoken by older small-tradesmen or workmen.]

11 dər bhas is 'n ma'n en dii ad tbhee zœœns [(ma'n), "clear, or open short *a* rather lengthened, followed by obscure *e*," (ad), "the *h* very weakly aspirated, and sometimes quite mute"]. 12 in i di·ldə zə de buul ['household stuff,' all property]. 15 om də ve·rəkes tə hœœ·jə. 18 vaa·jər, ik heb ghəzœ·ndigh tœœ·ghən jóu. 22 briq də be·stə klee·rə, in trek zə-m an, in ghif-əm-ən riq an z'n ha'nd in skhuu·nə an z'n bee·nə. 24 bhant mə zœœn bhas daad. in ii is bherœ·m ghəvo·ndə. 25 maar z'n óu·stə zœœn bhas op-t la'nd, in tuu dii dikh bə'i-t hœs kbha'm tuu haa·rdən ii-t ghəzâ·q in də da'ns. 27 jə bruur. 29 om mi·mə [for (mit mə), that is, (met mə'i)] ka'mərAA·s pret ['feast'] tə maa·kə. 31 jo·qə, jə'i bint a·ltiid bə'i mee.

73. *Utrecht* city, I. 357. [See specimen 72. This is the dialect of the lowest classes heard in low pot-houses in the back slums. As this does not follow the verses enough to give parallels, and is curious, I transcribe the whole.]

dər bhas œs ['once'] 'n man, dii had tbhee' zyy'ns. də jo·qstə zee ['said']: vaa·dər, ghee mə m'n œ·rfənis ['inheritance,' Dutch *erfenis*], daa ghâai ik də bhə'i·ə ['wide'] bhææ·rəld in. z'n vaa·dər dee-t ['did it']; in ['and'] 'n ho·rtsi ['short-time'] dər an sneer'-t jokhi yy't ['the young one cut out,' went off]. maar ['but'] al heer'l ghóu ['all whole quickly'] bhas al z'n lii·və ghe·letsi ['money'] naa də maan ['after the mouth,' swallowed up]. də ghroo·stə porsii· ['portion'] ha·də də móoi·ə me·siis ['the pretty misses,' girls] 'm afghəvo·kə ['stolen from him'], bhant dər ghoq dii réidyy·r ['constantly'] naa tuu. nóu dee' dii z'n bes ['his best'] om ii·bhers ['somewhere'] an-t bherk tə ko·mə, maar i kon nii·bhers tərə·kh ['to-right,' he could succeed

nowhere] omda·t i dər zoo ro·tigh yy'·tzagh ['because he looked so nasty']. nə·i liip lans də ɪyy'zə ['he ran along the houses'] tə skhóoi·jə om 'n snee'·tsi braad ['to beg for a slice of bread']. op-t la·qə les ['at last'] kbham dii bə'i ii·mand, dii -m naa-t land lii khaan ['let go'] om də ve·rkes tə ɪyy'·jə. da fond i 'n erch [Dutch *erg*, 'terrible'] lee' ['bad'] bherk in i dokh ['thought'] in z'n ái·ghes: bhaa bin ik tuu gheko·mə? ik zee maar bheer naa m'n vaa·dər tuu khaan, in vraa·ghə oft ii m'n as knekh bhil ghəbryy'·kə, bhant nóu léi-k tokh e·rəmúui.

zoo ghezee·d, zoo ghedaa·n; maar tuu z'n vaa·dər-m an zagh ko·mə, liipt i ái·ghes naa-m tuu in ɪyy'·ldə van blə'i·skap. nə'i had net ['exactly'] 'n ka·ləf vet gheme·s, in daa mos voort ghesla·kh bho·rdə in dər bhiir 'n khroot fees ['a great feast'] gheviir·d ['celebrated,' German, *gefeiert*]. tuu də óu·stə zyy'n na ɪyy's khham, dokht i: bhat zóu dər tokh tə duun bhee·zə da zə zoo 'n pret he·bə, in i vraa·ghdə-t an 'n kne·khi, ən dii vərte·ldə-m 't hee'·lə ghəva·l. tuu bhiird i erkh boos ['angry'], bhant i bhas 'n re·khto lee'·jas ['bad one'] z'n vaa·dər ghoq naa-m tuu, in zee: jo·khi, kom nóu tokh bi·nə, bhant jə bruur, dii bhekh khəbhee·s is ['who has been away'], is bheer tərœ·kh khəko·mə! maar i bhóu nii, in i zee: nee'n! ik eb a·ltə'i khuud ['good,' well] op·ghepa·s ['given heed'], in zee neb nogh nóoit 'n géi·tsi ['little goat'] voor mee ghəsla·kh, maar voor hœm, dii al z'n lee·və nii khədœœ·kh néit, in dii al jə gheld bə'i də nuu·rən ghəbro·kh néit, voor zoo-n ro·tzagh maak i zoo 'n sta·ntsi ['for such a nasty fellow you make such state'].

XXI. OVERIJSSEL. I. 360.

74. *Oldenzaal*, city (52 *n* 19, 6 *e* 56). I. 362.

11 ee·ne na·də tbhee zœns. 12 en nə dee·ldə ker 't ghood. 15 œm də zbhii·nə tə nœœ·rdən. 18 vaa·dər, ik ne·bə zœnd ədaa·n tner·ghən óu. 22 bre·qət voort 't ki·stentyygh ən trekt-ət-əm an, ən doot-em-ənən riqk an də hand ən skhoo an də vœœ·tə. 23 't ghəme·stə kalf. 24 bhant dœ·sən mílnən zœ·nə bhas dood, ən nee is bheer əvœ·ndən. 25 ən zii·nən o·lstən zœ·nə bhas in-t veld, ən doo ə bə̀ 't nuus khham, no·rd-ə-t zi·qən ən da·nsən. 27 óu brœœr. 29 œm met mii·nə vrœ·ndə bhi·lə tə ne·bən. 31 kind, dóu bis a·ltoos bə̀ mə̀.

75. *Deventer*, town (52 *n* 15, 6 *e* 9). I. 374.

11 zee·kər ii·mand had tbhee zœns. 12 ən hee déi·ldə-t. 15 œm də va·rkens op tə pa·sən. 18 vaa·dər, ik neb əzœ·ndighd vœœr uu. 22 breq daa·delik ['workfully,' immediately] -t be·stə kleed hiir ən doo 'm dat an, ən dœœ-əm-ən riq an də hand ən skhoo·nən an də voo·tən. 23 't ghəme·stə kalf. 24 bhant dee·ze joq bhas dood, ən is əvœ·ndən. 25 ən ziin o·ldstə zœ·nə bhas in-t veld, ən tuun dee kbhamp ən-t ɪyys naa·dərdən, hœœ·rdən-ee-t ghəza·q ən-t ghəda·ns. 27 uu brœœr. 29 œm miin met miin vri·ndən -s ['once'] vrœœ·lik tə maa·kən. 31 kind, i bint a·ltiid bii mii.

76. *Zwolle*, city (52*n*31, 6*e*5). I. 378.

11 dər bhas-əs ən ['was once a'] man dii tbhii zœns *ad* ["(*a*) is the shortest possible long *a*, not the short *a* of Dutch *ladder*, but nearly so"]. 12 en də va·dər dee·ldə ziin ghuud in tbhii·ən. 15 om op də va·rkes tə pa·sən. 18 va·dər, k-eb-t eel, eel slekht əmə·kt. 22 alt ['fetch'] 't be·stə kleed op ən duut-ət-əm an, stekt-ən riqk ən ziin vi·qər ən trekt-əm skuu·nən ən. 23 't vet·ə kalf. 24 bhənt miin zœ·nə bhas dood, ən is əvœ·ndən. 25 də no·ldstə [(n) prefixed, but (n) omitted in (sd, eel, yys)] zœ·nə bhas naa by·tən, ə tuu ə bheer dikht bə'i -t yys khham, œœrdən ee -t zi·qən ən da·nsən. 27 uu brœœr. 29 œm-s-ən feesli·n tə o·ldən met miin vri·ndən. 31 kind, i bint a·ltiid bə̀ mə̀.

77. *Zwartsluis*, town (52 *n* 38, 6 *e* 12). I. 381.

11 ən va·dər *ad* tbhii zœœns. 12 en nə̀ dii·ldə œœr -t ghuut. 15 œm də va·rkens tə bhéi·dən. 18 va·dər, ik eb əzœ·ndight tee·ghən uu. 22 breqt 't be·stə kleet iir, ən duut 't œm an en gheeft œm 'n riqk an ziin hant ['hand'] ən skhuu·nən an də vuu·tən. 23 't ghəme·stə kalf. 24 bhant miin zœœ·nə bhas doot, ən is bheer əvœ·nən. 25 ən ziin o·lstə zœœ·nə bhas in-t laant ən as ə̀ di·ghtə bə̀ -t yys khhamp, œœ·rdə ə̀ -t ghəzau·qk ən -t ghəraa·s. 27 uur bryyr. 29 də -k lis mit miin vre·ndən vruœ·lik kon bhee·zan. 31 kiint, i bin a·ltiid bə̀ mə̀.

XXII. Drenthe. I. 387.

78. *Meppel*, town (52 *n* 42, 6 *e* 11). I. 388.

11 nə zee·kər me·nsə ha·də tbhéi zœœns. 12 ən hə'i ghaf -t œm. 15 ən daar mœs hə'i op də zbhii·nən pa·sən. 18 vææ·dər, ik he·bə ghroot kbhaad ədaa·n. 22 hææl ghóu 'n zœ·ndspak ['the Sunday's pack' of clothes] ən laat 'm dat *a*·ntre·kən, ən gheef 'm ook 'n riqk an ziin vi·qər en nə'i·ə skhoo·nən. 23 't di·kstə kalf. 24 bhant ik mee·ndə dat miin zœœ·nə dood bhas, ən-k heb 'm bheer əvœ·ndən. 25 də o·ldstə zœœ·nə bhas ər neet bə'i, ən duu dee bə'i hyys kbham hœœ·rdə hə'i dat ala·rm. 27 ziin brœœr. 29 œm 's plezii·r tə maa·kən met miin kamer-aa·ts. 31 miin kiind! i kœnt a·ltiid bə'i mə'i blii·vən.

79. *Zweelo*, village (52 *n* 48, 6 *e* 44). I. 391.

11 daar bhas iis 'n mæens ən dii ha·də tbhii zœœns. 12 ən də vaa·dər ghaaf hœm ziin part van -t ghuu'd. 15 om ziin zbhii·nən tə hyy·ən. 18 'k he·bə zœ·ndighd vœœr də'i. 22 krii·ghə mə'i ha·ndigh 't be·stə ghuu'd iis uut 't ka·mnet ['cabinet'], ən trek 't hœm an, ən gheef əm-ən riqk an ziin vi·qər ən skhuu'n an də vuu·tən. 23 't ve·tə kalf. 24 bhant miin zœœn bhas dood, ən is bhee·rvœ·nən. 25 ən ziin o·ldstə zœœn bhas krek ['direct,' correctly, exactly] in-t veld, ən duu hii dikht bə'i huus kbham, duu hœœ·rde hii dat zə zœ·qən ən daa·nstən. 27 diin brœœr. 29 da -k ər met miin kla·ntən iis pléiziii·r van kœn maa·kən. 31 dóu ziis jaa a·ltiid bə'i mə'i.

XXIII. Groningen. I. 396.

80. *Sellingen*, village (52 *n* 57, 7 *e* 10). I. 400.

11 dər bhas éis 'n man ən də'i har tbhéi zœœns. 12 ən hə déi·ldə hœœr -t ghóut tóu. 15 bhaar hə op də zbhii·nə pa·sən skol. 18 'k kan-t nikh vœœr juu vera·ntbhoordən. 22 ghaat hen ən haalt 't a·lərbe·stə kléid, ən dóu hom dat an; dóu hom ook-ən riq an də vi·qər ən stee·vəls ['boots'] an də vóu·tə [with these 'boots on the *feet*' compare the 'shoes on the *legs*,' frequent hereafter, see spec. 101]. 23 't a·lərdi·kste kalf. 24 'k do·khdə nikh a·nders as dat hə dood bhas, ən syyhə'i leeft tokh nogh hə'i is fot bhest ən is tər nóu bheer. 25 ən də o·lstə zœœn bhas op-t land, ən dóu də'i bi huus kbham, hœœ·rdə həi daar zi·qən ən dan·sən. 27 juun brœ'ir [compare (rœ'ip) called (vrœ'igh) asked]. 29 dat 'k bhat pléizéi·r maa·kən kon. 31 miin joq! dóu bist jaa a·ltiid bi mii.

81. *Oldambt*, district, containing *Winschoten*, town (53 *n* 8, 6 *e* 57). I. 404.

11 ər bhas is 'n vaa·dər déi tbhéi zœœns ha. 12 ən ə'i móuk dat elk bii ziin part kbham. 15 om op ziin zbhii·nən tə pa·sən. 18 'k heb zœ·ndighd tee·ghən juu. 22 ghaat i hen ən trekt hom 't nə'i·ə zœ·ndaghspa·k an, ən dóut i hom ən riq an ziin vi·qər, ən skóu·nən an də vóu·tən. 23 't ve·tə kalf. 24 bhant di·sə miin zœœn bhas stœ·rvən, ən is bheer tə re·khtə. 25 ən ziin o·ldstə zœœn bhas op-t land, ən daa déi hen ghoq ən si·kom bii ['close by,' Winkler has not been able to trace this word] huus bhas hœœ·rdə ə'i-t spœœ·lən ən da·nsən. 27 diin brœœ·ər. 29 da -k mii mit miin ka·mərAA·tən éis blii·də kon maa·kən. 31 miin joq, duu bist dagh ən dœœr ['day and night,' local] bii mii.

[Winkler remarks that most writers in this and the Groningen dialect write *ij* =(ə'i) in many words which have *ie* = (ii) or *ee* =(ee, *ee*) in Dutch. In his opinion the real sound is (éi), not (ə'i), nor (ái). But where *ei* is an original diphthong, as in *ei*, *meid*, *leiden* = egg, maid, suffer, the sound approaches (ái), and cannot be considered anything else in some mouths. Such remarks are important in respect to the confusion of writing *ei*, *ai*, in Early English and modern High German. In these transcriptions my (éi, ái, ə'i, œ'i) indicate Winkler's *ei*, *ai*, *ij*, *ui*.]

82. *Woltersum*, village (53*n*16, 6 *e* 44). I. 408.

11 dər bhas áis 'n mensk də'i har tbhə'i zœœns [(áis, də'i, tbhə'i), specially identified with German *ai* and nearly Dutch *ij*]. 12 in háí dáí·ldə hœœr -t ghóud. 15 om zbhii·nən tə bhai·dən. 18 vəə-ər, ik heb zœ·ndighd vœœr juu. 22 briqt ghâu 't be·stə kláid, in dóut 't hom an; in gheeft 'n riq an ziin hand, in skhóu·nən om -ə vóu·tən. 23 't vet kalf. 24 bhant di·zə zœœn van mii bhas dood, ən is vo·nən. 25 in ziin o·lstə zœœn bhas iin-t land, in dóu ə dikht bi huus kbham, hœœ·rd ee myyzii·k in da·nsən. 27 juun brœ'ir [also (vrœ'igh), but (ráip)]. 29 da -k

mit miin vrœ·ndən bliid ['blithe'] bhee·zən kon. 31 kiind, duu bi·zə a·ltiid bii mii.

83. *Ulrum*, village (53 *n* 22, 6 *e* 19). I. 411.

11 daar bhas râis ['once'] 'n man dâi tbhâi zœens naar. 12 ən nâi dâi·ldə -t ghóud tœ·skhən [ʔ kh] nœœr. 15 om op zbhii·nən tə paa·sən. 18 vaa·dər, ik neb mi bəzœ·nighd an zuu. 22 briqt 't o·vənstaans ['at the hour,' at once] 't a·lərbe·stə pak klâi·ər neer, ən trekt 't nom an, ən dœkht nom 'n riq om vi·qər, ən skóu·nən om vóu·tən. 23 't ve·tə kalf. 24 om di·zə miin zœœn bhas dood, ən is bhee·rvo·nən. 25 in ziin o·lstə zœœn bhas op-t laand, ən dóu déi dikht bi nuus kbham, nœœ·rdə nœœr zi·qən ən daa·nsən. 27 zuun brœ·ir [but (vróugh) asked]. 29 om mit miin vrœ·ndən râis plezâi·ər tə maa·kən. 31 kiind, dóu bi·sə zu a·ltiid bii mii.

84. *Groningen*, city (53 *n* 13, 6 *e* 34). I. 415.

11 dər bhas râis 'n man déi tbhéi zœœns nad. 12 en dóu déi·ldə nə·i nœœr uut bhat zə krii·ghən ko·nən. 15 om op də zbhii·nən tə pa·sən. 18 vaa·dər, ik neb zœ·ndighd tee·ghən zóu. 22 breq hiir vort 't be·stə kléid ən trek 't nom an, ən dóu-əm-ən riq om ziin vi·qər, ən skhóu·nen an ziin vóu·tən. 23 't ve·tə kalf. 24 bhant dee·zə zœœn van mə·i bhas zoo ghóud as dood, ən is bhee·rvo·ndən. 25 də o·lstə zœœn bhas zyyst op-t veld ə dóu ə dikht bə·i nyys kbham, nœœ·rdə nə·i də myyzii·k, ən nóu zə da·nstən in də rii·ghə ['rows,' as in country dances]. 26 zóu brœ·ir [also (rœ·ip), (vrœ·igh), called, asked]. 29 om met miin vrœ·ndən bhat plezéi·r [printed *pelzeir*, I have presumed by mistake for *plezeir*] tə maa·kən. 31 zo·qə, dóu bist zu a·ltiid bə·i mə·i. [Winkler remarks that *t, v, s, f*, are constantly pronounced by the small tradesmen as (d, b, z, v,).]

85. *Den Ham*, village (53*n*17, 6 *e* 27). I. 419.

11 zee·kər man nad tbhéi [not (âi), rather (éei)] zœœns. 12 in nə·i vərdéi·ldə -t ghóud o·ndər nœœr. 15 om op də zbhii·nən tə pa·sən. 18 vaa·dər, ik heb zœ·ndighd tee·ghə zuu. 22 breq hiir vot ['forth'] 't be·stə kléid, in trek nom dat an, in duu-əm-ən riq an ziin nand, in skhóu·nən an ziin vóu·tən. 23 't ve·tə kalf. 24 bhant di·zə zœœn van mii bhas dood, ə is bheer vo·nən. 25 maar də o·ldstə zœœn bhas op-t land, in dóu déi bə·i nyys kbham, nœœ·rd ər -t zi·qən in da·nsən. 27 zuun brœ·ir [(rœ·ip) called, (vróugh) asked]. 29 dat 'k ook râis met miin vrœ·ndən plezéi·r maa·kən kon. 31 zo·qə, duu bi·sə a·ltiid bi mii.

86. *Grijpskerk*, village (53*n*16, 6 *e* 17). I. 421

11 'n man nad tbhii zo·qəs. 12 ən nə·i pa·rtə nœœr 't ghuud. 15 met də zbhii·nən. 18 vaa·dər, ik neb vərkee·rd nandeld tee·ghən zóu. 22 briqt hiir daa·delk də be·stə klee·rən, in laat-əm dii a·ntre·kən, in gheeft-ən riq om ziin vi·qər, in skuu·nən an ə vuu·tən. 23 't be·stə kalf. 24 bhant miin zo·qə bhas dood, in nóu neb 'k him bhee·rvo·nən. 25 in ziin o·ldste zœœn bhas naar 't land, in duu dii bheero·m- kbham, in dikht bə·i nyys bhas, noo·rdə nə·i -t ala·rm. 27 zou bruur [(riip) called, (vrungh) asked]. 29 om mit miin vrœ·ndən-ə plezii·r tə maa·kən. 31 miin zo·qe, zóu bin zu a·ltiid bə·i mə·i.

XXIV. Friesland. I. 424.

a. Friesian in Friesland. I. 428.

87. *Friesland*, province (53*n*5, 5 *e* 50). I. 433. [The present *Dialectus Communis* of the whole province. The spelling of the original is that of G. Colmjon, and no explanation is given, being of course well known—in Friesland, as this dialect is spoken with tolerable uniformity over the whole province, except at Hindeloopen and in Schiermonnikoog. Hence my interpretation is more than usually doubtful. —The above was written before I had had the assistance of my two authorities from Grouw (see the next specimen), but I let it stand, together with the interpretation I had given, in order to shew the difficulties I had to contend with, and the degree of approximation to correctness which my renderings may be supposed to furnish.]

11 dər wi·r [the (w) is very doubtful to me, but Winkler speaks of the Friesian *w* being the same as the English, and hence I have used it for this *dialectus communis*, but I think (bh) more probable] i·nkéar an man (minska) end də·i ni· twaa zo·nən. 12 end nə·i di·ldə nia·rən 't ghuud. 15 um də

ba·rghən to wéi·dʒən. 18 нéit ['father'], ik hab suu·ndighə tshiín [written *tsjin*, and may be (tsjin, tsiín, tsíín), and the last is probable] ʒu. 22 briq forth 't be·stə pak kléan ʒhir [written *hjir*, possibly only (ʒir, ʒiir) is said] ənd tsiéan нim də'i o'n, ənd ʒóu нim ən riq o'n sin нand, ənd sko'n o'n də fo''·tən. 23 't me·stə kéal. 24 whent [written *hwent*] di·sə so'n fen mə'i wi'r déa, ənd nuu is werfuu·n. 25 ənd sin a·ldstə so'n wi'r in-t field, ənd doo də'i néi нuis ghuq, ənd dhi·khtə [written *thichte*] bə'i нuus ka'm, нéa·rdə нə'i -t sín·qən ənd -t duu·nsʒən. 27 diin bro'r. 29 dat ik méi miin friúu·ndə ek ris froo·lik wee·sə mu·khtə. 31 be[rn, duu bist a·ltid bə'i mə'i.

87*. *Grouw*, village (53 *n* 6, 5 *e* 50).

[Mention is made of this place in Winkler I. 428, but no specimen is given. I was fortunate enough to find two London merchants, who were born in this village, and who spoke the dialect as boys—Mr. de Fries, and Mr. van de Meulen, and they were so kind as to read me the specimen 87 separately. I made notes of their pronunciation at the time, and wrote out the following attempt to reproduce it, on the next day. But on hearing the sounds for the first time, with only one reading from each native, I have doubtless made many errors. The following will, however, probably give a sufficiently approximate representation of the real sounds. As this dialect is, of all others, most interesting in relation to our own country speech, I give the whole parable at length. The fractures should be especially noticed, and at the same time the difficulty I felt occasionally in determining which vowel had the stress, as in English (p. 1312). The length of the vowels varied with the two authorities in several cases. The *v* seems to be generally ('v), varying to (f) rather than (v), and I have written (f) throughout, following Winkler's spelling. The *w* seems to be (bh), judging rather from the English of my authorities, who did not then seem to use (w) at all. But a clear (uâ), etc., occurs, so that there is a false appearance of (wa). The (sh, tsh, dzh) seemed to be clearly developed out of *sj*, *tj*, *dj*, although occasionally I seemed to hear (si-, ti-, di-). I did not attempt to distinguish (.t, .d) from (t, d), but I believe the dental form is correct. Where I have written (ɪ), I did not hear a trill, but only a vocal effect. Sometimes the *r* was quite lost. There was no great certainty about (s, z), or about final (t, d), and the two authorities did not always agree. The *g* was certainly not always (gh, oh), but was frequently simple (g).

I adopt Mr. de Fries's pronunciation and variations from the text of Winkler's specimen 87, simply because I heard him read first; but I add any variants that I noticed in Mr. van de Meulen. F. and M. indicate my two authorities.

The following couplet I give as it was pronounced first by Mr. de Fries, and secondly by Mr. van de Meulen.

1. (*bu*·tər bréa ən tsiiz
   dər d*a*t næt see·zə kæn *is* geen
   œprió·khtə Fríiz.
2. b*u*·tər bréa ən grii·nə tshíi*is*,
   dii d*a*t næt sez·ə k*a*n es næt ən
   río·khtə Fríi*is*.)

I am inclined to consider the second most correct. This couplet reminded me of one I had seen cited in Mr. C. C. Robinson's writings, as current in Halifax, Yorkshire.

3. (*gúuid* bre'd, bot·ər, ən tshiiz,
   iz g*úuid* El·ifeks ən g*úuid* Friiz),

implying a felt resemblance between the pronunciations. Mr. C. C. Robinson says that (net) is used for *not*, and that the same fracture as (iis) is not unheard in Halifax, but is more characteristic of Leeds, where also (b*u*t·ər) is used. Mr. Robinson had no faith himself in the correctness of the assumption that Halifaxish is like Friesian; but it occurred to me that it would be interesting to contrast this very singular Yorkshire dialect (23*b* of the following classification), which has adopted the popular Friesian test as a rhyme of its own, verse by verse, with the Grouw Friesian version, which I had already obtained. Mr. Robinson was kind enough to attempt a version, which I here annex, with notes principally due to his observations. The resemblance is very far from close, but there is sufficient similarity of pronunciation to justify such a popular rhyme.

Here then follow, first, the *Dialectus*

Communis of Friesland in the orthography adopted by Winkler, with, on the opposite column, a verbal translation, the English words which differ from the Friesian being in *Italics*.

Then, also in parallel columns, come the Friesian pronunciation taken from Mr. de Fries, with the variants of Mr. van de Meulen, who agreed with the former generally, and the Halifax rendering of the English verbal translation of the Friesian by Mr. C. C. Robinson, who strove to keep to that version for the sake of comparison, as far as was consistent with not straining the dialect.

Finally, I add notes, referring verse by verse to both the Friesian and Halifax versions, giving translations or other remarks which were suggested by the text.

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1. *Winkler's Friesian Orthography.*

11 der wier ienkear en man (minske) end dy hie twa soannen.

12 de jungste fen dy twa sei tsjin sîn heit: heit! jow my 't diel fen 't gûd dat my takumt. end hy dielde hiarren 't gûd.

13 end net fulle dagen der nei (end en bitsje letter) forsamm'le de jungste soan alles by enoar, teach forth up reis nei en fîr land end brocht der al sîn gûd der thruch în en oerdwealsk libben.

14 do er alles der thruch brocht hie kaem der en greate krapte oan îtem (hungersnead) în dat selde land, end hy bigûn brekme to lyen.

15 end hy gung hinne end gung by ien fen de borgers fen dat land end dy stiûrde him up sîn land um de bargen to weidjen.

16 end hy woe wol jerne sîn bûk fol ite mei 't bargefoer; mar nimmen joech him dat.

17 do kaem er to himselm end hy sei: ho fulle fen mîn heite fulk habbe oerfloedig hiar brea end ik kum um fen hunger!

18 ik scil upstean end nei ûs heite 's gean end ik scil tsjin ûs heit sidze: heit! ik hab sûndige tsjin de himel end foar (tsjin) ju.

19 end nu bin ik net mear wirdig juw soan to hietten; meitsje my mar lîk as ien fen juw arbeiders.

20 end hy stoe up end gung nei sîn heit ta. end do er yette fîr fen him of wier, seach sîn heit him al, end dy waerd mei inerlike barmhertigens

2. *Verbal Translation.*

11 there were one-*turn* a man [person], and that-one had two sons.

12 the youngest *of* those two said against [= towards, to] *his father*: *father!* give me the deal [=portion] *of* the good [=property] that to-me to-comes. and he dealt [=divided] to-them the good.

13 and not *many* days there *after* (and a bit later) *collected* the youngest son all by one-another [=together] *marched* forth *on journey after* a far land and brought there all *his* good there through [brought there through =spent] in an over-*luxurious* living.

14 then [=when] *he* all there through brought had, came there a great *pinch* on eating (hunger's-need) [=famine] in that self land, and he began breaking [=want] to *suffer*.

15 and he ganged (=went) hence and ganged by one *of* the burghers *of* that land, and that-one steered [=*sent*] him up his land *for* the farrow [=swine] to *feed*.

16 and he would well yearningly [=willingly] *his* belly full eat *with* the farrow-fodder [=pigs' food]; *but* no-one gave him that.

17 then came he to himself and he said: how *many of* my *father's* folk have over-flooding [=superfluous] *their* bread and I come *round* [=die] of hunger.

18 I shall up-stand and *after* our *father's* go and I shall against our *father* say: *father!* I have sinned against the heaven and before (against) you.

19 and now be I not more worthy your son to be-hight [=be called]; make me *but* like as one of your *workmen*.

20 and he stood up and ganged *after his father* to, and then [=while] *he* yet far of him off *was*, saw his *father* him all, and that-one *became* with

oandien; hy rûn up him ta, foel him um sîn hals end patte him.

21 end de soan sei tsjin him: heit! ik hab sûndige tsjin de himel end foar ju, end ik bin net langer wirdich juw soan to hietten.

22 de heit lîkwol sei tsjin sîn fulk: bring forth 't beste pak klean hjir end tsiean dy oan end jow him en ring oan sîn hand end skoen oan de foetten.

23 end bring 't meste keal end slacht it; lit ûs ite end frolik wêse.

24 hwent disse soan fen my wier dea end nu is er wer libben wirden; hy wier forlern end nu is er werfûn. end hia bigûnen frolik to wirden.

25 end sîn aldste soan wier in 't field en do dy nei hûs gung end thichte by hûs kaem, hearde hy 't siungen end 't dûnsjen.

26 end hy rôp ien fen sin heite feinten by him end frege him hwet dat to bitsiutten hie.

27 end dy sei tsjin hem: dîn broer is kumd end jimme heit heth 't meste keal slachte, um 't er him sûnd wer krige heth.

28 mar hy waerd nidich end wol net in 'e hûs gean: do gung sîn heit nei bûte end bea him der um.

29 hy likwol joech sîn heit to 'n andert: siuch! sa fulle jierren tsienje ik ju al end ik hab nea net hwat tsjin juw sin dien end dochs habbe ju my nimmer nin bokje jown, dat ik mei mîn friûnden ek 'ris frolik wêse muchte.

30 mar nu disse soan fen ju kummen is, dy juw gûd mei hoeren der thruch brocht heth, nu habbe ju 't fetmeste keal for him slachte.

31 do sei de heit tsjin him: bern! du bist altid bij my end al hwet mines is, is dines ek.

32 me moast den frolik end blîd wêse; hwent disse broer fen dy wier dea end hy is wer libben wirden; end hy wier forlern end nu is er werfûn.

inward *compassion* on-done [=attacked]; he ran him to, fell him *round* his *neck* and patted [=caressed] him.

21 and the son said against him: *father!* I have sinned against the heaven and before you, and I am not longer worthy your son to be-hight.

22 the *father* like-well said against *his* folk: bring forth the best pack clothes here, and tug [=draw, put] him them on, and give him a ring on *his* hand and shoon on the feet:

23 and bring the masted [=fatted] calf and slay it; let us eat and frolicsome [=merry] *be*.

24 *because* this son *of* me were dead and now is *he again* living *become;* he were *lost* and now is *he again*-found. and *they* began frolicsome to *become*.

25 and *his* oldest son were in the field and then [=when] that-one after house ganged, and thick [=close] by house came, heard he the singing and the dancing.

26 and he rooped [=called] one *of his father men* by him and *asked* him what that to *mean* had.

27 and that-one said against him: thy brother is come and your *father* hath the masted calf slain, *for* it [=because] *he* him sound again *caught* hath.

28 *but* he *became angry* and would not in the house go; then ganged *his* father after be-out and *begged* him there *for*.

29 he like-well gave *his father* to an answer: see! so *many* years *serve* I you all, and I have never not what against you sin done, and though [=yet] have you never none buck-ling [=kid] given, that I *with* my friends *also once* frolicsome *be* might.

30 *but* now this son *of* you come is, that your good *with* whores there through brought hath, now have you the fat-masted calf for him slain.

31 then said the *father* against him: bairn! thou be'st all-tide [=always] by me and all what mine is, is thine eke.

32 men [=one, Fr. *on*, Old English *me*] must then frolicsome and blithe *be; because* this brother *of* thee were dead and he is *again* living *become;* and he were *lost* and now is he again-found.

3. *Friesian Pronunciation.*

11 deɹ bhi'ɹ i'n·ke'r[1] ən mən[2] (me·nskə), æn dii[3] ɥhíə tuńa sud·nən [soo·n'n M[4]].

12 də ɹœ·qstə[1] fæn[2] dii tuńa sæ'i[3] tshen[4] sin[5] ɥhæ'it[6]: ɥhæ'it! ɹóu mæ'i-t di'l fæn-t gu'd[7] dət me[8] tək·œmt,[9] æn ɥhæ'i dee·ldə[10] ɥha·rən [ɹa·rən M[11]] -t gu'd.

13 æn næt fœ·lə daa·ghən[1] dər næ'i[2] (ænd æn bí·tshə[3] [bii·tshə M[3]] læ·tər) fəɹsaa·mlə[4] də ɹœ·qstə sudn [soon M] a·ləs bæ'i ənuda·ɹ,[5] téakh[6] fúərt[7] œp ræ'is næ'i ən fiiɹ lan[8] æn brokht[9] deeɹ al[10] sin gu'd trœkh in ən uuɹ·duélsk[11] leb·ən.

14 doo ər a·ləs deeɹ trœkh brokht ɥhíə, kaam[1] dəɹ en gréa·tə kra·ptə[2] o'n[3] ii·tən [(ɥhœ·qərsno'·d) M[4]] in dət sæ·ldə lan, æn ɥhæ'i bego·q[5] gəbræ·k [bræ·k'm M[6]] tə læ'i·ən.[7]

15 æn ɥhæ'i gœq ɥhe·nə æn gœq bæ'i i'n fæn də buæ'ɹ gərs [búə·ɹgərs M] fæn dət lən, æn dii shtuu·rdə [shtfu·rdə M[1]] ɥhem œp sin lan œm də baɹgən tə bhæ'i·dzhən.[2]

16 æn ɥhæ'i bhuu bhol ɹe·rnə (graakt, graagh M[1]) sin buuk fol ii·tə mæ'i-t baɹgəfuu·ɹ[2]; maaɹ[3] ne·mən[4] ɹuug [ɹuukh M[5]] ɥhem dət.

17 doo kuəm [kaam M[1]] ər too ɥemsæ·l'm[2] ænd ɥhæ'i sæ'i: ɥhoo fœ·lə fæn min ɥhæ'i·tə fœlk ɥha·bə uu·ɹfluudəgh[3] ɥhaɹ [ɹaɹ M[4]] bréa,[5] ænd ek kœm œm fæn ɥhœ·qər!

18 ek sel[1] œp·ste'n[2] ænd næ'i us[3] ɥhæ'i·tə ge'n[2] æn ek sel tshen us ɥhæ'it see·zə [se·zə M[4]]: ɥhæ'it, ek ɥhab zæn·deghə [son·dəghə M[5]] tshen də ɥhem·əl [ɥhee·məl M[6]] æn fo'r (tshen[7]) ɹóu.[8]

19 ænd nóu[1] ben ek næt méaɹ bhœɹgh [bhœɹ·dəgh; bhœ·rəgh M[2]] ɹóu sudn [soon M] tə ɥhíə·tən [ɹæ·tən M[3]]; mæ'i·tshə me maɹ lik as i'n fæn ɹóu a·rəbæ'i·dərs[4] [aɹbæ'i·dərs M].

20 ænd ɥhæ'i stii[1] œp ænd gœq næ'i sin ɥhæ'it taa, ænd doo ər nokh[2] fiiɹ fæn ɥhem AA[3] bhíəɹ, séakh sin ɥhæ'it ɥhem al, ænd dii bhaar [bha'rd M[4]] mæ'i e·nərli·kə baɹ·mɥhæ·ɹtəghəns[5] o'n·di'n[5]; ɥhæ'i ruun [rœn M[6]] œp ɥhem taa, fuul[7] ɥhem œm sin ɥhals æn pa·tə[8] ɥhem.

21 æn də sudn [soon M] sæ'i tshen ɥhem: ɥhæ'it ek ɥhab zœ·ndəghə [son·dəghə M] tshen də ɥhem·əl [ɥhee·məl M] æn fo'r (tshen) ɹóu.

22 də ɥhæ'it li·kbhol sæ'i tshen sin fœlk: breq[1] fúərt[2] 't bæ·stə pək kle'n

4. *Mr. C. C. Robinson's Halifax Version.*

11 dhi' wə wən tâim[5] ə man, ət-əd tuu ledz.[6]

12 th-ɹuq·is[12] ən əm sed təl-t fœr-dhə[13]: fœ·dhəɹ![14] gi-mə-t shœ'r-ə-t stuf wət-s tə kum tu-mə.[15] ən-i de'ld t-stuf təl-əm.

13 ən ə pis ət-af·tə[12] th-ɹuq·is led samd[13] ool up, ən meed iz ruu'd[14] tul·ədz[15] ə faa lend,[16] en bróut isen·throo ool ət i ed,[17] wi óu·ər-éé·[18] lev·im.[19]

14 wen i-d dhii' bróut isen· throo ool, dhə kum ə gat[8] uq·ər[9] i-t lend, ən-i bigən· tə tlem.[10]

15 ən-i went ogœ·tədz,[3] ən-went bi-wən ən-t te'·nmen[4] dhii' ə dhat lend, ət[5] sent im i-t wúidz,[6] fə-tə rúit t-pigz.

16 ən i-d fee'ɹ ə eet[6] iz bel-i ful ə-t pig·ment,[7] bod noo·bdi gav im nóut.

17 wen i kuum təl isee·l,[8] i spek up, ən sed: ə mi fœ·dhaɹ-fóuk ee mən·i ən-əm ev ov·er-inef· ə bre'd,[7] ən oo-m kum tə pe rish ə uq·əɹ.

18 oo-shəl up ən gu' təl əz fœ·dhər ən oo-s[9] see təl-im: fœ·dhər, oo-v send[10] ogii'·n ev·ən, ən ogii'·n[11] dhii.

19 ən nee[5] o am·ət[6] wəth bin koold[7] dhi sun; mek mə nob·ət[8] see'm əz wən ə dhi waa·kəz.[9]

20 ən-i up ən went təl·ədz tə-t[8] fœ·dhər, ən wəl[10] i wəɹ ɹit ə gúnid pis of·ən-im,[11] iz fœ·dhər siid im, ən bi-kum· ov·əmee'·stəd ət ee'i[12] fər-im, ən-i ran təl-im, ən fel ətop·-ə-iz nek, ən pat·əd[13] im.

21 ən-t sun sed təl-t fœ·dhə: fœ·dhər oo-v send ogii'·n ev·ən ən ogii'·n dhii, ən o am·et wəth tə bi koold dhi sun ən·i laq·əɹ.

22 ən-t fœ·dhə sed təl iz fóuk: breq əz-t best tluu'ɹ ii',[6] ən dən·əm ən-im,

[klee'n M] ɹeɹ, æn tshe'n [tshokh M[3]] нhem dii o'n [oon M], æn ɹóu нhem ən req o'n [oon M] sin нhən,[4] æn skúən o'n [oon M] də fóə·tən [fuœ'·tən M[5]].

23 ænd breq-t mæ·stə[1] ke'l[2] æn slakht et: let us ii·tə æn froo·lek bhee·zə.

24 bhænt[1] de·sə suán [soon M] fæn mæ'i bhi'r déa æn nóu es ər bheeɹ le·bən bhœɹ·dən; нhæ'i bhi'r fəɹlææ·n[2] æn nóu es ər bheeɹ·fo'n [bheɹ·fóun M[3]]. æn ɹa bəgo·qən[4] froo·lek tə bhœɹ·dən.

25 æn sin a·lstə[1] suán [soon M] bhi'r en-t field [fielt M[2]] æn doo dii næ'i нhuus gœq, æn tekh·tə[3] bæ'i нhuus kuám [kaam M] нhéaɹ·də [ɹeɹ·də M] нhæ'i tsho·qən[4] æn-t do'n·shən [doo·nshən M[5]].

26 æn нhæ'i roop i'n fæn sin нhæ'itə[1] fæ'i·ntən bæ'i нhem æn free·ghə нhem bhæt dat tə bitshœ·tən[2] нhíə.

27 æn dii sæ'i tshen нhem: din bruuɹ es kœmd[1] æn ɹe·mə нhæ'it нhæt[2] 't mæ·stə kéal sla·khtə, œm-t ər нhem suund bheeɹ krii·ghə нhæt.

28 maɹ нhæ'i bhaaɹ nii·dəkh[1] æn bhuu[2] næt in-t[3] нuuz[4] gə'n; doo gœq sin нhæ'it næ'i buu·tə æn béa нhem der œm.[5]

29 нhæ'i li·kbhol ɹukh sin нhæ'it tə-n a·ntúət[1] [a·ntbhət M]: shiœkh [shokh M]! sa fœ·lə ɹe·rən tshæ·nɹə[2] ek ɹóu, æn ek нhab néa næt bhat tshen ɹóu sen di'n, æn dokhs нa·bə ɹóu me ne·mər nən bo·kɹə ɹóun, dat ek mæ'i min fræ·nən[3] æk-rəs[4] froo·lek bhee·zə mœ·khtə.

30 maɹ nóu de·sə suán [soon M] fæn ɹóu kœ·mən es, dii ɹóu gúəd [guœ'd M[1]] mæ'i нhuu·rən [wœɹn M[2]] deɹ trœkh brokht нhæt, nóu нa·bə ɹóu-t fæt·mæs·tə kéal fəɹ нhem sla·khtə.

31 doo sæ'i də нhæ'it tshen нhem: bæn [bæn M[1]]! dóu best a·ltid bee·mə [bæ'i mæ'i M[2]], æn al bhæt mii·nəs es, es dii·nəs æk.

32 me mo'st[1] dæn froo·lek ænd bliid bhee·zə; bhænt de·sə[2] bruuɹ fæn dæ'i bhi'r déa ænd нhæ'i es bheeɹ le·bən bhœɹ·dən; æn нhæ'i bhi'r fərlææ·n æn nóu es ər bhee·rfən [bheɹ·fóun M].

ən gi-ím ə req ən-t and,[7] ən shuu·in ə-t fit (fit).[8]

23 ən breq-t fed koof, ən slef·tə-t;[3] let-s eet, ən bí mər·i.[4]

24 kəs dhis led-ə máin wə dii'd[5] ən nee iz lev·in əgii'·n; i wə ləst, ən nee iz fun[6] əgii'n ən dhə bigən· tə bi gam·sum.[7]

25 ən-t óu·dis[6] led wər-i-t tloo·is,[7] ən wen i went tul·ədz t-ee'z,[8] ən kum tlóis[9] be-t, i ii'd[10] t- seq·in ən dən·sin.

26 ən-i koold wum ə iz fee·dhə[3] men bi im, ən ekst im wat it wəɹ.[4]

27 ən-i sed təl-im: dhi bru·dhə-z kəm, ən-dhi fee·dhəz slef·təd t-fed koof fər-im kum·in bek see'nd.[3]

28 bət-i get med[6] ən wəd·'nt goo in,[7] soo iz fee·dhə went ee't, ən bisóu·t[8] im tul.

29 dhen i spek tə-t fee·dhər i dhes ruu'd,[5] sez-ii·: nəb·ət ·sii ee'[6] mən·i ·ɹəɹ[7] oo-v saavd ɹ-ool,[8] ən-z niv·əɹ dən nóut raq[9] əgii'·n ɹo, bəd[10] ɹoo-v niiɹ ·mii nu'n-ə-ə ked gin,[11] soo əz ·oo ənoo·l[12] məd[13] fə wuns bi mər·i wi dhem ət o noo.[14]

30 bəd ·nee ət dhes led ə ɹee'rz[3] ez kuu·m, ət-s get·'n throo wat ɹi ·ev wi uu'z,[4] ·nee ɹoo-v guu'n[5] ən slef·təd t-fet·fed koof fər-im.

31 dhen sed t-fee·dhəɹ təl-im: bee'n,[3] ·dhaa-z[4] oo·ləs bí-mə, ən ool ət-s máin iz dhain ənoo·l.[5]

32 wi-mən dhən bi mə·ri ən dled·-səm[3] láik, kos dhes bru·dhər-o-dhə wəɹ dii'd, ən-i wəɹ lost, ən nee iz fun əgii'·n.

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5. *Notes on the Friesian and Halifax Versions.*

11 *Fr.* [1]) approaching (kéar). [2]) at times approaching (mon, mən, mʌn), and sometimes rather lengthened, as also in (lən, нhən), both F and M. [3]) although written *dy*, both F and M agree here. [4]) "almost three *o*'s," as M said; but I sometimes thought I heard (so'n·ən, soo'·nən). F called attention to the resemblance and difference between the word and Dutch *zwaan*, swan.

Ha. [5]) Mr. Robinson marks (tâ^{a}im). as a general rule I have marked the medial vowel in diphthongs as short in

dialectal transcriptions, its real length is in such cases rather variable. [6]) 'lads,' there is a great tendency to this thinning in the more refined speech.

12 *Fr.* [1]) the sound which I have here throughout written (œ) seemed at times (ɐ) or (ə), and may have been (æh); the English (ɐ) may certainly be always used. [2]) this vowel hovered between (ɐ, æ), but on the whole (æ) seemed to be nearest. [3]) the diphthongs *y*, *ei*, were both pronounced alike, but both seemed unfixed, and hovered among (ə'i, ɐ'i, æ'i) for the first element, and (æ'i, æ'*i*, æ'*e*, æ'e) for the second. as I use (æ) in *fen* (fæn), I write (æ'i) as a compromise throughout. [4]) the (tsh) was distinct in both F and M, and hence probably in all the other Friesian specimens it ought to be used. but occasionally I seemed to hear (ti-, tsi-). the vowel was unfixed as (e, *e*), at least I could not feel certain, except that it was not (ɪ), and not (i, *i*). [5]) (sin) had distinct (i), not (e), and hence is clearly (siin) shortened by rapid utterance. [6]) (nh) was generally distinct (n[h), not simple (n). this is the general word for *father*, as (mæm) for *mother*. F and M did not know *tete*, *tata*. [7]) the (g) seemed clear, not (gh, gh), as in Dutch, but in Emden, sp. 37, it was (ghóut). (u') seemed to vary as (uœ'), thus (gu'd, guœ'd, guɐ'd), exactly as in English, in both F and M. (d) final was distinctly not (t); I did not sufficiently notice the dental (,d) to be sure of it. [8]) (me) for (mæ'i) when without force, shewing that (me, mɐ, mæ, mæ'i) were the probable stages; it is *not* a change of (æ'i) into (ee). [9]) the short vowel in (tɐ) must be noticed, it was quite run on to the consonant, as I have indicated. [10]) in Winkler (di'ldə), but F knew only (dee·ldə) [11]) here F and M differed materially, one ignoring the inserted (i), and keeping the aspirate, and the other allowing the aspirate to be driven out by the inserted (i); both occur in English dialects.

Ha. [12]) 'youngest,' no *t*. [13]) 'till = to the father,' the *r* vanishes frequently. [14]) "when the word stands isolated, or when it ends a sentence, or is followed by a word beginning with a vowel, then the *r* must necessarily be heard; in other positions the word is, by rule, deprived of the *r*."—C. C. R. [15]) 'give me the share of the stuff what is to come to me,' or, more characteristically, (de'l ɐz e't ɐz oon) 'deal us out us = our own.'

13 *Fr.* [1]) here I seemed to hear (gh) clearly. [2]) Dutch *na*, German *nach*, 'after, towards.' [3]) F's (bi·tshə), not (be·tshə), may have really been (bi·tshə), as M lengthened the vowel; short (i) seems most probable, as a representative of long (ii). [4]) both F and M agreed in long (aa), though the original has short (a). [5]) I doubt the (*aa*), it may have been only (ɐnudɪ); (*aa*) does not seem to occur intentionally, but only to be generated by following consonants. [6]) the (éa) was here distinct; it is the German *zog* (tsoogh). [7]) (fúɐrt), both F and M agreed, in (úɐ), in trilled (r), and in final (t), and not (th) or (dh). F said that so far from (th) being Friesian, he had had very great difficulty in mastering it. [8]) (lɐn), at times (*laan*), and nearly (lɪɐn), quite as in Scotch. [9]) (brokht) with (o) rather than (ɔ). [10]) (ɐl) was always very like (ʌl). [11]) Winkler, noting the Hindeloopenish (sp. 89) form *oerweelsk*, which he considers to be more correct, translates it into Dutch as *overweelderig*, over-luxurious or wanton, and derives it from old Friesian *weald*, English 'wealth.' as respects the *d*, however, we must remember the old Saxon forms *glot-uuelo*, *gold-uuelo*, *ōd-uuelo*, for riches in the plural, see Schmeller's glossary to the Heliand, sub *uuelo*.

Ha. [12]) 'a piece at after,' a little after that, observe short (i), not (ɪ). [13]) 'gathered,' this is quite Friesian. [14]) 'made his road.' [15]) 'till-wards' = towards. [16]) 'a far land,' the refined (lend) is most usually heard, the unrefined is (lənd). [17]) 'brought himself through all that he had.' [18]) 'over-high,' or, equally common, (óɐ·ɐi-den·ti) 'over dainty.' [19]) 'living.'

14 *Fr.* [1]) F preferred (knɐm), M said that was Dutch. [2]) Dutch *krap*, narrow. [3]) or (oo'n, oon). [4]) this was the form M knew, not (néad). [5]) both F and M seemed to say (q) at the end. [6]) F said *brekme* was quite out of use, Winkler says it is becoming rapidly obsolete, and is replaced by Dutch *gebrek*, M admitted (bræ·k'm). [7]) for *leiden*, the *d* lost as usual.

Ha. [8]) for (gɐ·t, gat), 'great.' [9]) 'hunger,' observe absent aspirate, and the (q) for (qg). [10]) 'starve,' a common Yorkshire word, usually written *clem*, *clam*; another phrase is,

[*kud*·'nt bâ*i*d], 'could not bide' or last out.

15 *Fr.* [1]) both F and M agreed in (sh), but with F the (i) seemed to have exhausted itself in making this change, while in M the (i) remained with its original stress. the Dutch has made the juncture (yy) in *stuuren* (styy·rən) to steer, or send. [2]) (dzh) was clear in each, the word stands for Dutch *weiden* (bhə'i·dən), and the change of (d) into (dzh), instead of (ɹ), or simple omission, as in (læ'i·ən) v. 14, is noticeable, the two seem to point to an intermediate (bhæ'i·djən), which would easily fall into either. the word is connected with English *weed, withe.*

Ha. [3]) 'agatewards,' on his gate or road; although *gang* is known so near as the Craven district, it is not used in Halifax. [4]) 'townsmen,' burgesses, citizens. [5]) relative *at* = *that* in meaning, but the derivation is disputed. [6]) 'woods.' [7]) 'root,' give roots to, feed.

16 *Fr.* [1]) (ɹe·rnə) was pronounced by both F and M as obsolete, they did not know it, and both used the Dutch word *graag*, 'eager, desirous, hungry,' but F seemed to say (graakt), possibly my mishearing for (graakh), while M said (graagh). [2]) this seems to be Dutch *voeder* 'fodder,' with the *d* omitted. it is curious that (uu) is sometimes spelled *oe* as in Dutch, and sometimes *û*. [3]) 'more,' and hence 'but,' as French *mais* = Latin *magis*. [4]) Dutch and German *niemand*. [5]) although I noted (ɹuug), F may have said (ɹuugh).

Ha. [6]) 'he would fair have eaten.' [7]) 'pigment' is "any offally mess, unworthy food, a mixture of ingredients of any kind; one of the commonest of South Yorkshire words; it has nothing whatever to do with paint, and would not be understood dialectally in this sense."—C. C. R.

17 *Fr.* [1]) see v. 14, note 1. [2]) this was from M, I have not noted F; observe the final ('m). [3]) the (-dəgh) as in Dutch, a short faint deep guttural vowel sound, possibly (-dəhgh), very peculiar in character. [4]) see v. 12, note 11; it is the old English *here*. [5]) final (d) omitted, the fracture strong, the (a) clear.

Ha. [6]) 'himself,' the vowel in (seel) is rather medial than long. "in the villages about Halifax and Keighley, and generally in the Lower Craven district (classification, variety 23a), the *l* is usually followed by *n*, as (*i*see·ln, wəsee·ln, əsee·ln, m*i*see·ln, dhəsee·lnz), and these are casual Halifax forms; so also *n* is added in (m*i*ln, meln) for *mill*. sometimes the *l* is lost to the ear in (sen) for *self*, and when *l* is heard in this word, *n* is lost, as (seel). I have also often heard people add on an *m*."—C. C. R. [7]) "(bre'd), usually (br*ii*'d) in South Yorkshire, and many Halifax speakers use this sound; the vowel in this word, is unsettled and varies in localities but little distant from each other."—C. C. R.

18 *Fr.* [1]) the *e* in *seil* was not noticed in pronounciation, it seems to be entirely etymological. [2]) (e'n), and not (éan), in each. [3]) (us), this is merely remembered, not noted, in other Friesian I find (yys). [4]) both F and M objected to the *d* in *sidze*, but F seemed to lengthen the vowel. [5]) neither F nor M acknowledged *sûn* = (suun), but I seemed to hear (zœn) from one, and (son) from the other; the (z) was slight, "more of a *z*" as F said, and may have been (sz). [6]) here there was the same difference in the length of the vowel as in note 4. [7]) both objected to *foar*, and Winkler says "or *bifoar*, but *tsjin* is better Friesian." The Greek εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ ἐνώπιον σοῦ seems to have led all translators to adopt a real Hebraism in this place. [8]) both F and M said (ɹóu) exactly as in v. 12 for 'give,' and objected to the *ju* of Winkler.

Ha. [9]) 'I shall,' or Ise. [10]) 'sinned.' [11]) "(foɹ) is common in this position in the southern dialects (classification, subdialect 23); at Halifax it is called (fuu')."—C. C. R.

19 *Fr.* [1]) I am not quite certain whether F said (nuu) or (nóu), but I think the latter; and M certainly did say so. [2]) F gave the two first, and said that (bhœɹgh) was commonest, "as if written with Dutch *u*," M omitted the (d), and made two syllables. [3]) same variety as in v. 12, note 11. [4]) this (*a*r·ə) may have been accidental.

Ha. [5]) 'now.' "here (nee), because of the following (o) for *I*; (n*ee*) is the usual form in Lower Craven; (net) is also used."—C. C. R. [6]) 'I am-not.' [7]) 'worth being called.' "(bin) is in v. 21 (tə b*i*), both forms are in use, but the first is considered to be most refined."—C. C. R. [8]) 'nought but,' only. [9]) 'workers.'

20 *Fr.* [1]) both F and M objected

to *stoe* (stuu), but M said (stuu) could be used, though (stii) was more common. [2]) F said (ræ·tə) was not heard, M said it was still used "by old-fashioned people." [3]) (ʌʌ), the (f) of *off* dropped. [4]) F did not pronounce the *d* or attend to the *e* in *ae*, but M did both. [5]) both seem to be old-fashioned words. [6]) this is another confusion of short and long. [7]) this was from M, I have not noted F. [8]) 'patted,' not 'kissed,' as I was told, but Winkler says, on the Hindeloopenish *paaike* (specimen 89, v. 20), "kissed, from *paaikje*, to kiss; the usual Friesian is *patsje*, *patte*; *een zoen*, 'a kiss,' is in Hindeloopenish *en paaik*, and in usual Friesian *en patsje*, and formerly, as still found in Gysbert Japicx, *en pea*."

Ha. [9]) 'to the.' "in the Leeds dialect (tət, tʊt), the latter emphatic and before a pause; in Halifax the heavy sound may be either (tət, tot), but seems most like the latter."—C. C. R. [10]) 'while.' [11]) 'off on him,' off of or from him. [12]) 'overmastered at heart,' or (wə slʊft ə-t siit ən im), 'was sloughed, or choked with sobs, at the sight of him.' [13]) Mr. Robinson says there is no other word for *caress* than *pat*; *caress* would not be understood, at least when spoken.

21 *Fr.* and *Ha.* see the notes on the parallel passage, v. 18.

22 *Fr.* [1]) not (breqg) or (breqk) [2]) see v. 13, note 7. [3]) M admitted (tshe'n), but said (tshokh), German *zog* (tsookh), was more usual. [4]) see (lan), v. 13, note 8. [5]) I hesitated as to (fúə·tən) or (fuœ'·tən), the (u) was clear, but the force seemed to vary.

Ha. [6]) 'clothes here.' [7]) 'on the hand.' [8]) 'feet,' either with short (i) or short (*i*). "(fuu't) is occasionally heard for *foot* in Halifax and Lower Craven, but it is more general towards the north."—C. C. R.

23 Fr. [1]) 'masted,' fed on mast, as beech-mast, oak-mast, hence fattened. [2]) the (f) lost.

Ha. [3]) 'slaughter it. [4]) 'let us eat and be merry.'

24 *Fr.* [1]) I did not observe any aspirate or approach to (nhuæ·nt), but I may have overlooked it. [2]) no trace of (r) or (ɹ) in the second syllable certainly, in the first I am doubtful. [3]) (bheɹ, bheeɹ) 'again,' Dutch *weder* with omitted (d), as our old *whe'er* for *whether*, the last syllable (fo'n, fóun), seemed to vary thus, but the distinction is too fine to insist on. [4]) see v. 14, note 5, the (q) was in this case noted from both F and M.

Ha. [5]) 'this lad of mine was dead.' [6]) 'found.' [7]) 'gamesome.'

25 *Fr.* [1]) the *d* was not heard, the (*a*) was nearly (ʌ). [2]) the final (d) of F was distinct, and the final (t) of M quite as clear, the (e) of (ie) was distinct, and hence the force doubtful (ie, ié). [3]) no (th), German *dicht*, 'close.' [4]) the (tsh) arises from the coalescent article (t), (sho·qən) is the word otherwise; this serves to shew the correctness of the analysis (tsh). [5]) as (duu·nshən) is implied by the spelling, it was probably also so heard.

Ha. [6]) 'oldest.' [7]) 'in the close' or field. [8]) 'the house.' [9]) 'close,' adv. observe the difference between (7) and (9), (tloo·*is*, tlóis). [10]) 'heard.'

26 *Fr.* [1]) uninflected genitive. [2]) Dutch *beduiden* (bədœ'i·dən) 'signify.'

Ha. [3]) uninflected genitive. [4]) 'asked him what it wor = was.' observe that both (wəɹ) and (wor) occur in this example, and compare (475, *c*).

27 *Fr.* [1]) the final (d) distinct, almost the vulgar English *comed*. [2]) final (t), not (th).

Ha [3]) 'for him coming back sound,' on account of his coming back sound.

28 *Fr.* [1]) properly 'envious,' Dutch *nijdig*, German *neidisch*. [2]) as both F and M said (bhuu), probably *wol* is a misprint for *woe*, which is written in v. 16. [3]) I presume *in 'e hûs* is a misprint for *in 't hûs*, I did not particularly notice the *t*. [4]) the (z) seems due to the following (g). [5]) German *bat ihm darum*.

Ha. [6]) 'gat mad.' [7]) 'go in,' viz. to the house; the word *house* is generally omitted in ordinary speech, and invariably in the dialect. observe that the sound is here (goo), but in v. 18 it was (*gu'*); when the fracture occurs, the vowel changes, and whether the fracture should be used or not depends upon the context. we find therefore in one word, having an original (aa) vowel, ags. *gân*, both an (oo) and an (uu) sound subsisting side by side in the same dialect; of course (goo) comes through (gaa, *gaa*, gʌʌ, goo), and (*gu'*) through (guáa, gúa, gáa, *gu'*); but the example is extremely instructive, and shews the necessity of great caution in older cases. [8]) Mr. Robinson says that the past participle of *beg* is scouted, except in 'begged and prayed.'

29 *Fr.* [1]) *andert* was not acknowledged; the two forms given were merely Dutch *antwoord*, with the second syllable obscured and *r* omitted. [2]) a form of Dutch *diene*, serve; this is taken as *tjenje*, and so becomes (tshæ·nɹə). [3]) F almost said (frœœ·nən), I have not noted M. [4]) German *auch dereinst*.

Ha. [5]) 'in this road,' in this *way*. [6]) 'how,' a regular change. [7]) 'year,' the singular of quantity. [8]) 'served you-all.' [9]) 'wrong.' [10]) 'but.' [11]) 'you have never *me* none of a kid given,' observe the order of the words. [12]) '*I* and all.' the words 'and all' are a very common expletive in several dialects. [13]) might. [14]) 'those that I know'; Mr. Robinson observes that the word *friend* is very rarely heard in dialect speech.

30 *Fr.* [1]) (gúəd, guœ'd), I did not notice this variable force in v. 12. [2]) this (wœɹn) is evidently obtained thus: (ʜhûə·rən, ʜhuœ'·rən, wœ·rən, wœɹn), if indeed I ought not rather to have noted (uœ'ɹn), as I think more probable.

Ha. [3]) 'yours.' [4]) 'whores.' [5]) 'gone.'

31 *Fr.* [1]) perhaps both said (bæn), the *r* was quite unpronounced. [2]) the variation between (ee, æ'i) is here important in respect to Early English, for the speakers were two men of the same village, and nearly of the same age and standing.

Ha. [3]) 'bairn.' [4]) 'thou is.' [5]) see v. 29, note 12.

32 *Fr.* [1]) (mo'st) was M's pronunciation; I am inclined to think that his (sooon), see v. 11, note 4, was rather (soo'n) or (so'n). [2]) for the rest of the verse see notes on the parallel passage in v. 24.

Ha. [3]) 'gladsome,' for (dl) compare v. 14 (tlem).

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88. *Workum*, town (52 *n* 58, 5 *e* 26). I. 441. [As it was still generally spoken up to the year 1800.]

11 dər bhi'r ris en mi·nskə, də'i ʜi' tbha so'·nən. 12 in ʜə'i dee·ldə ɹə·rən 't ghud. 15 om də ba·rghən to wéi·dɹən. 18 ʜéit! ik ʜev suu·ndighə tshin [or (tíin)] ɹóu. 22 briq ɹir daa·lik də be·stə kléan, in doogh sə ʜim oon; in ɹéan ʜim en riq oon siin ʜaan in sku·nən oon ə fu·tən. 23 't me·stə kéal. 24 bhant di·zə soon fan mə'i bhi'r déa, in ʜə'i is bher fuu·ndən. 25 in də man siin aa·dstə soon bhi'r in-t fɹild [or (fíɹld)], in doo də'i koom, in bə'i -t ʜuus bhi'r ɹhe·ɹrdə ʜə'i -t sió·qən end -t spii·lɹən. 27 ɹóu bro'r. 29 dat ik máai miin friœœ'·nən froo·lik bhe·zə mo·khtə. 31 baɹrn, dóu bi·stə a·ltiit bə'i mə'i.

89. *Hindeloopen*, town (52*n*57, 5 *e* 24). I. 445.

11 sii·kər mi·nskə hee'b tbhaa soons. 12 in ʜi dee·ldə ɹem-t ghood. 15 om op də ba·rghən to pa·sɹən. 18 feer, iik ʜeb suu·ndighe tɹen ɹi. 22 briiq hir daa·dlik 't be·stə pak klaan, in duáan it ʜim oon, in ɹaan ʜim ən riiq oon siin haand, in skoon oon siin fu·tən. 23 't me·stə kaal. 24 bhant di·zə miin soon bhee'r daa, in ʜii iis wor fuu·ndən. 25 in siin éa·lstə soon weer iin-t fild in dææ ʜii tikht bi ʜyy's [(ʜuu's) ?] kaam, ʜee·ɹrdə ʜii-t ghesuu·q in-t gheduu·ns. 27 diin bro'r. 29 dot iik méi miin free'·ndən ek ris no·khlik ['agreeable,' *genoeglijk*] bhææ·zə kaast. 31 boɹrn, duu bist a·ltiid bii mii.

90. *Schiermonnikoog*, island 53 *n* 28, 6 *e* 12). I. 458. [In Friesian (ski'·rmuu·ntsiéakh) or (ski'·rmuu·ntsiáekh).]

11 dər bhiir réis 'n man, in dii ʜiéa tbhaa ɹo·qes. 12 in ʜar héit ['father'] dee·ldə ʜar -t ghyy'd. 15 om ʜar sbhii·nə to ʜyy'·dən. 18 ik ʜev seáu·nə diin tshin [or (tsiin)] ɹoo. 22 briq ʜiir -t bost pak kláainə, in tshokh it ʜim oon, in ɹœœ'u ʜim 'n riq oon siin ʜáaun, in skyy'·nə oon siin fə·tən. 23 't ma·stə kalf. 24 bhant di ɹo·qə bhiéa dáaid, in ʜii is bhiir fiéaun. 25 in də óu·dstə sœœn bhiéa iin -t láaun, in dəa -t ər nóoi ʜyys to syy'ə, in ti·khtə bii koom, ʜee·ɹrsə ʜii sió·qən in dáau·nsɹən. 27 diin bryy·ər. 29 dot ik móoi miin freáunə réis plesii·r me·tshə kyy·ə. 31 beɹrn, do bi·stə o·lə daa·ghən bii mii.

[There has been much difficulty in translating the symbols. The (uu) seems not to occur. On *dao juued* = (dəa ɹyy'd), Winkler says it is 'the people,' Dutch *de lieden*," usual Friesian *liu*, *liuwe*, which word is in some places called *ljue*, *ljuwe*, and in others *ljouwe*," ? (liúə, liy'ə, lióu·ə). "*L* and *r* are for Friesians, as for their national relations the English, difficult letters to pronounce, and are often omitted,

and hence the Schiermonnikoogers omit *l* and *r* in the combinations *lj*, *rj*." Then he gives examples, *juued* for *liu*, "as the Hindeloopers say *leead*" = (lée'd)?; *juocht* for *riucht*, *sjuocht* for *sliucht*, so that *sjuocht in juocht* = high German *schlecht und recht*, is a shibboleth of these islanders; and *may* be (siy"kht in ɹy"kht) (1397, *b'*). Another curious point is the use of (-s) for (-th, -dh) final, or of (dh) or (d) medial, even in participles, as *fortaors* = (fort*aa*·rs), high German *verzehrt*, 'devoured,' usual Friesian *fortard*. "The Friesians on the continent have frequently softened the old *th* to *d*." Examples are *stjuersene*, 'steered, stirred, sent,' usual *stiûrden*; *we,sig* 'worthy,' *we,sen* 'become,' *hee,se* 'heard,' *ierse* 'earth,' *hers* 'hard.']

b. LOW GERMAN IN FRIESLAND. I. 461.

91. *Leeuwarden*, city (53 *n* 12, 5 *e* 47). I. 468. [This is where Winkler resides.]

11 dər bhaar-əs-ən man, in dii ʜa·də tbhii·ə sœœ·nən. 12 in duu fərdee·ldə də óu·də man ʜar -t ghyyd. 15 op ə ba·rghən tə pa·sən. 18 faa·dər, ik ʜEE so·ndə deen tœœ·ghən ɹóu. 22 breq ʜiir ghóu ris 't be·stə pak klee·rən, in trek ʜim dat an, in gheef-əm-ən riq an siin ʜan, in skyy·nən an siin fyy·tən. 23 't me·stə kalf. 24 bhant di·zə sœœn fan mə'i bhaar dood, in nóu ʜEE bhee-'m bheero·m fo·nən. 25 in də man siin óu·stə sœœn bhaar op-t land, in duu dii bheero·m kbham, in di·khtə bə'i ʜyys kbham, ʜoo·rd i ʜuu -t sə so·qən in danstən. 27 ɹóu bruur. 29 daa -k uuk -s met miin fri·ndən froo·lik bhee·zə mo·khtə. 31 kiin, dóu bi·stə o·mə[rs a·ltiid bə'i mə'i.

92. *Dokkum*, town (53 *n* 19, 6 *e* 0). I. 477.

11 dər bhar-əs-ən man, in dii ʜad tbhii·ə sœœ·nən. 12 in ʜə'i ghaf ʜor ʜoor ghəyy'd ["a very short perfect *o* precedes a long, perfect, and somewhat lengthened *u*, on which the stress falls," this is the noun *goods*; the adjective *good* is (ghu'd)]. 15 om op ə ba·rghən tə pa·sən. 18 faa·dər, ik ʜEV so·ndighed tœœn [and (tœœ·ghən)] faa·dər. 22 briq daa·dəlik də be·stə klee·rən ʜiir, in duun ʜim dii an, in gheef-əm-ən riq an siin ʜan, in skuu·nən an ə fuu·tən. 23 't me·stə kalf. 24 bhant di·zə sœœn fan mə'i bhar dood in nóu is ərfo·nən. 25 in siin óu·stə sœœn bhar in-t land, in duu-t ər dikht bə'i ʜyys kbham, ʜoord-ər-t si·qən in-t da·nsən. 27 ɹóu bruur. 29 dat ik ok-s froo·lik bhee·zə kon met miin fri·ndən. 31 kiin, dóu bist a·ltiitən bə'i mə'i.

93. *Bolsward*, town (53 *n* 3, 5 *e* 32). I. 481.

11 'n man ('n mins) ʜad tbhii·ə sœœ·nən. 12 in ʜə'i dee·ldə ʜyyr -t ghoœ'd. ["the imperfect *u* in *put*" = (pœt, pət), see (1292, *a'*), Dutch for *pit*, or *well*, "with preceding perfect *o*."] 15 op ə ba·rghən tə pa·sən. 18 ʜéit, ik ʜef so·ndə deend tœœ·ghən ɹóu. 22 briq 'm ʜiir siin be·stə klee·rən, in trek see 'm an, in gheev-əm-ən riq an siin ʜan, in skuu·nən an ə fuu·tən. 23 't fe·tə kalf. 24 bhant di·zə sœœn fan mə'i bhar doo'd in ii is bheero·m fo·nən. 25 in siin óu·stə sœœn bhar op-t lan, in duu dii dikht bə'i ʜyys kbham, hóord ii -t si·qən, in -t da·nsən. 27 ɹə bruur. 29 daa -k met miin fri·ndən -s froo·lik bhee·zə mokht. 31 kiin, dóu bist a·ltiid bə'i mii. [We find 20 (lii'p) ran, (fii'l) fell, (in duu-t i nogh 'n ʜeel ind fan 'm o bhar) 'and when he yet a whole end from him off was,' (o) for (of) off, with (f) suppressed.]

94. *Nes op't Ameland*, village of Nes in the island of *Ameland* (53 *n* 27, 5 *e* 45). I. 486.

11 'n see·kər minsk ʜad tbhii·ə sœœns. 12 gheef mə'i 't deel fan-t ghuu'd. in də faa·dər ghaf sə elk siin paa[rt. 15 om də ba·rghən tə ʜuu'·dən. 18 ik ʜev məi an ɹóu beso·ndighd. 22 briq -t be·stə pak klee·rən ʜiir, in trek -t im an, in gheef 'n riq an siin ʜan, in skuu'·nən an ə fuu'tən. 23 't me·stə kalf. 24 bhant dœœ·zə miin sœœn bhaar doo'd, in is bhee·rfo·nən. 25 mar də man siin óu·stə sœœn bhar op-t lan, in duu dii kam, in dikht bə'i -t ʜyys ko·mən bhar, ʜoo·[rdə ʜə'i -t si·qən in da·nsən. 26 ii'n [*one*]. 27 ɹóu bruur. 29 om met miin frii'·ndən froo·lik tə bhee·zə. 31 miin kiin, ɹóu bi·nə a·ltiid bə'i mə'i. ["The pure long (ii) has often been changed into the Hollandish (ə'i), but the Amelanders are not consistent, and you may hear them say: (bhə'i se·ghə a·ltiid tə'id, in nii't tiid), 'we all-teed (tiid) say *tide* (tə'id), and not *teed* (tiid).'" Such in-

consistencies are valuable for shewing the unconsciousness of transitions.]

95. *Het Bildt*, parish, a Dutch *gemeente*, and lordship, Dutch *grietenij*, containing *St. Anna-Parochie*, village (53 *n* 17, 5 *e* 40). I. 492.

11 dər bhæær əs 'n man, dii had tbhee sœœ·nən. 12 ən hə'i paɹ tə hœœr -t ghuud yyt ənə·ndər. 15 om də fe·rkəns tə bháiə·ən. 18 hăit, ik hev mə'i bəso·ndighd tœœn jóu. 22 hææl -t be·stə kleed foor -t likht ən duun him dat an, ən gheef him 'n riq an siin hand, ən skuu'·nən an ə fuu'·tən. 23 't fe·tmest kalf. 24 bhant dœœ·zə sœœn fan mii·nən bhæær doo'd, ən hə'i is fo·nən. 25 mæær də man siin óu·dstə sœœn bhæær in -t feld, ən duu dii bheero·m kam, ən di·khtə bə'i -t hyys bhæær, hoord ii-t ghəsi·q ən-t ghəspri·q. 27 jóu bruur. 29 dat ik met miin ghuu·də fri·ndən əs froo·lik bhee·zə mo·khtə. 31 kiind, dóu bist a·ltiid bə'i me·i.

96. *Noordwolde*, village (52*n*53, 6 *e* 8). I. 498.

11 'n zee·kər meens ha·də tbhii' zœœ·nən. 12 ən hiɹ dii·ldə hœœr 't ghuu'd. 15 om də va·rkəns tə hyy·dən. 18 héit, ik hee zœ·ndighd tee·ghən jóu. 22 breq hiir aa·nstons 't be·stə kliid, ən trek -t hom an, ən gheet 'n riqk an ziin haand ən skhuu·nən, an ə bii'nən. 23 't ve·tə kaalf. 24 bhant di·zə zœœ·nə van miɹ bhas dood, ən nou is hiɹ vœ·nən. 25 ən ziin o·lstə zœœ·nə bhas op ə a·kər, ən tuu iɹ kbham, ən biɹ hyys bhas, hœœ·rde hiɹ-t zi·qən ən juu·lən ['revel,' Dutch word]. 27 jóu brœœr. 29 om mit miin kameraa·dən vroo·lik tə bhee·zən. 31 kiind, iɹ bin a·ltiid biɹ miɹ.

XXV. Noord-Holland, in English Province of North Holland. II. 1.

97. *Wester-Schelling*, west part of island of *ter-Schelling* (53 *n* 20, 5 *e* 13). II. 10.

11 dir bhaas in minsk, dii hii tbhaa sins. 12 in ta ['father'] jookh ['gave'] elk siin o'·ndeel ['share']. 15 om op də ba·rghən to pa·sən. 18 ta, ik ha so·ndighd tshin [or (tsíin)] jo. 22 ha·lə ghóu də be·stə kle'n, dokh 's him o'n, stek 'n riq o'n siin fi·qər, in dokh sko·nən o'n siin fo·tən. 23 't me·stə kéal. 24 bhant miin sin, dii for yys deed bhas, is bher foq ['found,' or 'caught']. 25 də aa·dstə sin bhaas iin -t fiild [or (fiild)] in daa hi, bii-t néi hyys taa gheen, ti·khtə bii koom hee·rdə hii -t sió·qən in-t spii·lən. 27 diin bruur. 29 om mii méi miin fro·qən froo·lik to mái·tən. 31 okh, miin boɹn, doo bi·stə o·məs a·ltiid bii mii.

98. *Ooster-Schelling*, east part of island of *ter-Schelling* (53 *n* 20, 5 *e* 20). II. 15.

11 dər bhaas ris 'n minsk, in dii hii tbhaa sins. 12 in də man dee·ldə -t ghuu'd. 15 om op də ba·rghən to pa·sən. 18 ta, ik ha ghre·tə so·ndə tshin [or (tsíin)] ta bidrii·œn. 22 briq də be·stə kle'n, in dokh him dii o'n, in jokh him-ən riq o'n siin haan, in sko·nən o'n siin fo·tən. 23 't fa·tə ke'l. 24 bhant dœ·zə sin fan mii bhas deed, in hii is bher foen. 25 in də aa·dstə sin bhaas op -t fiild [or (fiild)], in as hi tikht bi hyys koom, hee·rdə hii sió·qən in spii·lən. 27 diin bruur. 29 dak ik méi miin frœœ·nən froo·lik bhe'·zə kuu'. 31 miin sin, doo bist a·ltiid bi mii.

99. *Midslands*, village, middle-of-the-land of *ter-Schelling* (53 *n* 20, 5 *e* 15). II. 18.

11 dər bhaar ris-ən mins, di had tbhii' sœœns. 12 in hə'i dee·ldə har-t ghuu'd. 15 om op də ba·rghən tə pa·sən. 18 ta, ik hef so·ndighd tœœ·ghən ta. 22 haal ghóu -t be·stə kleed, in duu'n him dat an, in duu'n him-ən riq an siin fi·qər, in skuu·nən an siin fuu·tən. 24 bhant miin sœœn dii ik mii'·ndə ['thought'] dat dood bhaar, is bher fo·nən. 25 də óu·dstə sœœn bhaar in-t feld, in duu hə'i naa hyys ghoq, in di·khtə bə'i kbham, hoo·rdə hə'i -t si·qən in -t da·nsən. 27 diin bruur. 29 om mə'i met miin maats ['mates'] ris froo·lik tə maa·kən. 31 miin jo·qə, dóu bist i·məs a·ltoos bə'i mə'i.

100. *Flieland*, island (53 *n* 15, 5 *e* 0). II. 22.

11 deer bhas dris 'n man, hen dii ad tbhii seens. 12 hen taat déi·ldən -t ghuud ho·ndər œm hen sin hóu·dstən bruur. 15 hom də sbhœ·nən tə bhéi·ən. 18 taat, hik eb so·ndighd tœœ·ghən jóu. 22 breq jəlœ'i ['you,' Dutch *gijlieden*] 't kna·pstə pak iir, hen trek-ət-əm han, hən gheef 'n riq han sin aqd ['hand'], hən skuu·nən han sin fuu·tən. 23 't kalf dat bhe hop -t ok

mest e·bən. 24 bhaqt dœœ·zə min seen bhas dood, нən ə'i nis fo·ndən. 25 hen de man sin нóu·dstə seen bhas нop -t feld, tuu dii nee iis ['near house'] kbham, oo·rdən ə'i-t ghəsi·q нen-t ghəda·ns. 27 jə bruur. 29 нom ris froo·lik tə bhee·zən met min maats. 31 kiind, jə bint ha·ltœd bə'i mee.

[Observe the regular omission and insertion of (н). (iis), for *house*, is said to have "a very peculiar sound between (iis) and (œs)." (dris), once, shews the form (ris) to be *dereenst*.]

101. *Texel*, island (52 *n* 5, 4 *e* 47). II. 26.

11 deer bhas ər·s 'n man dii tbhii sœœns нad. 12 ən də vaa·dər deed-ət. 15 om op də fo·rkes tə po·sə. 18 taat, ik нebh ghroo·tə so·ndə deen tœœ·ghə jóu. 22 briq in 'n amərə'i·tsjə ['in an *ave-maria*!' in a moment!] miin be·stə rok нiir ən duun -əm dii an, ən gheef нim-ən riq an siin нand, ən skuu·nə an siin bii·ne ['put shoes on his legs.' Winkler says he has been asked by a maidservant at Haarlem to wipe his *legs* (instead of his feet) on the doormat: *meheeir! sel uwes assiblief je beeine of fege?* see spec. 80, for *boots* on *feet*]. 23 't fet me·stə kolf. 24 bhant dœœ·zə sœœn bhas foor mə'i net ['neat,' quite] so ghuud as dood, ən нə'i is bheero·m fo·ndə. 25 ən də óu·stə sœœn bhas op-t land, ən duu i bheero·m kbham, ən dikht bə'i нyys bhas, нoord i si·qə ən spœœ·lə. 27 jə bruur. 29 om mit me frii·ndən ər·s 'n partə'i· an tə le·ghə. 31 kiind, jə'i bent i·mərs o·lan bə'i mee.

102. *Wieringen*, island (52*n*55, 5*e*0). II. 30.

11 dər bhas ər·s 'n man di tbhii jo·qes нad. 12 iin fan di jo·qes, də jo·qstə, fruugh an siin taat ['dad'] om siin me·mes ['mammy's'] bəbhii·s; ən dat kreegh i. 15 om də fa·rkes tə bháí·dən. 18 ik sel tœœ·ghən taat se·ghə dat ik so·ndighd нef. 22 maar siin taat séí·də tœœ·ghən siin knechs, dat sə siin be·stə klee·rə bre·qə mo·stə, en sə-n a·ntre·kə mo·stə, ən dat sə-n riq an siin нaqd, ən skuu·nə an siin bii·nə duun mo·stə. 23 't me·stə kalf. 24 bhant siin sœœn dii i dokht dat dood bhas, bhas nóu bheero·m fo·qən. 25 maar tuu kbham dii aa·rə ['other'] jo·qə fan-t laqd-t нyys, ən dii нoo·rdə нuu-r so·qən ən daqst bhiird. 27 siin bruur. 29 bheer нə'i met aa·rə jo·qes ris klukht [local word for 'pleasure'] mee maa·kə mo·khtə. 31 kiin, jə'i bin a·ltoos bə'i mee.

103. *Schagen*, country town (52 *n* 47, 4 *e* 47). II. 35.

11 dər bhas-ər-s 'n vaa·dər ən dii нad tbhee zœœns. 12 нə'i ghoq ər den maar tuu o·vər om-əm z'n porii tə ghee·vən, DEER i anspraak op had. 15 op də va·rkəns pa·sə. 18 m'n vaa·dər is zəən gúui·jə KEE·rəl, as k-ər-s нee 'm tuu ghoq, ən zéí·də dat -ət-m'n spə'it ['food'] daa -k zəə raar deen нep, dan, deqk ik, zóu-k bhel bheer in нœ'is ko·mə ma·ghə. 22 нə'i most in ii·nən dii sti·kəndə KLEE·rə œ'it duun, ən də knekht most нyy·ə нaa·lə, ən dii most i a·ntre·kə, ən i kreegh 'n ghéu·ən riq an z'n vi·qər, ən skuu·nə an. 23 't mee'·stkalf. 24 bhant m'n zœœn bhas zəə ghuud as dood. nóu is i o·nvərbha·khs bheer o·pərdan [Dutch *opwarts an*, upwards on] ko·mən. 25 tbhə'is zə in нœ'is a·ləs klaar maakt нa·də, bhas də óu·stə zœœn nogh op-t land, ən tuu -t zəə bhat omee·nənbə'i [Dutch *om ende bij*, nearly] skheemərEE·vənd bhas, нat i DEEN ən tuu ghoq i нee нœ'is tuu, maar tuu i bhat di·khtər bə'i нœ'is kbham, нoord i dat zə zəə ə'isələ'ik ['awfully'] vrəə·lək bha·zə. 27 jə broo'r. 29 tuu ik ii·mosdaa·ghə kamaraa·s bə'i m'n нad. 31 m'n jo·qən, JEE bin a·ltoos bə'i m'n bheest.

[The open long *e* and *o* are clearly pronounced and kept distinct from the close long *e* and *o*. The open long *e* in West Friesian pronunciation sounds "almost like the Friesian diphthong *ea*," or (éa, éə, e'), "and the open long *o* nearly agrees with the Friesian oa," (óa, óə, o'); but I have put (EE, əə) in the transcription, because the fracture was not sufficiently clearly indicated.]

104. *Benningbroek*, village (52 *n* 42, 5 *e* 2). II. 41.

11 deer bhas ər-s 'n man, in dii had tbhee sœœns. 12 ən нái dee·lds нœœrlœ'i·-t ghuud. 15 om də ve·rkəns tə bháí·dən. 18 vaa·dər, ik нebh kbhaad deen tœœ·ghən jóu. 22 breq нiir ghóu də be·stə plœn ['clothing,' old (plyy·нə), in Ostend (pleœ'i·tsjəs), origin unknown], in duun 't 'm an, in gheef əm-ən riq an s'n нand, in skuu·nə an ə'n bii·nə. 23 't meest kalf. 24 bhant dœœ·zə m'n sœœn bhas dood, in

ʜái is bheer vo·ndən. 25 in s'n óu·dstə sœœn bhas in -t veld, in tuu dii dikht bái ʜœ'is kbham, ʜoord i zi·qən in spœœ·lən. 27 ɟə bruur. 29 dat ik mit m'n vri·ndə ər-s vroo·lik bhee·zə mokht. 31 kind, ɟái bi·nə a·ltáid bái mee.

[On the word (bœk) for Dutch *buik* (bœ'ik), Winkler remarks that long (yy) and (ii) were anciently common all over Holland, as at present in Zeeland, West Flanders, Friesland and most other Netherland provinces. Only Holland, Brabant, and East Flanders have changed long *u* = (yy) into *ui* = (œ'i), and long *i* = (ii) into *ij* = (ə'i), which Winkler identifies with (éi). See (1292 *a'*). "But even in Holland the old pronunciation is not thoroughly extinct. Some words, as *duvel*, *duzend*, *iverig*, are pronounced with (yy, ii) by almost all Hollanders, even townsmen, and those who speak so-called 'fashionable' *fatsoendelijk* Hollandish. But in some Holland dialects the sounds sink to an intermediate sound, as *buk* (bœk) rather than *buik* or *buuk* (bœ'ik, byyk), and *dik* (dɨk, de'k), rather than *dijk* or *diik* (də'ik, diik), and this is the case at Benningbroek." In spec. 105 these are apparently rather (*əə*, *ii*). All this confirms what was said on page 295.]

105. *Enkhuizen*, town (52*n*42, 5 *e* 17). II. 45.

11 dər bhoo·ndə a·rghəns 'n man di argh r*ii*k bhas ən dii tbhee zœœns ad. 12 ən i dee·ldə z'n ghuud o·ndər 'rlœ'ï·. 15 om op də va·rkəns op tə pa·sə. 18 vaa·dər 'k eb zo·ndighd tœœ·ghən ɟóu. 22 aa·lt 't be·stə pak klee·rə r's iir, ən læət ["sounds as long *e* with a slight inclination to *a*; this sound is not easy to describe, and is very peculiar"] -ət -əm a·nduun, ən gheef-əm-ən riq an z'n and, ən skuu·nə an z'n bii·nə. 23 't ve·tə kalf. 24 bhant dœœ·zə miin zœœn bhas dood ["a sound between Friesian *oa* and *ooa* (o', oo' ?), the Netherland *boom* (boom ?) a tree, and the Netherland *bot* (bot, bot ?)"], ən is vo·ndən. 25 ən z'n óu·stə zœœn bhas in-t veld, ən duu dii bhrom kbham, ən kort bi əəs bhas oo·rdə ii-t ghəza·q ən-t da·nsə. 27 ɟə bruur. 29 dat 'k ook ər-s mit m'n ma·kərz ['mates'] pret e·bə kon. 31 kind, ɟi bint a·ltiid bii mii.

[On (*əə*, *ii*), see note on spec. 104.]

106. *Hoorn*, town (52 *n* 36, 5 *e* 4). II. 47.

[As a workman would relate the parable to his children.]

11 dər bhas ərs 'n e·regh rə'ik ʜeer dii tbhee zœœns ʜad. 12 mə taat, ɟə mo·stə mə'in mə muu·dərs bebhə'ï·z ghee·və. 15 op z'n va·rkens in-t land tə pa·sə. 18 taat, zo·ndighd ʜeb ik, voor ɟóu. 22 steekt ɟə'ilœ'ï· di ɟo·qə dər 's gháu ferm in də plœ·nɟə ['clothing'] dat ii-r bheer kadree· ['smart'] œ'i·tzii·t. 23 't ve·tə ka·lef. 24 bhant mə ɟu·qə bhas zoo ghuud as dood maar nóu kan a·les nogh bheer in-t e·fə ko·mə. 25 maar nóu də óu·dstə zœœn dii kbham-t ʜœ'is van-t land ən dii ʜoo·rdə dat labháí ['uproar,' row, used in all Dutch dialects] ən dii zagh dat spektaa·kəl. 27 z'n bruur. 29 dat ik m'n éi·ghə mit mə kameraa·ts verdii·vərtee·rə kon. 31 ɟo·qə, ɟə'i bi·nə o·məns a·ltə'id ʜen ən o·mtrə·nt mee.

107. *Urk*, island (52*n*40,5*e*37). II. 54.

11 dAAr bhas ər-s 'n man, in dii a·də tbhii' zyyns. 12 in z'n tAA·tə dii'·ldə 't ghuud, ən ghaf 'm z'n part. 15 om op də va·rkəs tə pa·sən. 18 tAA·tə, ik æv əzœ·ndighd tyy·ghən ɟuu. 22 briq iir dAA·delik 't be·stə klii'd, in trek-ət-əm an, in ghii'f-əm-ən riq an z'n aand, in skhuu·nən an z'n bii·nən. 23 't ghəme·stə kalf. 24 bhant m'n zyyn bhas dood, in ii is bheer əvuu·ndən. 25 in d-óu·dstə zyyn bhas in -t laand, in duu ə'ï kort bə'ï -t œœs kbham, oord ii -t ghəsa·q in -t ghəda·ns. 27 ɟə bryyr. 29 dat ik mit m'n vri·ndən ok ər-s vrœœ·lik bhee·zə mokht. 31 keend, ɟi bi·nən o·məns a·ltoos bə'ï m'n. ["Long *a* has four sounds, as long *o* in *goon*, *stoon* (oo); as *oa* (AA) in *doar*, *toate*; as pure *a* (aa) in *dagen*, *maak*; and finally as *æ* (ææ) in *mæær*, *wœærdig*, etc." Although initial *h* is omitted, it is not unduly inserted.]

108. *Marken*, island (52 *n* 27, 5 *e* 8). II. 58.

11 dər bhas-əs 'n man, ən dii ad tbhee zœœns. 12 ən ə'ï vərdee·ldə 't ghuud. 15 om op də ve·rkəns tə pa·sən. 18 taa, ik ebh əzóu·ndighd tœœ·ghən ɟóu. 22 briqt iir ghaqk ['quickly'] 'n bas ['beautiful,' old Friesian *bask*] kleed, ən trekt-ət-əm an, ən gheeft 'n riq an z'n æænd, ən skhuu·nən an z'n bii·nən. 23 't ghəme·stə kalf. 24 'bhant m'n zœœn bhas dood, ən ə'i is əvóu·ndən. 25 en z'n óu·stə zœœn bhas op-t læænd ən tuun ə'i dikht bəi œ'is kam, oo·rdə ə'i -t ghəza·q ən-t ghəda·ns. 27 ɟə bruur.

29 om mit m'n maats ər-s vroo·lik tə bhee·zə. 31 kə'ind, jə'i bi·nə a·ltə'id bə'i mə.

109. *Holijsloot*, village, near *Buiksloot*, village (52*n*24, 4*e*55). II. 62.

11 deer bhas ər-s 'n man dii tbhee zœœns had. 12 ən tuu vərdee·ldə də vaa·dər z'n ghuud. 15 om de va·rkis tə drə'i·və ['drive,' Dutch]. 18 vaa·dər, ik heb əzo·ndighd tœœ·ghə jóu. 22 breq də be·stə klee·rə hiir, ən trek-əm dii an, ən gheef-əm-ən riq an z'n hand, ən skhuu·nə an z'n bii·nə. 23 't ve·tə kalf. 24 bhant dœœ·zə zœœn van mee bhas əstœ·rvə, ən is bheer əvo·ndə. 25 ən z'n óu·stə zœœn bhas in-t land ən tuu dii deer œ'it ghoq, ən dikht bə'i hœ'is kbham, hoo·rdən ii-t ghəza·q ən də myyzii·k. 27 jə bruur. 29 om met me ka·məraa·s ər-s pret tə hóu·ə ['hold']. 31 zœœn, jə'i bent a·ltə'id bə'i mə.

110. *Zaankant* or coast about *Zaandam*, in English *Saardam*, town (52 *n* 26, 4 *e* 49). II. 65.

11 dər bhas 'r 's 'n man, ən dii had tbhee zœœns. 12 ən də vaa·dər dee·ldə-n-t ghuud. 15 œm œp də va·rəkəs tə pa·sə. 18 vaa·dər, 'k hev əso·ndighd tœœ·ghə jóu. 22 haal a·nstons ['at the hour,' immediately] 't móoi·stə kleed, ən duu-m dat an; steek-ən riq an z'n hand, ən trek skuu·nə an z'n vuu·tə. 23 't me·stə ka·l'f. 24 bhant dœœ·ze zœœn van mee bhas əstœ·rvə, ən is əvo·ndə. 25 ən də óu·stə zœœn bhas in -t veld ən duu ii -t ha'is kwam ["the *ui* of *huis*, etc., is nearly between *ai* (ái) and *oi* (ói)"], hoo·rdə ii -t zi·qə ən-t da·nsə. 27 jə bruur. 29 œm mit mə vri·ndə bhet pláizii·r tə he·və. 31 kind, jə'i bint o·məs a·lə dagh bə'i mee.

111. *Heemskerk*, village (52*n*30, 4 *e* 41). II. 68.

11 dər bhas réis 'n man met tbhee zœœns. 12 ən də vaa·dər dee -t. 15 om op də va·rəkəs tə pa·sən. 18 vaa·dər, ik heb ghəzo·ndighd tœœ·ghə jou. 22 breq hiir 't be·stə pak, trek-t-əm an, gheef-əm-ən riq an z'n vi·qər, ən trek-əm skhuu·nen an z'n bii·nən. 23 't ve·tə kalf. 24 bhant dœœ·zə zœœn van mee bhas doo'd, ən ik heb 'm bheer əkree·ghən. 25 z'n óu·stə zœœn bhas in -t veld, ən tuu i bə'i hoqk ['home,' a good Friesian word, in full use in Friesland] kbham, hoo·rden ii-t zi·qən ən da·nsən. 27 jə bruur. 29 dat ik met mə vri·ndə vroo·lik kon bhee·zə. 31 kind, jə bin a·ltə'id bə'i mee.

112. *Egmond aan Zee*, village (52 *n* 36, 4 *e* 38). II. 71.

11 deer bhas 'n man dii a·də tbhii zee·nə. 12 hen ái dee·ldə z'n ghuud o·qər [Dutch *onder* 'among'] dərlói [for *heurlui*, Dutch *hunlieden*, literally them people]. 15 hom hop də va·rkəns tə pa·sə. 18 taat, hik ee·bhə zo·qdighd tee·ghə jóu. 22 breq prakhktái· ['immediately,' a word in daily use among the Egmond fishermen, of unknown origin] 't zi·ndaghsə pak ['Sunday's pack'], hən trekt 't im an, hən gheef-im-ən riq, an z'n aqd ['hand'], mən skuu·nə an z'n bii·nə. 23 't ghəmee·stə kalf. 24 bhaqt mə zeen bhas dood, hən ái his bheer əvo·qə ['found']. 25 hən z'n óu·stə zeen bhas in-t laqd, hən tuu ái bái 't óis kbham, oo·rd ái rái·kələ'ik zi·qə ən da·qsə. 27 jə bruur. 29 hom ris mit mə ma·kərə bláid tə bhee·zə. 31 kind, jái ben a·ltáid bái mee.

113. *Zandvoort*, village (52*n*23, 4 *e* 32). II. 74.

11 dər bhas əréi·s 'n man, ən dii had tbhii zœœns. 12 ən tuu ghaf də vœœ·dar-əm z'n por·sii, ən liit 'm ghœœn. 15 jæ, bhái ['yes, feed'] mə va·rkes mœœr. 18 vœœ·dər, ik heb əzo·ndighd tœœ·ghə jóu. 22 hœœl də be·stə plœ·nə, ən duut-əm dii an, ən gheef-əm-ən riq an z'n hand, ən skhuu·nə an z'n bii·nə. 23 't ve·tə kalf. 24 bhant mə zœœn bhas dood, ən is bero·m [Dutch *wederom* 'again'] əko·mə. 25 ən z'n óu·stə zœœn bhas in-t veld, ən tuu dii hœœ hóis kbham, hoo·rdən ii al in də vo·rtə 't zi·qə ən-t spri·qə. 27 jə free·rə. 29 om mit mə vri·ndə vroo·lik tə bhee·zə. 31 kind, jái bent a·ltáid bái mee.

[On the west coast of Holland generally, long *a* is (œœ), *ei* and *ij* are (áai, ái), *ui* is (ói, ə'i), close *e* is (ii); *h* is usually left out and put in exactly contrariwise, but this is not so in Zandvoort.]

114. *Haarlem*, city (52 *n* 23, 4 *e* 38). II. 79.

["The present mode of speech in Haarlem is undoubtedly that which, of all used in the province of Holland, and hence in the Netherlands, approaches nearest to the genuine Netherlandish;

it is nearest to the present literary language. Genuine Haarlemish, as far as it exists, is certainly not spoken by more than half the inhabitants; the other half, including many strangers, speak modern Hollandish." The *g* is very strongly guttural, and *l* and *n* final cause the insertion of (i) before, and (ə) after, the preceding short vowel, as (khiœ'ə·ldə) for *gulden* (ghœ·ldən). Both the specimens 114 and 115 are dated, August 1870.]

11 dər bhas əréisii·s ['there-once-once,' a repetition] 'n man, ən dii нad tbhee zoons. 12 ən də vaa·dər vərdee'·ldə z'n buu·ltshə [or (buu·ltjə)] ən khaf-əm z'n porsii·. 15 om z'n vo·rəkes tə bhéi·ə. 18 vaa·dər, 'k нep khəzo·ndikht tee·ghə ɹóu. 22 breq mə réis kháu ['quickly'] mə be·stə ɹas [=*lias*,'bundle,' a Dutch French word] нiir, ən duu-m dii an, ən duu-n riq an z'n нand, ən skhuu·nə an z'n béei·nə. 23 't vet khəmi·stə ka·l'f. 24 bhant me zoon bhas dood, ən nóu is-t-i khəvo·ndə. 25 ən z'n óu·stə zoon bhas op 't land, ən tuu dii dikht bə'i 't нœ'is kbham, нoo·rdən ii-t khəza·q ən-t khəda·ns. 27 ɹə bruur. 29 om-s-ən fee·si ['feast'] mit mə vri'·ndə tə нe·bə. 31 bhiél ['well'] ɹo·qə, ɹə'i bent a·ltə'id bə'i mee.

115. *Haarlem*, see specimen 114. II. 82.

["Modern Hollandish," that is, literary Dutch, called "of course almost exclusively in the province of Holland the polite (*beschaafde*) pronunciation of Netherlandish." See pp. 1292, and 1377, *c'*.]

11 ii·mand нad tbhee zoons. 12 ən tuu vərdee·ldə də vaa·dər z'n ghuud. 15 om də va·rkes tə bhéi·ə. 18 vaa·dər, ík нeb ghəzo·ndighd tee·ghən yy. [(yy) is a contraction for (yy·ee), still used by ladies' maids, and that a contraction for (yy ee·dəle) *uw edele*, 'your nobility;' *gij* (ghə'i) is used in writing.] 22 breq-s ghóu -t be·stə pak klee·rə нiir, ən duu-m dat an, ən duu-n riq an z'n нand, ən skhuu·nə an z'n vuu·tə. 23 't ghəme·stə kalf. 24 bhant m'n zoon bhas dood, ən ii is bheer ghəvo·ndə. 25 də óu·stə zoon bhas op't veld, ən tuun i dikht bə'i нœ'is kbham, нoo·rdə нə'i -t ghəza·q ən-t ghəda·ns. 27 yy bruur. 29 om-s met mə vri·ndə feest tə ke·nə vii·rə ['celebrate']. 31 m'n ɹo·qən, ɹee bent i·mərs a·ltə'id bə'i mee.

116. *Amsterdam*, city (52*n*22, 4 *e* 53). II. 93.

[The better classes speak literary Dutch, small tradesmen and journeymen still speak Amsterdamish, which was original Friesian; in the XIV th and XV th centuries it was still half Friesian; in the XVI th and beginning of the XVII th it agreed most closely with the speech of Leeuwarden, specimen 91; and Winkler thinks that old Amsterdamish is nearer to Friesian than the present Friesian itself, and refers to the verses of Gijsbrand Adriaenszen Bredero for proofs. The "watering" of its spirit began in the latter part of the XVII th century, and now barely half of the genuine Amsterdamers speak Amsterdamish. "Busy intercourse with fellow-countrymen and strangers, improved education, greater wish to read, and above all *fashion*, which rejects all that is original, or that is inherited, has made old Amsterdamish what it is." Winkler recognises at present *nineteen* varieties of Amsterdamish, and gives as the following specimen, the *Kalverstraatish*, or speech of Kalver Street, which runs South from the Palace; this mode of speech is spoken in parts which are "*zeer fatsoendelijk*" (very fashionable), and is corrupted by "*elegante expressies*" (elegant expressions); but by old gentlemen, born and bred in the Heeregracht and Keizergracht, it is still spoken purely. Modern inhabitants of Kalver Street speak Frankish, High German, Italian, Flemish or Brabantish, or Jewish and modern Hollandish.]

11 dər bhas-əréisii·s 'n man-ən [the hyphens are here all in the original, and shew rather a different union of words from that used in English] dii нat tbhee zoons. 12 ən нə'i ghaf 'm zoovee·l-as əm tuu·kbham. 15 ghaa mar na bœ'i·tə-n-op mə lant, tan kéi-ɹ-op ['then can ye upon'] mə va·rəkes pa·sə. 18 okh-ik нep ghəzo·ndight tœœ·ghə-n-yy·ee. 22 нaak·ɹə'i réis-astə-bhint m'n zo·ndaghsə rok нiir-ən trek 'm dii-ɹ-an-ən gheef 'm-as 'n fatsuu·ndelik mans kind ['as a fashionable man's child'] 'n riq-an z'n vi·qər; -ən ɹa, skhuu·nə mot-i-ɹ-ook-an нe·bə! zegh! breq mə be·stə nyy·ə ma'r mee-ɹ-ən duu 'm dii-ɹ-an z'n vuu·tə. 23 't ghəme·stə ka·lef. 24 bhant mə zoon bhas zoo ghuut-as doot-ən 'k нeb 'm bheero·m ghəvo·ndə. 25 ən d óu·stə

zoon bhi·stə-r nogh niks nii·məndal van, bhant нə'i bhas net niit 't нœ'is, ma'r tuu·n-i na нœ'is kbham, нoo·rdə-n-i dat-r braaf ghəzo·qə-n-ən ghəda·nst bhiir-ən dat-tə vioo·l ghiq. 27 yy·es bruur. 29 om 'n vri·ndəmaa·ltshə [or (-tJə)] met m'n ke·nisə tə нóu·bhə. 31 kind, zéi də vaa·dər tuu, нeb-JƏ-n-t niit-â·lə daa·ghə vol-op bə'i mee ghəна·t?

117. *Laren*, village (52 *n* 15, 5 *e* 13). II. 98.

11 'n zee·kər mins a·də tbhee zœœns. 12 ən ə'i dee·ldə нœn 't ghood. 15 om də va·rkes tə нœœ·ən. 18 vaa·dər, ik eb əzœ·ndighd tœœ·ghən JóU. 22 breq ghóu-t be·stə kleed iir, ən doo-t œm an, ən gheef œm-ən riq an z'n aqd, ən skhoo·nən an z'n bee·nən. 23 't ve·tə kalf. 24 bhant dii zœœn van mee bhas dood, ən is əvo·qdən. 25 z'n óu·stə zœœn bhas op-t veld, ən too ə'i kbham ən kort bə'i œœ'is kbham, oo·rdə нə'i ghəzi·q ən ghəda·qs. 27 JƏ brœœr. 29 om met m'n vri·ndən is vroo·lik tə bhee·zən. 31 kə'ind, JƏ'i bin altə'id bə'i mee.

118. *Huizen*, village (52 *n* 18, 5 *e* 14). II. 102.

11 'n mins нad tbhee zœœ·nən. 12 ən нə'i dee·ldə z'n ghuud. 15 om də va·rkəns to bhe'i·ən. 18 vaa·dər, ik нeb əzœ·ndighd tœœ·ghən JóU. 22 briq daa·lək 't be·stə pak ən dóou-t нœm an, gheef-əm-ən riq an z'n нaqd, ən skhoo·nən an z'n bee·nən. 23 't ve·tə kalf. 24 waqt dœœ·zə zœœn van mee bhas doo'd, ən is əvo·qdən. 25 ən də óu·stə zœœn bhas op-t laqd, ən too' нii dikht bə'i нœ'is kbham, zagh нii 'n ghroo'·tə vərə·qəriq [Dutch *verandering*, 'change']; zə zo·qən, spœœ·ldən ən da·qstən. 27 JƏ brœœr. 29 om met m'n vri·ndən vroo'·lik tə bhee·zən. 31 kə'ind, JƏ'i bint a·ltə'id bə'i mee.

XXVI. ZUID-HOLLAND, in English Province of SOUTH HOLLAND. II. 105.

119. *Woubrugge*, village (52 *n* 10, 4 *e* 37). II. 106.

11 dər bhas ərəsii·s 'n man dii tbhee zœœns нad. 12 ən d-óu·ə man vərdee·ldən z'n gheld ən ghuud. 15 om də va·rkes tə нûui·JƏn. 18 vaa·dər, ik нeb əzœ·ndighd tœœ·ghə JóU. 22 breq 's ghâu-t zœ·ndaghskhə ghuud нiir ə trekt-ət-əm an, ən steek-ən riq an z'n vi·qər, ən trek-əm skhuu·nən an. 23 't ve·tə kalf. 24 bhant dœœ·zə zœœn van mee bhas dóoud ["long *o* with the accent, and a faint aftersound of *ou*"] ən ik нeb 'm bheer əvo·ndə. 25 záin óu·stə zœœn bhas 't land in əghaa·n, ən tuu dii bheer op нœ'is an ghoq, ən op də bhœrf [Dutch *werf*, 'wharf,' homestead], нoo·rdə нâi zə zi·qən ən da·nsən. 29 om met mə kaməraa·s skhik tə ne·bə. 31 kind, JâI bent o·mərs a·ltâid bâi mee.

120. *Leiden*, city (52 *n* 10, 4 *e* 30). II. 111.

["The speech of Leiden is undoubtedly by far the ugliest (*de leelijkste*), most unpleasant, and most countrified (*platst*) sounding in all Holland." The open country is said to be *plat*, 'flat,' in contradistinction to the town, so that when those who speak Low—that is Lowland—German, talk of a *plat* pronunciation, they mean one which prevails in the country, which is so flat that the plain is not even broken by a collection of houses! All the terms *high*, *low*, *flat*, *upper*, applied to German, have reference to the conformation of the country, like Lowland and Highland applied to Scotch. The educated speak literary Dutch.]

11 dər bhas eri·s 'n man dii tbhee zœœ·nə нad. 12 ən tuu déi·ldə də vaa·dər z'n ghuud mit ərlóy ["the diphthong *ui* is not pure *oi* (ói), but has something of the *ou* sound," and Winkler writes *oui*, which I interpret (óy)]. 15 om op də va·rəkes tə pa·sə. 18 vaa·dər ik eb zo·ndə ghədaa·n téi·ghə JOU. 22 нaal əri·s ghâu-t sœ·ndasə pak, ən trek-ət-əm an, ən stéik 'n' ghóu·ə riq an z'n vi·qər, ən trek-əm skhuu·nə an z'n vuu·tə. 23 't ghəme·stə ka·ləf. 24 want dœœ·zə zœœn van mee bhas dóoud, ən нâai is bhéir tərœ·gh ghəvo·ndə. [The (éi, âai) are here separated, according as Winkler writes *ei*, *ai*, but he says *ei* and *ij* are not pure *ai*, but are somewhat prolonged, as *a-ai*.] 25 ən də man z'n óu·stə zœœn bhas op 't land, ən tuu dii ghədaa·n ad mit bhe·rəka, ən naa нóys ghoq ən dikht bâai нóys kbham, нoo·rdən ii dat zə zo·qən ən da·nstə. 27 JƏ bruur. 29 om mi·mə ["with my"] kaməraa·s vróoi·əlik tə bhéi·zə. 31 JO, záai bint a·ltâaid bâai máain.

121. *Katwijk aan Zee*, village (52 *n* 12, 4 *e* 23). II. 122.

11 dər bhas əri·s 'n man, dii tbhee ɟo·qəs nái, də iin 'n pæær ɟææ·rtshəs [or (tɟəs)] au·ər [' older '] as d- a·ndər. 12 in tuu dee'·ldə də vææ·dər z'n gheld in ghuud, in ghaf 'm z'n por·sii [or (po·rsɟə)]. 15 om də va·rkəs tə bháí·ə. 18 vææ·dər, ik нeb əzœ·ndighd tœœ·ghə ɟóu. 22 нææl əri·s ghóu-t móo'i·stə pak klee·rə, in trek-ət-əm an, in gheef-əm-ən riq an z'n vi·qər, in skuu·nə an z'n bii·nə. 23 't ve·tə kalf. 24 bhant dœœ·zə zœœn van mee bhas doo'd, in náu нe·bə bhee-m bheer əvo·ndə. 25 də áu·stə zœœn bhas in-t veld, in tuu dii-t нœ'is kbham, нoo·rd-ii-t zi-qən in-t da·nsən. 27 ɟáu bruur. 29 dat ik mit mə kamərəə·s əri·s vroo'·lik kon bhee·zə. 31 mə ɟo·qə, ɟái bint a·ltáid bái mee.

122. *Scheveningen*, village (52 *n* 16, 4 *e* 16). II. 126.

11 dər bhas əri·s- 'n man, ən dii ad tbhii zœœns. 12 ən z'n vææ·dər dee'·ldə də buul of voor zææn ['him,' Dutch *zijn*, properly ' his '] ən z'n bruur. 15 om z'n va·rəkes tə úui·ɟə [remnant of *hoeden* (нuu·dən)]. 18 vææ·dər, ik ebh əzœ·ndighd tœœ·ghə ɟóu. 22 laq dææ·dəlik 't be·stə ghuud, ən duut-əm dat an, ən duu-n riq an z'n and ən gheef əm skhuu·nə an z'n bii·nə. 23 't əme·stə ka·l'f. 24 bhant dœœ·zə zœœn van mee bhas doo'd [written *doad*, and said to be the " Friesian *and English oa* in *boat*," the former is (óa, o', oo'), the latter is certainly not so in lettered English], ən ii is bhəərо·m əko·mə. 25 ən də man z'n óu·stə zœœn dii bhas op 't land, ən tuu dii nææ œœs [' house '] ghiq, oo'·rdə-n-ii zə zi·qə ən da·nsə. 27 ɟə bruur. 29 om mit mə kamərœæ·s əri·s vroo'·lik tə bhee·zə. 31 ɟóoi [' young one'], ɟə'i ben a·ltáid bái mee.

123. *'s Gravenhage*, in English *the Hague*, city (52 *n* 3, 4 *e* 18). II. 131.

11 dər bhas əri·s 'n man, ən dii нad tbhæ'i zaa·nə. 12 ən tuu dæ'i·ldə də vaah·dər z'n ghuud o·ndə нə'ili·. 15 om də va·rəkes tə нúui·ɟə. 18 vaah·dər, ik нep ghəzo·ndighd tœœ·ghən yy. 22 breq нiir ris ghâu-t be·ste klæ'id ən duut-ət-əm an, ən ghæ'ift-əm-ən riq an z'n нand, ən skhuu·nə an z'n vuu·tə. 23 't ghəme·stə ka·l'f. 24 bhant dœœ·zə zaan van mee bhas daad, ən nóu нee-m-əm tərœ·gh ghəvo·ndə. 25 ən z'n óu·stə zaan bhas in 't veld, ən tuu dii kbham ən dikht bee-t нəə'is bhas, нoo·rdə-n-ii-t ghəza·q ən-t ghəda·ns. 27 ɟə bruur. 29 om dər met mə vri·ndə vraa·lik mæ'i tə bhee·zə. 31 m'n kind, ɟee bin a·ltoos bee m'n.

["*e* and *o* are very broad; *e* comes near *ai*, and *o* near *ao* (aa). *ei*, *ui*, *ou*, *ij*, are close and pinched (*benepens*); *ei*, *ij*, are almost long French *è*; *ui* is *eui* with second *eu* in French *heureusement*, and *ou* is very near *oe* (uu)." In the text I have followed his spelling, where I have used (æ'i) to express an " imperfect, obscure " *ai*, because he says that where it stands for *e* long, it must not be spoken "perfect" nor "too clearly," and that long *a* " approaches the bleating *æ* (ææ)," which I have represented by (ah).]

124. *'s Gravesande*, village (51 *n* 59, 4 *e* 10). II. 134.

11 dər bhas is 'n man dii tbhee zœœns нad. 12 en op 't la·qə lest ['at the long last'], dœœr z'n zani·kə ən dréinə mos z'n vaa·dər bhel tuu-ghee·və, ən zoo kreegh-d-i z'n zin ['he got his mind,' got what he wanted]. 15 om də va·rkəs tə нúui·ɟə. 18 vaa·dər, ik нeb mə ergh slekht tœœ·ghə ɟee ghedraa·ghə. 22 breq in 'n o·məzii·ntshə [or (-tɟə)] də be·stə klee·rə dii ɟə vi·ndə ken, ən duu z-əm an, ən gheef-əm-ən ghóu·ə riq an z'n vi·qər ən skhuu·nə an z'n vuu·tə. 23 't ve·tghəme·stə kalf. 24 bhant dœœ·zə zœœn van mee bhas dood, ən nóu is-t-i bhərо·m ghəvo·ndə. 25 tuu dat zoo plaas нad, bhas dən óu·stə zœœn in't veld, ən tuu dii van 't land kbham, ən di·khtə bə'i нœ'is bhas, нoo·rdə-n-ii-t ghəza·q ən-t ghəda·ns. 27 ɟə bruur. 29 dat ik mi·mə vri·ndə ris vroo·lik mokh ['might'] bhee·zə. 31 okh, mə kind, ɟee ben o·mərs a·ltə'id bə'i mee.

125. *Groot-Ammers*, village (51 *n* 54, 4 *e* 49). II. 138.

11 dər bhas-əs 'n man ən dii нad tbhee zœœns. 12 ən də vaa·dər dee·ldə-n-ər-t ghuud. 15 om də ve·rkəns tə нúui·ɟən. 18 vaa·dər, ik нee ghəzo·ndighd tœœ·ghən ɟóu. 22 breq mə m'n be·stə klee·rə, ən duu zə-m an, ən gheef-ən riq an z'n нand, ən skhuu·nə an z'n vuu·tə. 23 't ve·tə kalf. 24 bhant m'n zœœn нiir bhas dood, ən нii is ghəvo·ndə. 25 də man z'n óu·stə zœœn bhas op 't veld, ən tuun нii bii 't нyys kbham, нoo·rdə нii -t ghəza·q ən ghəda·ns. 27 ɟə

bruur. 29 om mit mə vri·ndə vroo·lik tə bhee·zə. 31 kind, ɟee bint a·ltiid bii mee.

126. *Gorinchem*, town (51*n*49, 4 *e* 59). II. 140.

11 daar bhas is nə man mi tbhee zoons. 12 ən tuu dee·ldə də vaa·dər z'n ghuud. 15 om op də ve·rəkes tə pa·sə. 18 vaa·dər 'k heb zoo slekht ghelee·ft dat 't skha·ndə-n-is vœœr ɟóu. 22 haal is ghâu, zee i, 't móoi·stə kleed, ən trek-ət-əm is ['once'] aan, ən-ən riq mot i aan z'n hand he·bə, ən duut-əm skhuu·nən ok aan z'n vuu·tə. 23 't ve·tə kalf. 24 omdaa·mənə-ɟo·qən op d'n hol bhas ghəghaan ['had gone to the hole,' as it were 'to the bottom,' the word *hol* is very idiomatically used in Dutch], ən nóu bheer boo·və waa·tər is ['and is now above water again'];—hə'i bhas op-ənən dbhaa·l-bhegh ['lost path'], ən ii is bheer tə rekht. 25 nóu bhas d'n óu·stə ɟo·qə net ['exactly'] op 't land, ən tuun i naa hœ'is tuu·kbham, dokh ii ['thought he']: bha hoor-k vœœr-ən ghəzi·q ən-ən ghəda·ns? 27 ɟə bryyr. 29 om is mi m'n vri·ndə tə smœ·lə [Dutch 'feast,' gormandise] 31 ɟo·qəskə, ɟee bent o·məns a·ltə'i bə'i mee.

127. *Rotterdam*, city (51*n*55, 4 *e* 29). II. 145.

11 dər bhas iis 'n man dii tbhee zœœns nad. 12 in də vaa·dər ghaaf-əm z'n porsii·. 15 om də va·rəkes op tə pa·sə. 22 naal mə iis ghâu də be·stə klee·rən œ'it-ə kast, in duut-əm dii an; gheef-əm-ən riq an z'n vi·qər, in skhuu·nə an z'n vuu·tə. 23 't ve·tə kalf. 24 bhant mə zœœn dii -k dokh ['thought'] dat dood bhas, heb ik bheero·m ghəvo·ndə. 25 tuu zə nóu braaf an də ghaq bhaa·rə, kbham də óu·stə zœœn dii van 't ghəva·l nogh niit ən [this (ən) is a mere expletive associated with (niit)] bhist, in i noo·rdə zə zi·qən in da·nsən. 27 ɟə bruur. 29 dat-i [*that he*, the words are reported in the third person] voor hœm of z'n vri·ndə nogh nóoit zoo œ'i·tghə-naa·ld ['fetched out'] nad. 31 kind, ɟee bint œ·məns bə'i mee.

["The sound *ai* must not be pronounced too broadly (*volmondig*), it is intermediate between *ei* and *ai*; the orthography *ai*, with high German *ä*, comes nearest to the sound." Hence my (æ'i). Compare the note on (æ'i) at the end of specimen 123.]

128. *Vlaardingen*, city (51*n*54, 4 *e* 21). II 150.

11 dər bhas ərêi·s 'n man, in dii ad tbhee zœœ·nə. 12 in tuun dee·ldən-ii-t. 15 om də va·rəkes tə úui·rəm [remnant of (hœœ·dən)]. 18 vaa·dər, ik eb əzo·ndighd tœœ·ghən ɟóu. 22 æælt ɟælii· m'n be·stə klee·rə -s iir, in duut-əm dii an, in steckt-ən rə'iq an z'n and, in gheef-əm skhuu·nən an z'n vuu·tə. 23 't ghəme·stə ka·ll'f. 24 bhant dœœ·zə zœœn van mee bhas doo'd, in ii is əvo·ndə. 25 z'n óu·stə zœœn bhas in -t veld; in tuu dii kbham in dikht bə'i z'n vaa·dərz œ'is kbham, oo·rdən-ii-t zə'i·qən in-t da·nsən. 27 ɟə bruur. 29 om mit m'n vri·ndə vroo·lik tə bhee. 31 kə'ind, ɟəi ben o·məns a·ltə'id bə'i mee.

129. *Dordrecht*, in English *Dort*, city (51 *n* 49, 4 *e* 41). II. 154.

11 dər bhas œs nə man, ən dii had tbhee' zœœns. 12 ən tuu ghaf də vaa·dər-əm z'n zin ['mind'] ən də zœœn kreegh də he·ləf. 15 om op də ve·rkəns tə pa·sə. 18 vaa·dər, 'k heb ghəzo·ndigh tœœ·ghən yy. 22 naalt də be·stə klee·rə, trekt-əm dii an, duut nə riq an z'n hand, ən skhuu·nə an z'n vuutə. 23 't ghəme·stə ka·lef. 24 bhant niir heb ɟee manan-zœœn dii bhee do·khtə dat doo'd bhas, ən ii is bheer ghəvo·ndə. 25 də óu·stə zœœn dii op-t veld an-t arəbêi·ən ['work'] bhas, bhas in-t ghance·l ['altogether'] niit in z'n skhik ['delight'] tuun-d-i dikh bə'i 't hœ'is kbham, ən-t ghəzə·rq ən-t ghəda·ns noo·rdə. 29 om met mə vri·ndə vroo·lik tə bhee·zən. 31 kind, ɟee bint a·ltə'id bə'i mee ghəbhee·zt.

130. *Oud-Beierland*, village (51 *n* 48, 4 *e* 55). II. 157.

11 dæər bhas ris 'n man, ən dii nad tbhee zœœns. 12 ən tuu dee·ldə də vaa·dər z'n ghuud. 15 om də va·rkəns tə bhâi·ə. 18 vaa·dər, ik heb ghəzo·n-dighd tee·ghən ɟóu. 22 breqt ris ghâu m'n be·stə spœ·lə voor dən dagh, ən duut zə-m an; gheeft ook-əm riq an z'n nand, ən skhuu·nə an z'n vuu·tə. 23 't ghəme·stə ka·l'f. 24 bhant dœœ·zə zœœn van me bhas dood, ən ii ghəvo·qə. 25 ən də man z'n óu·stə zœœn bhas in-t veld, ən tuu dii kbham ən dikht bə'i nóis kbham, tuu noo·rdən ii-t zi·qən ən da·nsən. 27 ɟə bruur. 29 dat ik mit m'n vri·ndən ook ris vroo·lik mokh bhee·zə. 31 kind, ɟəi bin a·ltoos bə'i mə'in.

131. *Brielle*, or *den Briel*, town (51 *n* 53, 40 *e* 10). II. 160.

11 dər bhas is 'n man [(máin) in country Briellish], dii HAD tbhee zoo·nə. 12 ən HƏ'i vərdee·ldə -t ghuud o·ndər HŒlii· [Dutch *hunlieden*, 'them'] béi·ə ['both']. 15 op də va·rəkes tə pa·sə. 18 vaa·dər, ik HEB zo·ndə ghedaa·n tee·ghə JóU. 22 breq 't be·stə kleed HIIR ən duut-t-əm an, duut-əm-ən riq an z'n vi·qər, ən skhuu·nə an z'n vuu·tə. 23 't ve·tghəme·stə ka·l'f. 24 bhant mə zoon dii bhas dood, ən nóu is-t-i ghəvo·ndə. 25 ən də man z'n óu·stə zoon dii bhas op 't land, ən tuu-d-i dœ·khtə bə'i -t HóIS kbham, HOO·rdii·də [contracted form of (HOO·rdən-ii), used in Brielle] 't zi·qən ən-t da·nsə. 27 JƏ bruur. 29 om met me kameraa·də is lœœt [*leut*, *leute*, is in general use in Belgium and Zeeland for great pleasure, unbounded enjoyment, *dolle pret* 'mad frolic,' and plays the part of the Friesian *lol*. Brielle is the northern limit of *leut* and southern of *lol*. In Flanders a merry witty man is called *leutegaard*. Compare high German *leutselig*, social, affable] tə ke·nə HE·bə. 31 kind, JEE bin a·ltâid bə'i mee.

132. *De Tinte*, hamlet of *Oostvoorne*, village (51 *n* 54, 4 *e* 6). II. 163.

11 dæər bhas is 'n man dii tbhE' zœœnz HAD. 12 en də VAA·dər dee-t. 15 om də va·rkəs tə bhéi·ən. 18 VAA·dər, ik HEB kbhæəd ghədææ·n tee·ghən JóU. 22 breq dæə·dəlik 't be·stə klEE'əd HIIR, ən trek-ət-əm an, ən duu-n riq an z'n HAND, ən skhuu·nən an z'n bEE'ə·nən. 23 't ghəme·stə kalf. 24 bhant dœœ·zə zœœn van mee bhas DAAD, ən is ghəvo·ndə. 25 ən z'n óu·stə zœœn bhas in 't land, ən tuu dii kort bə'i HYYS kbhiim, HOO·rən-d-ii zi·qən ən da·nsən. 27 JƏ bruur. 29 om is vroo·lik tə bhee·zə mit m'n kamərAA·S. 31 kiind, JEE bint a·ltiid bə'i mee.

[The sound (E') is said to be "peculiar, but nearly the same as the Friesian *ea*," and in (EE'ə) there is "the same sound, followed by an unaccented *e*, so that it is an evident diphthong."]

133. *Nieuwe Tonge*, village (51 *n* 43, 4 *e* 10). II. 167.

11 dər bhas əs 'n man, in dii HAD tbhEE' zœœns. 12 in tuu dEE'·ldən-i HAAR z'n ghuut. 15 om də ve·rkes tə bha·khtən ['watch']. 18 VAA·dər, 'k HAA·bhə ghezo·ndighd tee·ghən JUU. 22 briiqt is ghâu-'t be·stə klEE'd HIIR, in duut-t-əm an, in gheeft-əm-ən riiqk an z'n HAND, in skhuu·nən an z'n vuu·tən. 23 't ghəme·stə kalf. 24 bhant dee·zə zœœ·nə van mee bhas doo'd in ii is ghəvo·ndə. 25 z'n óu·stə zœœ·nə bhas in-t veld, in tuun 'n kbham in-t HYYS ghənææ·ktə [Dutch, 'neared'], tuu HOO·rdə-n-t zii·qən in-t sprii·qən. 27 JƏ bruur. 29 dat ik mit m'n vri·ndən ook is vroo·lik mokht bhee·zə. 31 kind, JUU bint a·ltiid bii m'n.

134. *Ouddorp*, village on *West-Voorne*, formerly an island (51 *n* 48, 3 *e* 57). II. 172.

11 'n zee·kər mi·nsə HAD tbhEE' JO·qəs. 12 ən z'n vəə'·dər ghaf-t əm. 15 om də ve·rkəs-tə bhéi·ənə [observe the gerundial final (-ə), *te weiden-e*]. 18 vəə'·dər, ik eb zo·ndə bəghəə'· tee·ghən JUU. 22 briq gháu də be·stə klee·rən HIIR om an tə duu·nə [gerund], gheef-əm-ən riq an z'n vi·qər ən skhuu·nən an zə bEE'·nən. 23 't me·stkalf. 24 bhant dee·zə zœœn van mee bhas dəə'd, ən is nuu bheero·m əvo·qə. 25 ən z'n óu·stə zœœn bhas in 't veld, en tuu i bhéigh ['away'] ghiq ən bi HYYS bəgho·s tə ko·mə, HOO·rdə ii-t trəmœ·lt [French *tumulte*, in a form spread over all the Netherlands]. 27 JƏ bruur. 29 om is lœœt [see sp. 131] tə e·bhə mit mə kamərAA·s. 31 kind, JUU bint a·ltiid bi miin.

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135. *Burg*, village on *Schouwen* island (51 *n* 42, 3 *e* 50). II. 182.

11 'n zee·kər mens ad tbhEE' zœœns. 12 in i dEE'·ldə zə 't ghuud. 15 om də ve·rkəns tə bhéi·ən. 18 VAA·dər, ik EE ghəzo·ndighd tee·ghən JUU. 22 briiqt -ət be·stə pak klee·rən iir, in duut-əm dat an, in gheef-ən riiq an z'n and, in skhuu nən an z'n fuu·tən. 23 't ghəma·stə kolf. 24 bhant dee·zə zœœ·nə van mee bhas dəə'd, in ii is ghəvo·ndə. 25 in z'n óu·stə zœœ·nə bhas in-t veld; in tuu i di·khtə bii yys kbhæəm, oord-ii-t gheza·q in-t gheda·ns. 27 JƏ bruur. 29 da-k mii mə vri·ndən is vroo·lik kon bhee·zə. 31 kind, JII bin o·ltoos bii m'n.

136. *Tolen*, island (51 *n* 32, 4 *e* 6). II. 185.

11 'n zee·kər me·nsə A [*had*, the final consonants are constantly omitted] tbhEE' zœœns. 12 ən i dEE'·ldə œ·ldər [Dutch *hunlieden* 'them,' *-r* universally

used in Zeeland] 't ghuud. 15 om də ve·rkəs tə bha·khtən. 18 VAA·dər, k-E ['I have'] kbhææd ghədææ· tee·ghən JUU. 22 briiq m'n ghâu-t be·stə klEE'd, ən duut əm dat an, ən gheeft-əm-ən riiqk an z'n and, ən skhuu·nən an z'n vuu·tən. 23 't ghəme·stə kalf. 24 bhant m'n zœœ·nə bhas zə ghuud as dəə'd, ən is vrom [Dutch *wederom*, again] ghəvo·ndə. 25 ən z'n óu·stə zœœ·nə bhas op-t land ən tuun-ən van-t land vrom kbham ən a ['quite,' Dutch *al*] di·khtə bi yys bhas, əə'·rdən ii da-zə zo·qən ən da-zə da·nstən. 27 JƏ bruur. 29 om mee m'n vrii·ndən is pleeziir-t e·bən. 31 kind, JEE bint o·ltiid bii m'n.

137. *Zuid Beveland*, in English *South Beveland*, island (51 *n* 27, 3 *e* 52). II. 190. [Lowland language of the greatest part of the island of Wolfaartsdijk.]

11 di bhas is 'n man, dii tbhEE' zœœns a. 12 ən i verdEE'·ldən 't ghuud. 15 om də ve·rkəns tə bha·khtən. 18 vaa·dər, 'k ææ zo·ndə ədææ· tee·ghən JUU. 22 æælt iir 'n best pak klee·rən ən lææt-əm dat an duu', ən gheeft -ən riiqk an z'n aa·nən ['hands'], en skhuu·nən an z'n vuu·tən. 23 't ve·tə kalf. 24 bhant iir mə zœœ·nə bhas dəəd, ən ii is əvo·ndə. 25 ən z'n óu·stə zœœ·nə bhas in 't veld; ən as 'n vrom kbham, ən kort bi yys kbham, oo·rdən ii-t ghəza·q ən-t ghəda·ns. 27 JƏ bruur. 29 om ok is mi m'n kamərаа·s plaziir t' óu·ən ['hold']. 31 kind, JII bin a·ltiid bii mee.

[The word (di), v. 11, is written di_r, and Winkler notes that this *r* is not spoken, but serves to give the preceding vowel its sound in short syllables; this is theoretically (dɪ), but practically (de). Similarly for (mi), v. 29.]

138. *Wemeldinge*, *Jerseke*, and *Kattendijke*, villages on the north-east of the island of *Zuid Beveland*, specimen 137. II. 193.

11 'n zee·kərme·nsə *a* tbhEE' zœœ·nən. 12 ən da dee z'n VAA·dər. 15 om de ve·rkəns tə bha·khtən. 18 VAA·dər, ik æ əzo·ndighd tee·ghən JUU. 22 briiqt iir is 'n móoi·ə pak ghuud, ən duut -ən dat an ən gheet-ən-ən riiqk an z'n vii·qər, ən skhuu·nən an z'n vuu·tən. 23 't be·stə kalf. 24 bhant m'n zœœ·nə bhas dəə·d, ən i is əvo·qən. 25 ən z'n óu·stə zœœ·nə bhas op-t veld, ən as dii yyt 't veld nir yys kbham, oo·rdən ii zə zii·qən ən sprii·qən. 27 JƏ bruur. 29 om mi mə kamerAA·s is plezii·r 't ææn ['have']. 31 JO·qən, JEE bint o·ltiid bə'i mee.

139. *Goes*, or *ter Goes*, town (51 *n* 29, 3 *e* 53). II. 196.

[Winkler remarks that the close and open *o* and *e* are distinctly separated, and *ie*, *oe*, are diphthongal.]

11 'n man a tbhEE' zœœ·nən. 12 ən tuu vərdEE'·ldən i œ·ldər 't ghuud. 15 om də ve·rkəns tə bhéi·ən. 18 VAA·dər, ik ææ-k ghəzo·ndighd tee·ghən JUU. 22 briiqt iir daa·dəlik 't be·stə klEE'd, ən duut 't 'm an, ən gheeft 'n riiqk an z'n and, ən skhuu·nən an z'n vuu·tən. 23 't ghəve·tə half. 24 bhant dii zœœ·nə van mee bhas dəəd, ən is ghəvo·ndə. 25 ən z'n óu·stə zœœ·nə bhas op-t land, ən tuun-ən di·khtə bi yys kbham, oo·rdən ii -t ghəza·q ən-t ghəda·ns. 27 JƏ bruur. 29 da-k mee m'n vri·ndən is pleziir ææ kon. 31 kind, JII bin a·ltiid bii mee.

140. *Noord Beveland*, island (51 *n* 33, 3 *e* 47). II. 199.

11 di bhas is 'n man, dii tbhEE' zœœns a. 12 en i vərdEE'·ldə 't ghuud. 15 om də ve·rkens tə bha·khtən. 18 vaa·dər, k-ææ kbhææd ədææ· tee·ghən JUU. 22 æælt iir 't be·stə pak ghuud, ən lææt-ən dat an duu, ən gheeft-ən-ən riiqk an z'n vi·qər, ən skhuu·nən an z'n vuu·tən. 23 't ve·tə kalf. 24 bhant ii m'n zœœ·nə bhas dəəd, ən ii is vrom əvo·ndə. 25 ən z'n óu·stə zœœ·nə bhas in-t veld, ən as dii vrom kbham, ən kort bii yys kbham, oo·rdə ii-t zii·qən ən-t da·nsən. 27 JƏ bruur. 29 om ook is mi m'n kamərаа·s pləzii·r t' æn. 31 kind, JI bint o·məs a·ltiid bii m'n.

141. *Walcheren*, island (51 *n* 30, 3 *e* 55). II. 202.

11 dər bhas is 'n man ən diin AA tbhEE' zœœns. 12 ən də VAA·dər skhee·də z'n ghuud ən ghaaf dən JUU·qən z'n e·rípo·si ['inheritance-portion']. 15 om op də ve·rkən tə pa·sən. 18 VAA·dər, k-æ-k ['I have I,' repeated pronoun, frequent hereafter] zo·ndə ghədææ· tee·ghən JUU. 22 briiqt ghâu də be·stə plœ·nJə, ən duut-əm dii an, ən gheeft-ən-ən riiqk an z'n vii·qər ən skhuu·nən an z'n vuu·tən. 23 't ghə-ma·stə ka·l'f. 24 bhant 't is nət E'·ndər of dee·zə zœœ·nə van mee dood ghəbhi·st éit, ən bhee ghəvo·n-dən is. 25 ən z'n óu·stə zœœ·nə bhas

op-t veld, ən as ən bheero·mə kbham, ən kort bii-t of [Dutch *hof*, farmyard] bhas, oo·rdən ii-t ghezii·q ən ghesprii·q. 27 ɹə bruur. 29 om m'n kaməraa·s is tə trektee·rən, ən vróoi·əlik mi mee·kaarə ['mates,' Dutch *makker*, comrade] tə ziin. 31 ɹuun, ɹee bint aa·ltiid bii mee.

142. *Arnemuiden*, small town (51 *n* 29, 3 *e* 30). II. 204.

11 'n zee·kər me·nsə aa tbhee' zœœns. 12 ən z'n ghaf 'm z'n posee· [or (po·sə)? 'portion']. 15 om op də ve·rəkəns tə pa·sən. 18 vaa·dər, k-e-k ghrɔɔ·tə zo·nd ədææ· tee·ghən ɹuu. 22 briiq iir tən ee·stən 't be·stə klee'd, ən duut ət an z'n liif, ən gheeft ən riiqk an z'n vii·qər, ən skhuu·nən an z'n vuu·tən 23 't ghəma·stə ka·ləf. 24 bhan m'n zœœ·nə bhas dɔɔd, ən k-e-d-'n ['I have I him'] bhiiro·mə əvo·ndə. 25 ən ziin óu·stə zœœ·nə bhas-t-ər nii bii, mer ii bhas in-t feld, ən as-ən ko·rtə bii z'n vaa·dərs yys kbham, oord-ii zii·qə ən sprii·qə. 27 ɹə bruur. 29 om mee miin vri·ndən is 'n vróoi·elikən ææ·vən ['evening'] t-óu·ən ['to hold']. 31 ɹuu·qən, ɹee bint o·məs aa·ltiid bii mee.

143. *Hulst*, town (51 *n* 17, 4 *e* 3). II. 209.

[The *h* and *g* are confused; Hulster men will say *een hoede goet* for *een goede hoed* 'a good hat,' *een houde ring* for *een gouden ring* 'a gold ring,' *een goute tafel* for *een houten tafel* 'a wooden table.' This confusion occurs among the lower classes, especially those who cannot read, and is not uncommon in Zeeland and Flanders. It is not shewn in the specimen.]

11 'n zee·kərən mens-aa'i tbhee zɔɔns. 12 ən-ái dee·ld -ən 't ghuud. 15 om də ve·rkəs tə bhái·ə. 18 vaa·dər, ik-eb-'k ghezo·ndighd tee·ghən-óu. 22 briq-iir vɔɔrt- 't be·stə klee·t-ən duut-ət-əm aan, ən gheeft -ənən riqk-aan z'n-ant-ən skhuu·nə aan z'n vuu·tə. 23 't ghəve·tə kalf. 24 bhant dees mái·nən zɔɔn bhas dɔɔt--ən-i-is ghəvo·ndə. 25 ən zái·nən--óu·stə zɔɔn bhas-in-t-felt; ən-as-i-kbham ən-t-*əə*'is ghənaa·kt, oo·rdə-ái-t ghəza·qk ən-t laabhai·t [supposed to be connected with French *aubade*, and not with *lawai*, specimen 106]. 27 uu bruur. 29 dad-ik mee-mə vriin·də mokh vroo·lâik záin. 31 kind, ghái záit -a·ltáid bái máin.

144. *Aksel*, or *Axel*, town (51 *n* 17, 3 *e* 55). II. 212.

[The Roman Catholic peasantry in the southern part of the Aksel district speak as in specimen 143, but the Protestants as follows. The close and open *e*, *o*, are said to be very distinctly separated.]

11 ər bhas ææ·rghəns ii·mand dii tbhee zœœ·nən aa. 12 ən zən vaa·dər deeld œ·ldər yyt bhaa zə noo·digh aan, om tə kœ·nə lee·vən. 15 bee·stən ən vææ·rkəns op tə pa·sən ən tə vuu·rən. 18 vaa·dər, k -ææn zœ·kə zo·ndə ghədaa·n ən nii·mədal ghuud mee ɹuu gha·ndeld ['handled,' dealt]. 22 breqt-əm dən niœ'bhən la·qkrok, ən duut-ən ghóu·ə kno·pən an z'n ææ·msbii·zən ['gold studs on his shirt-front,' *hemdsboord* or *boezem*, the prodigal son is treated as an Aksel peasant lad], ən zœ·lvərə bruu·ksti·kən ['silver breeches-seams'] an, ən skuu·nə mee ghi·spen ['buckles']. 23 ən wœ·ldər zœ·lən ['we shall'] kuu·kə ['cakes,' take the place of the calf] laa·tən ba·kən. 24 bhant mən zœœ·nə bhas voor ons zoo ghuud as dood, ən ii is ghəvo·ndən. 25 dən óu·dstən van də zœœns bhas in-t land, ən tuun i di·khtər bi yys kbham, oo·rdən ii zii·qən ən sprii·qən. 27 ɹə bruur. 29 om plesii·r t-ææn mee d-a·ndrə ɹuu·qərs. 31 bel ['well'], mən ɹuu·qən, ɹee bent a·lə tii'n bii mən.

145. *Kadzand*, village and district, formerly an island (51 *n* 21, 3 *e* 24). II. 216.

11 daa bhas ees 'n mens dii tbhee zœœns *a*. 12 in i dee·ldən-t ghuud o·ndər œ·ldər. 15 op də ve·rkəns tə pa·sən. 18 vaa·dər, ik ææn zo·ndə ghədaa·n tee·ghən ɹuu. 22 aalt 't móoi·stə ghuud, in duut ət 'm an, in duud 'n riiqk an z'n vii·qər, in skhuu·nən an z'n vuu·tən. 23 't ghəve·tə kalf. 24 bhant m'n zœœ·nə iir bhas dood, in ii is ghəvo·nən. 25 in z'n óu·stə zœœ·nə bhas in -t land, in as i kbham, in kort bi yys bhas, oo·rdən ii-t ghəza·qk in-t gheda·ns. 27 ɹə bruur. 29 om mee mə vrii·ndən ees-ən pleziir·ighən dagh t-ææn. 31 ɹuu·qən, ɹee ziit a·ltiid bii mee.

146. *Sluis*, town (51 *n* 23, 3 *e* 23). II. 219.

11 'n zee·kər mens a tbhee zœœns. 12 ən i dee·ldə -t ghuud o·ndə œ·ldər. 15 om də ve·rkəns tə bha·khtən. 18 vaa·dər, ik en ['have'] kbhaat

ghədAA·n tee·ghən JUU. 22 AAl -t be·stə KLEED, in duut-ət-əm an, in duud-ən riiq an z'n and, in skhuu·nən an z'n vuu·tən. 23 't gheve·tə kalf. 24 bhant dee·zə zœœn van mee bhas dəəd, in ii is ghəvo·ndən. 25 in z'n óu·stə zœœn bhas op -t land, in as i dikht bi yys kbham, əə·rdən ii-t ghəza·q in-t ghəda·ns. 27 JƏ bruur. 29 om mee mə vri·ndən lœœ·tigh tə ziin. 31 kind, JƏƏ bind a·ltiid bii mee.

147. *Aardenburg*, town (51*n*16, 3 *e* 27). II. 222.

11 dAA bhas 'n keer [and (əkee·r) 'once,' Dutch *eenkeer*, much used in Belgium] 'n man dii a tbhee zœœns. 12 ən ii vərdee·ldən 't ghuud. 15 om də va·rəkəns tə bha·khtən. 18 VAA·dər, 'k dee·JƏ-k-ik [this repetition of personal pronoun is common in Flanders] zo·ndə tee·ghən JUU. 22 AAld-ə-keer 't be·stə KLEE'd ən duu·dət im an, ən-ən riiqk an z'n vii·qər, ən skhuu·nən an z'n vuu·tən. 23 't ve·tə kalf. 24 bhan d'n dee·zən m'n zœœ·nə dii bhas dəəd, ii is ghəvo·nən. 25 z'n óu·dstə zœœ·nə bhas in 't land, ən as i kbham ən t-yys NAA·dərdən, əə·rdən ii-t zii·qən ən in də ro·ndə da·nsən. 27 JƏ bruur. 29 om mee m'n MAA·ts ees lœœ·tə t-ən ['to have']. 31 m'n kind, ghee zii ghii a·ltii bii mee.

148. *Eede* and *Heille*, villages (51 *n* 14, 3 *e* 27). II. 225.

[Really East Flemish, much mixed with French.]

11 nən zee·kərən méi·nsə AA tbhee' zœœns. 12 ən zənən-VAA·dərə partazee·rdən œ·ldər də syyksesii· ['succession']. 15 om də zbhœns tə bha·khtənə. 18 VAA·dərə, k-ee·nə-k-ik [the pronoun tripled!] mesdAA·n JEE·ghens óu. 22 breqt iir voorts 't be·stə KLEE'd, ən duu·ghə-t-əm AA·nə, ən la·qt-əm ənən-riiqk an z'n aand, ən skhuuns an z'n vuu·tən. 23 't ghəme·stə kalf. 24 bhant den dee·zən mənən zœœ·nə bhaa·rə dœœd, en ái es bhedero·m ghəvo·nən. 25 ən z'n ái·stən zœœ·nə bhas œp də sti·kən en os-t-ən kaa·mə ən t-óis genAA·ktəghə, œœ·rdən ái den zaq ən-t ghərœ·khtə. 27 óu·ən bruu·rə. 29 opdaa-k mee m'n vri·ndəkəns EE's ghee·stigh mokht záin. 31 kiind, ghee zái ghái a·ltáis bái mái.

[Observe the gerundial dative (tə bha·khtənə) v. 15; Winkler remarks that this linguistically correct form, which has almost entirely disappeared in North Netherlands, is still in full use in this and many other Flemish dialects, and that the dative is even used after independent nouns, as v. 13, *bachten lettel doagens*, 'after little (a few) days.']

XXVIII. ZUID-NEDERLAND, in English BELGIUM. II. 230.

XXIX. LIMBURG, Belgian portion. II. 234. Compare No. XVII. 51, etc., p. 1389.

149. *Helchteren*, village (51*n*3, 5 *e* 23). II. 235.

11 dəə' bhAAs ins ənə-mins dee' tbhii zœœns HA. 12 ən də VAA·dər lyyt z'n ki·nər ['let his children'] dEE'·lən. 15 ən də pa·khtər dœœ HœM də ve·rkən HYY·ən. 18 VAA·dər, ikh HEM zœn ghədəə'·n tee·ghə okh. 22 duun dœœ də VAA·dər se·fəs ['quickly,' see specimen 51] z'n be·stə kliir HAA·lən. 23 ə vet kalf. 24 da zənə-JƏQ trœk [Dutch *terug*, back] ghəko·mə bhAAs. 25 o·nərtœ·sə ['meanwhile'] kbhAAm dən aa·dstə zoon oot HET veld, ən bhéi ['when'] ər in HOOS HYY·rdə zi·qən ən da·nsən... 27 uur bryyr. 29 ən vœœr mikh HƏ·mən-zə ['have they'] zə lee'·vən zəə' ghiin ['none'] kœœ·rmis ['Christmas,' fair-time, feasting] ghəHAA·ghən. 31 JƏQ, ghee' ZEET a·ltEED BEE mikh.

150. *Hasselt*, town (50 *n* 56, 5 *e* 20). II. 238.

[The sound of *ao* in *kaome*, etc., and *o* in *vloog*, *go* (quickly), *zoon*, lies between *o*, *eu*, and *a*, but "one must be a Hasselter to force one's tongue to it." I have written (œ) as a compromise.]

11. do bhœœr ins nə man dia tbhéi zeen HA. 12 dóun ['then'] verdii·ldəJə də VAAr 't ghóud te·sən ['between,' Dutch *tusschen*] nin tbhéi·ə. 13 uup z'n bhe·niq vər z'n ve·rkəs tə héi·ə. 18 VAA·dər, ikh HEB fœœt ghaHa·d tee·ghə yy·khə. 22 HáaI·ldəJə ins ghœ 't be·stə kliid, ən dóutsh [œ (dóutsəh)] œm da AAn, ən stœk-əm ənə-riqk in zənə-ve·qər, ən skhAAn in z'n veet. 23 't vet kalf. 24 bhant mənə-zœœn HEB bhœœr dəəd, ən noo əs əm bhirm [Dutch *wederom*, 'again'] tregh [Dutch *terug*, 'back'] ghəvo·nə. 25 man zənən-aa·dstə zœœn bhœœr op 't ve·ldəh [may be ('veltsh, 'veltəsh, veldzh)] ən bhEE 'm in 't tregh kœœ·mə kort an ZEE·nəs ghekœœ·mə

bhœœr, hii·rdən əm da-sə an-t ze·qən ən an-t daa·sən [the first (n) lost] bhœœ·rə. 27 uur bre·ir 29 vər m'n kameraa·tən ins tə traktee·rə. 31 juuq, dzhee [written *dsje*, may be (tsiée)] zeet a·lteed bee mikh.

151. *St. Truiden*, in French *St. Trond*, town (50*n*48, 5*e*12). II. 242.

11 doo bhas ənə-kiir (see specimen 147) ənə-man, dee a tbhii juu-qəs. 12 ən də vaar dii'·ldə ən ghaf 't œm. 15 most ər œm bee nə buur as ve·rəkəs-ee't ['as farrow-herd'] vəryy·rə ['hire']. 18 paa, kh-œœb ghəzo·ndighd tee·ghə uukh. 22 óilt ['fetch'] se·fəs nii·və klii'r ən ə paar nii·və stii·vəls vœœr œm aan tə duun, en ənə-ghoo'n reqk vœœr ən zənə-vi·qər tə stee·kə. 23 't vet kalf. 24 bhant mənə-zoon bhas duu'd, ən ikh œœb œm trœk ghəvuu·qə. 25 joo-maa ['yes, but'] dən aa·dstə zoon dee bhas en-t veld; ən as-t-ər t-áus kám, ən al da labhee'·t ən da ghəskhrii'·f yə·də, kos-t-ər nee bəghrə'i·pə bhaa da-t bhas. 27 zə bryyr. 29 vœœr z'n vri·ndən ins tə traktee·rə. 31 kend, dzhee [or (diée), written *dje*] zə'it a·ltə'id bee mikh ghebhee·st.

XXX. Zuid Brabant or Belgian Brabant. II. 247. See No. XVIII. 57, etc., p. 1390.

152. *Zuurbeemden*, village near *Haelan* (50 *n* 57, 5 *e* 7). II. 249.

11 dóu·ə bhas ənə-kii'r nə man, də'i·ə tbhii' zoo·nən ha. 12 ən də vaar liit dan a·ləs déi·lə. 15 ve·rkə-hee't tə bho·də ['to become farrow-herd']. 18 vaa·dər, ikh bhii't-ət, ikh hem gere·ligh ghami·st tee·ghə uukh. 22 helt ghóu, ghóu də be·stə klii'·rən, duut z' hœm aan, gheeft hœm ok ənən-riq in zə'i·nə vi-qər, ən briqt hœm skhuu·nən om an tə duun. 23 't vet kalf. 24 bhant mə'i·nə zoon bhas duu'd, ən hə'i·jən əs trœgh ghəvo·nə. 25 təbhə'i·lə da dad a·lə-móu'·l vœœ·rviil ['every-time happened'] bhas den na·dstə zoon in 't veld, duunt er nóu·ə hœ'is kamp, hyy'·dət ər va véis-t labhéi·t van-t zi·qən ən-t da·nsən. 27 uur bryy. 29 vœr m'n vri·ndə ənə-kii'r tə traktee·rən. 31 joq, ghee zə'it hœ·məs a·ltə'id bə'i mikh.

153. *Diest*, town (50*n*58, 5*e*3). II. 253.

11 dər bhas eens ənə-zee·kərə vent ['man'], dii' tbhii' zoo·nən ad. 12 ən də vaa·dər vərdi·ldə elk zə paat. 15 uum də ve·rkəs tə yy·ə. 18 vaa·dər, ikh em kbhaad ghədaa·n tee·ghə uu·khə. 22 spuud ['hasten'] uukh al ghàu, breqt ə niif klii'd ən van də skhuu·nstə ['most beautiful'] ən duugh-ət-əm aan, ən gheft œm ənən-riqk aan z'n and, ən skhuu·nən aan z'n vuu·tən. 23 ə fət ka·ləf. 24 bhant mənə-zoon dii' daa əs, bhas dood, ən ee əs nóu ghəvo·nə. 25 mər dən óu·stə bhas bəə'·tə ['without'] uup 't feld, ən as əm o·ntrent de·tigh okh fi·tigh sta·pə van oo's ['about 30 or 50 steps from house'] bhas, uu·rdən əm zi·qən ən spri·qə. 27 uur bryyr. 29 om mee mən vri·ndə in kompanii·t- eə·tən. 31 zoon, ghee zet a·lteed bee mikh.

154. *Tienen*, in French *Tirlemont* (50 *n* 38, 4 *e* 56). II. 256.

11 dəə' bhaar 'n kir 'n mins dee' tbhii' juu·qəs a. 12 ən də vaar eet œn 't ghuud ghede·ld. 15 vər də ve·rəkəs 't yy·jə. 18 vaa·rkə [this should mean 'little father,' but may be a misprint, as the word is (vaa·dər) in v. 21], ikh əm o·nghəleek gh'ad ['I have wrong had'] tee·ghən œkh. 22 háilt ənə-kir aghoo· [Dutch *al gauw* 'all quickly'] də be·stə klee·rə dee' ghə viqt ['find,' Dutch *vindet*] ən trekt-œm dee' aan, ən stekt œm ənə-riqk in zənə-vi·qər ən skhuun in z'n vuu·tə. 23 də ve·tə mœ·tə ['calf,' also (mo·tə, mœ'itə, mœœ·tə), (mœ·tiin) in Overijssel means 'stuff']. 24 bhant mənə-juuq ii bhas dood, ən-ə əs bhiir trœgh ghəvo·qə. 25 o·ndərtœ·sə ['meanwhile'] bhas dən aa·dstə zoon uup 't veld, ən as-t-ər trœgh kamp ən beka·nst ['near'] an z'n œœs [or (æehs) 'house'] bhas, yy·ədə-t-ər zi·qən ən spri·qə. 27 zə brœ'i. 29 vər mən vri·ndən ins ə fiée'·skə tə ghee'·və. 31 okh juuq, ghee' zed œ·məs a·ltee'd bee mikh.

[On the word *slavodder*, 'whore' v. 30, Winkler remarks that it is properly the word *slodder*, 'sloven,' with a join inserted (*een lasch er in*) in the Flemish way, thus: *sl-av-odder*, and in the same way West Flemings make the North Nederlandish *slet*, 'slut,' into *sl-av-etse*, with the same meaning; similarly in spec. 147, v. 14, the word *schabouwelik* occurs, which is *schouwelijk*, 'showily,' with a Flemish insertion of *ab*.]

155. *Leuven*, in French *Louvain*, city (50 *n* 53, 4 *e* 43). II. 261.

11 doo ["a simple sound, nearly long Dutch *oo*, nearest French *eau*, and approaching German *u*"] bhas nə man dii tbhee zoons a. 12 ən də voor vərdee·ldən-in dan 't ghuut. 15 uum ər də ve·rəkəs t-aa·və [(aa·və, oo·və, HOO·və, HÓU·ə) from (HÓU·də) 'hold,' the usual (HUU·dən) 'keep' is unknown at Louvain]. 18 voo·dər, k-em ghemi·st, k-em zoo veel kood ghədo·n tee·ghə aa. 22 óilt se·fəs ət be·stə kleet ən duut-ət-əm on; stekt ənən-riq on zənən-vi·qər ən duut-əm skhuu·nən on. 23 't vet kalf. 24 bhant mənə-zoon bhas dood, ən A'i es ghəvo·nə. 25 JO-moo, dən óu·dstə zoon bhas tərvA'i·lend ['whiling,' staying] uup 't velt, ən as dA'i·nə bhee kbhamp ən bəkA·inst ['almost'], on A'is bhas, oo·dən-əm vaa bA'i·tə daa zə doo bee·zigh bhoo·rə mee zi·qən ən da·nsə. 27 uu brii. 29 uum mən vrii·ndən ins tə traktee·rən. 31 mo kint, ghA'i zA'id a·ltA'id bA'i mA'i. [(A'i) is said to "sound nearly like the English *boy*, but the (i) is very obscurely pronounced," more as (A'j) perhaps, but it is a mere variety of (ái).]

156. *Brussel*, in French *Bruxelles*, in English *Brussels*, city (50 *n* 52, 4 *e* 21). II. 268.

[The 'sneeze' of the Brusselers is stated not to be exactly Dutch *sj*, or French *ch*, or German *sch*, but resembling all, and to have something of *l* and *n mouillées* in it; hence I write it (sj) or (shj). J. F. Willems wrote it *j*, as *hitj* 'hot,' and S. C. A. Willems wrote it *jsch*, as *hitjsch*, and Winkler writes it *sj*. The Brussels population and the country about is distinctly low German, not French. The following version is the genuine old language of the lower city.]

11 duu bhas ənə-kii ənə-man dii tbhii·JO zoo·nən a. 12 ən də voor ghaf uun iidər ze poot ['part']. 15 uum də ve·rkəs t-aa·və. 18 voor, t-es bhoor ['true'] 'k em-ik-ik vœœl, gh'ii'l [Dutch *geheel*, altogether] vœœl kbhood ghədoo·ən tee·ghən aa. 22 spúnid kailən isj al ghaa, o·ltsj ['fetch'] ə skhôoi ['beautiful'] nyyt klii't vœœ ['fore'] əm uun tə duun, stekt əm ənən-riqk uun zənə-vi·qər, ən ghecft-əm-ə poor skhuu·nən nun z'n vuu·tə. 23 ə vet kalf. 24 bhant mənə-zoon duu bhas dóoid, ən naa e·mə bhee 'm bhee ghəvo·nə. 25 moo dən óu·dstə zoon bhas bóoitə nuu 't feltjsj ghəbhee·st, ən as əm zuu əbha·d [Dutch *ietwat*, 'somewhat'] in də ghəbyy·rə ['neighbourhood'] van z'n óois kbhamp, óoidən ái al-t si·qən ən da·nsən. 27 a bryy. 29 om mee m'n kameroo·dən isj braa tə smœ·lən. 31 zoon, ghee záai ghaa i·məs a·ltâaid bâai ma t-óois.

157. *Noord-Brussel, Schaarbeek*, etc., the suburbs on the North of Brussels, see No. 156. II. 273.

11 doo bhas ənə-zee·kərə man dii' tbhii' zoo·nən a. 12 ən də voor di·ltjsjən œœ·lən œœ·lə [Dutch *hunlieden* repeated] poot. 15 uum z'n ve·rkəs ghúui tə sloo·ghə [Dutch *gade te slaan*, 'notice to strike,' to mind]. 18 voor, t-es bhoor k-əm tee·ghən a kbhood ghəduu·n. 22 ghef ghaa ə klii'd on də JUU·qə, en ii'n ['one'] van də be·stə; duutjsj əm ənə-riqk ən zənə-vi·nJər, ən skhuu·nən on z'n vyy·tən. 23 't vet kalf. 24 bhant mənə-zoon bhas dóoid, ən aa əs bhee ghəvo·nə. 25 dən aa·dstə zoon bhas in 't feld ghebléi·və; moo as ən noo z'n úuis kbhamp, iœœ'·dən a myyzii·k, da·nsən ən zank. 27 œœ·lə bryyr. 29 uum mee mən vri·ntjsj moo'·ltaad t-aa·və. 31 JUU·qə, ghee zaat a·ltaa baa ma.

XXXI. ANTWERPEN, in French ANVERS, in English ANTWERP. II. 279.

158. *Tielen*, village, near *Turnhout*, town (51 *n* 19, 4 *e* 57). II. 281.

11 dər bhas es nə VAA·dər mee tbhii' zoo·nən. 12 NEE, də VAA·dər dii' bhas droo·vər konte·nt, ən i liit z'n JUU·qəs daa·lən. 15 də ve·rkəs dee HYY·əm. 18 VAA·dər k-em vœœl KAAd ghodAA·n. 22 duut-əm ghâu skhoon dii·qən AA, ən-nə riiqk AA z'n vii·qər ən-skhuun AA z'n vuu·tə. 23 't vet kalf. 24 bhant mənə-zoon bhas dood, ən-ik em tərœ·gh ghəvo·nə. 25 JAA·mər dən EE·dstən JUU·qən bhas dan uup 't veld AAN 't bhe·rkən, ən as ə tee·ghən 'ə AA·vəs ['evening'] uup HOIS AA kbhamm, oo·rdən ee va vaas da labbâi·d ən-ə kost ər ghana kop AA krə'i·ghən ['and he could there no head on get,' and he could not understand it.] 27 ə bryyr. 29 om m'n vrii·ndən es tə traktee·rən. 31 JUU·qə, ghee záit nu·mes a·ltâi bâi mái.

159. *Mol*, town (51*n*12, 5*e*7). II. 284.

11 dAA bhas 'nə man dii' tbhEE' zoo·nən AA'i ['had']. 12 ən də VAA·dər vərdEE'ldə dan 't ghuud. 15 də ve·rəkəs yy·JƏ. 21 vaa·dər, 'k əm o·nghələ'ik. 22 breqkt se·fəs 't be·stə kleed, ən duu ghəə 't AAN; stekt-ən riqk a zənə-ve·qər ən duut-əm skhuu·nən AAN. 23 't vet ka·ləf. 24 bhant mənə zoon bhas doot, ən ii is ghəvo·nə. 25 dən áu·stə zoon bhas tœ·sən dii'n tə'id óit; as ə'i t-óis kbhamp, yy'·rdən ə'i va bói·tə-t labhaa·t. 29 om mee m'n vree·ndən uup 't ee·tən. 31 də VAA·də zee-m dan dat HƏ'i a·ltə'i bə'i -m bhas.

160. *Antwerpen*, in French *Anvers*, in English *Antwerp* (51 *n* 13, 4 *e* 23). II. 293.

[Considering Antwerp pronunciation to be the 'type' of South Netherlandish or Belgian forms of speech, Winkler gives rather a long account of it, which is here condensed.

A long is *oa*, nearer *o* than *a*, almost the French *ô* in *fantôme* [that is, (AA)]. When without stress, it is like a common short *o*, (o, ɔ), as *maar* = mor.

A short is very like *e* short or German *ä* short; *man*, *had*, *kwam*, sound as German *männ*, *ädd*, *kwämm* [that is, (E)]. But when it has the stress, it sounds as half long A, nearly as French *âme* [that is, (*a*)].

E long and close becomes among the lowest classes *ei*, or rather *eei*, *eej* [that is, (éi, éei, éeJ) or (*éi*, *éei*, *éeJ*)].

E long and open becomes a diphthong *ië* or *ieë*, exactly like the Friesian *ie* or *ia*, and this is general Belgian [that is, (iə, i')]. When without stress, it becomes in Antwerp simple *i* [(i, *i*, e¹, *e* ?)].

E heavy, "de zware e," is a bleating sound between *a* and *e*, the *æ* found in many Hollandish forms of speech, the French *faire*, *père* [as distinct from (E), given to short *e* above, this is certainly (ææ)]. It often occurs before *r*, where the genuine Netherlandish has *aa* or *e*, as *gærne*. In Friesic towns, Groningen, etc., these words have *ee*. The same *e* or *æ* sound is used in other words at Antwerp, which in Belgium generally have *ei* (éi). The final *-aar*, *-laar*, have (æ).

E short before *r* becomes *a* short, as *werk*, *kerk*, *sterk* = wark, kark, stark [with (*a*) ?].

IE diphthong has the pure, not the Hollandish, pronunciation [that is, (iə), not (ii)]. The lowest class, however, change it to a close long *e* followed by *j*, as *ziel* = *zeejl* [that is, (zéeil, zee'jl)].

I short is pure *i*, as in German, especially when it has the stress [that is, (i), not (*i*, e¹, *e*)].

O close and long is generally as in genuine Dutch [(*oo*) ?], but the lowest speakers add on an obscure *w*, as *kowmen* for *komen* (kóou·mən); *zoon*, *koning*, are *zeun*, *keunik* (zœœn, zøən; kœœ·nik, køø·nik).

O or OO open and long is pronounced *oeë*, that is, as *oe* with an aftersound of unaccented *e*, just like Friesian *oe* or *uo* [that is, (uu', u')]. This pronunciation is peculiar to Antwerp, Limburg, and part of Belgian Brabant. But in the two Flanders and the rest of Belgian Brabant this *o* is called *uë*, (yy'), as *schuun* or *schuën* (skyyn, skyy'n).

O short has generally in Belgium three sounds; 1) regular, in *top* (top, tɔp ?); 2) as Hollandish *oe*, or German *u* (uu, u), in most words, where Hollandish has the obscure short *o* [apparently (o, ɔ)], as *oep* for *op*; 3) before *r*, as short *eu*, or as German *ö* [perhaps (ə), and not (œ), may be meant]. Many of these words have short *u* [(œ) in my transcription].

U long retains its sound generally (yy); but when followed by *w*, as in *uw*, *duwen*, and also in *nu*, it becomes *au* or *auw* (áu).

U short in Antwerp and all Belgium, except occasionally in Flanders, is pure *u*, like German *ü* (y), as *üt* for *hut* (yt).

IJ and EI under the stress become *aai* or *ai* or *oai* (ái, ái, A'i); without the stress, they fall into simple *a*.

UI, AAI, are both *ooi* (óoi), as *ooi*s for *huis*.

OEI and OOI are both *oei* or *oej* (úui, úJ) at Antwerp. In OOI the *i* is sometimes lost, and the long open *oo* becomes *oeë* (uu') at Antwerp, as (nuu't) = *nooit*.

AUW and OUW are both *auw* (áu).

EEW is *iëw*, "that is, the long open *ee*, which in Antwerp becomes *ië* or *ieë* [ii'], ending with a *w*" [ii'u ?].

IEUW is generally *ief* (iif, iəf ?).

H is not pronounced in Antwerp, the two Flanders, and the western part of the province of Antwerp, and Bel-

gian Brabant. In Eastern Antwerp and in East Brabant, as well as in Limburg, *h* is pronounced.

N before some consonants becomes *ng* (q), as *kiingd* for *kind*. N is omitted in the termination *en*, where the next word does not begin with a vowel, as *wai moeten älle doage warke*.

T is omitted in *dat*, *wat*, *niet*, *met*, etc., as is also common in Zeeland and North Brabant.

D between two vowels is frequently *i* or *j*, as *spoeien* for *spoeden*.

Cases do not differ in adjectives, but genders do. Article: masc. *'ne* (nə) before all consonants but *b*, *d*, *h*, *t*, and *'nen* (nən) before these and vowels; feminine *'n* always; neuter *e* (ə) before all consonants but *b*, *d*, *h*, *t*, and *'n* before these and vowels. Definite: masc. *de*, *den*; fem. *de*; neut *'t*. Possessive: m. *m'ne*, *m'nen*; f. *m'n*; n. *me*, *m'n*. Demonstrative: m. *dieë*, *dieën*; f. *die*; n. *dat*.

Pronouns: *gij* or *ge* placed after a verb becomes *de*, as *oor de nie?* = hoort gij niet. *Hij*, otherwise *a* or *aai*, becomes in that position *em*, as *zal em komen* = zal hij komen; but older people preserve *i* in this case. *Wij*, not under stress, becomes *me*. As object of a verb, the third person plural is always *ze*; of a preposition, always *un*.

A long vowel in verbs is shortened in 3 pr. sg., in 2 pr. pres., and in imp., *ik nēēm*, *a mĕmt*, *we nĕmen*, *ge nĕmt*, *ze nĕmen*; *nĕm*, *nĕmt*.]

11 dor bhæs is nə mæn ən dii'n æd tbhii' zœœ·nə. 12 ən *a-J*-eet œn ii·dər zə kiiqsghedii'·ltə [' child's portion'] gheghee·və. 15 uum də va·rəkəs t' uu·jə. 18 VAA·dər, k-əm kbhAA ghədo·n tee·ghə áu. 22 mæ·nə, gháu, breqt ə PAA·sbe·stə [' paschal best,' the custom being to put on new clothes at Easter] klii'd ən duu ghee-t-əm AAN, stekt ənən-riiqk on zənə-vii·qər, ən trekt skhuu·nən on z'n vuu·tə. 23 't vet ka·ləf. 24 bhænt mənə-zœœn bhæs duu'd, ən *a-J*-is trygh ghəvo·qdə. 25 mor tərbhái·lət bhæs dən áu·stə zœœn uup-t veld; ən æs əm bheer kbhæm, ən æl dikht baa z'n óois bhæs, uu'·rdən əm zi·qən ən daa·nsə. 27 uu bryyr. 29 um m'n vri·qdən is tə trakteeərə. 31 sii, ju·qə, ghee *za* ghâai *a·lta* ba máai.

161. *Lier*, in French *Lierre*, town (51 *n* 8, 4 *e* 34). II. 297.

11 nə man ad tbhii' zoo·nə. 12 ən a vərdii'·ldən-ət ghund o·ndər œœ·lə. 15 om zən vææ·rəkəs t-ee·bhə. 18 vaa·dər, k-əm tee·ghən aa ghəzo·n-dighd. 22 breqt dən ii'·rstən tə·bərd [' tabard,' frock, a Dutch word] dən be·sten, duut-əm-əm óun, stekt-əm nən-riiqk on z'n and, ən skhuu·nən on z'n vuu·tən. 23 ə me·stkalf. 24 omda·t maa·nə zoon dood bhas, ən is bheeruu·m ghəvo·nə. 25 mor dən aa·dstə zoon bhas op-t veld, ən tuum a bheer kbhamp, ən z'n óous nóu·dərdə, oo·rdən-aa-t ghaza·qk. 27 uu bryyr. 29 om mee maan vri·ndə t-ee·tən. 31 zoon, ghaa zaad a·ltaa baa maa.

162. *Mechelen*, in English *Mechlin*, in French *Malines* (51 *n* 2, 4 *e* 23). II. 299.

11 dər bhas nə kii' nə man, dii tbhii' JU·qəs aa. 12 ən də VA·ï·dər vərdii'·l-dən œœ·lə PAAT. 15 uum də ve·rkəs ghóoi tə slA·ïghə. 18 VA·ï·dər, k-əm ghəzo·ndighd tee·ghən aa. 22 gheft al ghaa ə klii'd ən-t be·stə dat ər is, gheft-əm nən-riiqk AAN z'n and, ən skhuu·nən AAN z'n vuu·tə. 23 't vet kalf. 24 bhant mənə-Ju·qə bhas duu'd, ən *a-J*-is bhee ghəvo·nə. 25 JAA-mor dən aa·dstə zoon dii' bhas up ət veld as daa vœer viel; ən ghəla·k əm nor óois kbhamp, oo·rdən-əm dor ə labhâai·t van zii·qən ən sprii·qə. 27 uu bryyr. 29 um mee m'n vri·ndə nə kii' blâai tə zâaïn. 31 ghee zaa ghâai uu·mas a·ltâaid ba máai.

163. *St. Amands*, village (51 *n* 3, 4 *e* 12). II. 302.

11 dóu bhas nə man dii' tbhii' zoo·nən aa. 12 ən də vóu·dər ghaf 't əm. 15 də ve·rkəs ghói slóu·ghən. 18 vóu·dər, k-əm kbhôud ghedóu·n tee·ghən aa. 22 gheft al ghaa ə klii'd óun də ju·qən; ii'n van də be·stə; stekt dan nən-riiqk óun zâi·nən vi·qər, ən gheft-əm skhuu·nən óun zâin vuu·tə. 23 't vet ghəmo·kt kalf. 24 bhant ons kiind bhas duu'd, ən âi ös-bheer ghəvo·nə. 25 dən na·stən zoon bhas iin't feld ghəblee·vən, ən as ən nóur œ'is kbhamp, uu'·rdən âi daâ sə bee·zigh bhóu·rən mee tə zii·qən ən tə da·nsən. 27 ə bryyr. 29 uum nə kii'r mee máin vri·ndə ke·rmis t-aa·vən. 31 gha zait uu·mas a·ltâid bâi mái.

XXXII. OOST-VLAANDEREN, in English EAST FLANDERS. II. 306.

164. *St. Nicolaas*, town (51 *n* 10, 4 *e* 7). II. 308.

11 dóur bhas nə kii'r nə mens, dii tbhii' zoo·nən AA. 12 ən də vôu·dər ghaf z-elk œ·ldər póurt. 15 om də ve·rkəs tə bha·khtən. 18 vôu·dər, k-éi misdóu·n. 22 óust œ·ldər ['haste ye'] ən óult al ghaa də be·stə klee·rən ən duu zə-m óun; stikt-əm-nə riiqk on záin·nə vii·qər, ən skhuu·nən on záin vuu·tən. 23 't vet kalf. 24 bhant mái·nə zoon bhas doot, ən ái is bheer ghəvo·nə. 25 dən aa·dstə zoon kbham intœ·sən van -t veld bheer, ən as ái nogh ən boo·ghskhœœt ['a bow-shot'] van œ'is bhas, kost ái al-t myyzii·k, ən-t labhái·t oo·rən. 27 óu bruur. 29 mee máin vri·ndən nii nə keer lóu·tən smææ·rən. 31 ghee záí ghái a·lted bái máí.

165. *Eeklo*, town (51 *n* 12, 3 *e* 33). II. 311.

11 tər bhas nə kii'r nə rə'i·kən ee·rə [Dutch *heer*, gentleman] dii tbhii' zœœns AA. 12 in də VAA·dərə vərdii'·ldegh œ·ldər zə'i ghuut. 15 də ve·rkəns tə bha·khtən. 18 VAA·dərə, k-en misdAA·n vœœr EE. 22 briiqt iir al ghe·bhə [Dutch *gaauw*, quickly] zə'in be·stə dii·qən, in duu·ghə-t-əm an, in stek-əm nə-riiqk an zə'i·nə vii·qərə, in skhuuns a zə'in vuu·tən. 23 't vet kalf. 24 bhant mənə-zœœ·nə bhas dyy't, in ə'i is bheero·m ghəvo·ndən. 25 MAAR binst ['in the mean time'] bhas zə'i·nən ebh·stə zœœ·nə in dən a·kərə, in os dən dii·nən bhee·rə kii'rdəghə in an œ'is kbhamp, in yy'·rdəghə zii·qən in labhéi·t e·bhən. 27 EE bruu·rə. 29 om mə'i mee mə'i vrii·ndən nə kii'r bhal tə duun. 31 tuut, tuut, mə'i kind, gh-EE ghə'i a·ltə'id bə'i mə'i ghəbhee·st.

166. *Maldeghem*, village (51 *n* 13, 3 *e* 27). II. 315.

11 dər bhAAR nə kee·rkə nən rœ'i·kə man, dii tbhEE zœœns AA. 12 ee lAA·tər [?] mo·stə dee·lən. 15 bhAAR ghədwo·qən ['forced'] van də zbhœœns tə bha·khtən. 18 VAA·dər, ek en mesdAA·n tee·ghən uu. 22–24 ee liipt-əm tee·ghənə ['he ran towards him'], vlAAgh an zənən-als ['flew at his neck], ke·stə-əm, ən ee dee ['did,' caused] van blə'i·skhap ['from blitheness'] omdat ee dAAR bhAA·rə, 'n vet kAAlf sla·khtən. 25–30 dən a·ndərə zœœ·nə bəklAA·ghdə əm ['complained'] dAAR oo·vərə dat ee a·kəns ['ever,' Dutch *al keerens*] brAA·və ghəbhee·st bhAA·rə, ən dat dii lœœ·rə ['scamp'] zyy' ghuud o·ntAAld bhii·rə. 31, 32 MAAR də VAA·dər zei: mə kend! t-ən əs nii meer of rekht ['it-not is not more of = than right'] daa mee dAAR vəor lœœ·tə ['feasting'] MAA·kən; bhant uu bruu·rə bhAAR dəəd, ən ee əs varree·zən ['risen from the dead'], ee bhAAR varloo·rən ['lost'], ən ee əs bhee·rə ghəvo·ndən.

167. *Kleit*, a hamlet belonging to parish of Maldeghem, 166. II. 319.

11 də bhAAR nə kee·rkə nə ree·kə man mat tbhee zeens. 12 də ɹo·qstə vruugh zeen dee·ləqə. 15 most də zbheens bha·khtən. 18 VAA·dərə, ek een ['have'] mesdAA·n tee·ghə uu. 22–24 ee viilt əm om dən ne·kə ən ee dee ən vet kAAlf sla·khtən om kə·rme·sə t-au·bhən van blə'iskhap omdaa zee·nə zee·nə [Dutch *zijn zoon*, his son] gəko·mə bhAA·rə. 25–30 MAAR dən áu·stən bruu·rə bhAA·rə dAAR kbhAAd o·mə, dat ee a·kəs brAA·və ghəbhee·st ən dat zeen VAA·dər vœœr em nii ən dee'. 31, 32 MAAR də VAA·də zéi·ə: meen kend, lAAt ons blə'i·ə zeen, bhant uu bruu·rə bhAA·rə dAAd, ən ee əs varree·zən, ee bhAA·rə varloo·rən, ən ee əs bheer ghekee·rd ['returned'].

168. *Gent*, in French *Gand*, in English *Ghent*, city (51 *n* 2, 3 *e* 44). II. 325.

[There are two principal modes of speech. One, the Newbridge Gentish, formerly spoken in the street of Nieuwe-Brug or Neder-Schelde, used principally by small tradesmen and work-people. This is lower (*platter*) than ordinary Gentish, and much drawled (*sleepend*, *lijmerig*). The present Newbridge mode is really the general old Gentish. The other Gentish is spoken generally by the citizens, and even the upper classes when using their mother tongue; modern Hollandish is "fortunately" not used, even in churches or in most schools.

In this Gentish almost all short vowels are lengthened, as *kaate* or *kate* for *kat*, *bruge* or *bruugge* for *brug*, *steemme* for *stem*, etc. The short *i* and *e* of other dialects becomes *ij* (ə'i), as *drijnke*, *zijnge*, *wijnkel*, *schijnke*, *mijns*, (mensch).

Long *a* is *oa* (AA) and before *r* often sounds as a diphthong like French *oi* in *voir* (uAA').

Open *e* or *ee* is a diphthong *ieë* (ii') or nearer *èëë*, *eeë* (EE,' ee').

Heavy *e* [the (ææ) of Flemish generally] is *ii*, and this is the sound of short *e* before *r*, as *piird*, *zwiird*, *begiire; stiirk*, *biirg*, *kiirke*, *viirke*.

Open long *o* becomes *ue* (yy'), as *buem*, *brued* = Dutch *boom*, *brood*.

Close long *o* becomes *eu* (œœ), as *veugel*, vogel.

Long *u* retains its sound (yy), but *uw* generally adds on an unaccented *e* (-ə).

The *ij* is *ai* (âi) or even *aai* (âai).

The *ei* is also usually *ai*, but in some words *eeë*, *èëë* (ee', EE'), as *gèëte*, geit, *schèën*, scheiden.

The *ui* becomes *aai* (âai).

The *ou* and *au* are French *ê* (EE) in some words, and Dutch *ij* (ə'i) in others; but when followed by *d*, are always *êw* (EE'u); *schêwwe* is both *schauw* or *schaduw*, 'shade, shadow,' and *schouw* or *schoorsteen*, 'chimney'; when followed by *t*, these *ou*, *au*, are generally *ij* (ə'i), as *stijt*, stout, 'bold.'

The *i* in *ing* is not merely long (ii), but has the secondary stress, as *deeliinge*, *leziinge*. [This is quite Chaucerian.]

The old termination *-eege*, *-igge*, is in full use, as *naaisterigge*, naaister, 'seamstress.'

The termination *-is* becomes *-esse*, as *geschiedenesse*, and *-laar*, properly *-leer*, becomes *-lirre* as *dompèlirre*, *dompeleer*, *dompelaar*, 'loiterer.'

The termination *uw* becomes *em*, as *zwalem* for *zwaluw*, swallow (bird); but *weduwe*, *weduwenaar*, become *wewe*, *wewirre*.

Short *a* before *r* becomes long *a* or *oa* (AA), as *oarm*, *woarm* = arm, warm.

The *h* is not pronounced.

Unaccented *-e* is often added, as *moedere*, *emele* (hemel, 'heaven'), *ende* (hemd, 'shirt'), etc.

When *l* and *r* occur in the middle of a syllable, they are frequently omitted, and *r* before *s* is regularly mute, as *oas*, als, *ges* for *gers*, gras, as in Friesic *bust* for *burst*, borst, 'burst, breast, brush.'

But *ch* is heard in *mussche*, bossche, *mijnsche*, menschen, where it is omitted in Hollandish.

For *mp*, they use *np* or *nt*, as *lant*, lamp. Medial *d* either falls into *i* or *j* or is mute. Final foreign *je* is called *de*, as *famielde*, familie.

Ulder, *wulder*, *gulder* and *zulder* are used for *hen* or *hun*, *wij*, *gij*, *zij*. *Hij* is often called *jij*, as *'k en ben te 'k ik nie geweest*, *'t eete jij geweest* (kənbe·ntekik nii ghebhee·st, tee·təə'i ghebhee·st), literally 'I not am it I I not been, it has he been,' = 'twas n't me, 'twas him.

Gentish.

11 tor bhaas nə kii'r nə man, in âi AA tbhii' zœœns. 12 in âi dii'·l-deghə-t yy·ldər âait. 15 om də vii·rkəs tə bha·khtə. 18 VAA·dərə, k-ee miisdAA·n tee·ghən ee. 22 AAS âi nə bâi zâi ze·lvə ghəko·mə bhaas, riip âi ii·nə ['he called one'] van zâin kne·khte, in âi ghəbii·dəgh eem-t bee·stə də'i·qə t-AA·lə om eem an tə duun, eem ə PAAR skhuu·nə tə ghee·və, in nə rə'iqk oop zâi·nə və'i·qər tə stee·kə. 23 't be·stə kaalf. 24 omdaa· mâi·nə zœœ·rə, dii dyy' ['dead'] bhaas, bhee·rə ghəvo·ndə es. 25 o·ndərtyy·ghə kbhaam dən éebh·stə zœœ·nə oop -t land; in AAS âi omtree·nt den âai·rə ['house'] kbhaam, yy'·degh âi-t la-bhai·t in də spee·lman. 27 ee bruu·rə. 29 oom mâin vrii·ndə mee tə trakteerə. 31 MAAR, mâi·nə ɔo·qənə, ghee zâit oo·mərst a·ltâid bâi mâi.

169. *Tongval van de werklieden in de wijk der Nieuwe-brug te Gent*, speech of the work-people in New-bridge Street, Gent, see specimen 168.

11 nə VAA·dər AA tbhii' zœœns. 12 ən də VAA·dərə ghaaí ət eem. 16 də vi·rkəs. 18 VAA·dərə, k-EE misdAA·n tee·ghən ee. 22 AAst œ·ldərə! lyy'pt oom zâin bee·stə klii'·rə, in duu eem ən niœœ' PAAR skhuu·nən an, in stekt eem nə râiqk oop zâi·nə vâi·qər. 23 't vee·tstə kaalf. 24 bhant mâi·nə zœœ·nə bhaas ghəstoo·rvə, in âi əs bhee·rə lee·vət ghəbho·rdə. 25 in AAS dən éebh·stə zœœ·nə NAAR âais kbham, yy'·rdəghə âi van vee·rə-t məzii·k in-t labhâi·t. 27 ee bruu·rə 29 om mâi mee mâin kamərAA·tə yy'k nə kii'r t-aməzee·rə. 31 kiind, al bhad-'k bəzii·t, əs-t ii·bhə.

170. *Wetteren*, small town (51 *n* 0, 3 *e* 52). II. 331.

11 DAAR bhas nə kii'r nə menskh, dii tbhii' zœœns AA. 12 ən ə'i dii'·ldəghə œ·ldər -t ghuud. 15 om də vee·rkəs tə bha·khtən. 18 vóu·dər, k-EE misdAA·n tee·ghən óu. 22 AAst œ·ldər! breqt tse·fəs-t be·stə klii'd ən duun-t HƏM AA·nə; stek nə riq AAN zə'in and, ən skhuu·nən AAN zə'in vuu·tən. 23 't vet kalf. 24 bhant mə'i·nə zœœ·nə bhas dyy'd, ən ə'i əs

ghəvo·ndən. 25 MAAr dən aa·dstə zœœ·nə bhas in-t veld, ən as ə'i bheer kii'·rdəghə ən tee·ghən œ'is kbham, yy'·rdəghən ə'i, dat ər bi·nən myyzii·k, ghəspee·ld ən ghəda·nst bhiird. 27 óu bruur. 29 om nə kii'r mee mə'in vrii·ndən kee·rme·sə t-aa·ən ['hold']. 31 JO·qən, ghee zə'it a·ltyy's bə'i mə'i.

171. *Ninove*, town (50 *n* 51, 4 *e* 1). II. 334.

11 duAA' bhas nə kii' nə mensJh, dii tbhii' zuu·nən AA. 12 ən də vuAA'r ghaf əm za puAA'rt. 15 om də ve·rkəs tə bha·khtən. 18 vuAA'r, k-em kuAA·d gheduAA'n tee·ghən aa. 22 spuudjsj éilən, ən duut əm se·fəs skhiyy'ən ['beautiful'] dii·qən uAA'n, ən stek nə riiqk uAA' zaa·nə vii·qər, ən skhuu·nən uAA' zan vuu·tən. 23 ə vo'itjsj kalf. 24 bhant iik pEE'·sdən [Dutch *peinsde*, thought] daa maa·nə zuun diyy'əd bhas, ən aa əs van-eer [*van her*, 'again'] ghəvo·nə. 25 dən aa·stə zuun kbhamp nuAA'r œ'is van-t veldjsj, ən as ən bəka·ns ['near'] t-œ'is bhas, iyy'ə·rdən a zii·qən ən da·nsən. 27 aa briir. 29 om mEE maan vri·nJən ke·rme·s t-aa·vən. 31 JU·qən, gh·etjsj ghaa a·ltə'id ba maa.

[On (djsj, tjsj), the 'sneeze,' see specimen 156. On (uAA') Winkler says the sound is somewhat (*eenigzins*) diphthongal, especially before *r*, and then sounds exactly like the French *oi* in *voir*. In spec. 170 he had not made that remark. See introductory note to spec. 168, on long *a* (1423, *d*').]

172. *Eichem*, village near *Voorde*, village (50 *n* 49, 3 *e* 50). II. 338.

11 dər bhas nə kii'r nə maan dii tbhii' zoo·nən óu. 12 ən a vərdə'i·ljdjəghən éi·ər -t ghuud. 15 om də va'irkəs tə bha·khtən. 18 vaAr, k-em tee·ghən aa ghəzo·ndighd. 22 ost óu·Jər [Dutch *haast u*, 'haste you'], briqd a ghaa t-ii'·stə ['the first'] klii'd daa ghə vendjsj ['find'], duuvəd əm AAn, stekt-əm nə-riqk op d-and ən skhuu·nən AA zə'in vuu·tən. 23 ə vatjsj kalf. 24 bhant mə'i·nə zoon iir bhas diyy'əd, ən aa əs bheer ghəvo·nən. 25 mAAr zə'i·nən óui·stən zoon bhas op-t veldjsj, ən as ən bheer kbhamp, iyy'ə·rdəghən-ən spee·lən ən zi·qən. 27 a bryyr. 29 om mee mə'in vri·nJən op-t ee·tən. 31 zoon, ghâai zəid a·ltiyy'əs bâai mâni.

173. *Geeraardsbergen*, *Geeroudsbergen*, *Geertsbergen*, or *Griesbergen*, in French *Grammont*, town (50 *n* 46, 4 *e* 47). II. 341.

11 tər bhas nə kii'r nə maan, dii tbhii' zóinsh AA'i. 12 ən də vA'i'r dii vərdii'·ldshəghə -t ghuud tœ·skhən zan zóinsh. 15 om də va·rkish tə bha·khtən. 18 'k zaa əm ze·ghən ['I shall say to him'] daa-k kAAd ghədAA·n EE'n tee·ghən em. 22 tœœ·rə lœ·pt, oltjsh a ghâu man spli·ntərnyy· ['my splinter-new'] plœ·nJə ən duu zə-m AAn; stikt nə riqk AA zAA·nə viq·er ["in *ng*, the *g* is omitted, and *n* nasalised as in French." This direction I take to be one given by the translator, and that it was meant to convey the sound of (q) to French speakers; the same direction occurs elsewhere. I continue to use (q), but shall note the (A)], ən skhuu·nən AA zan vuu·tən. 23 't vet kalf. 24 bhant maa·nə zoo·nə bhas diyy'əd, ən aa əs van-ee·r ghəvo·nən. 25 mor den áu·stən zoo·nə dii' bhas tərbhâi·ligh op-t land; ən as ən bhee·rə kbhamp en dat ən bâi t-œ'is bhas, iyy'ə·rdəgh ən-t labhâi·t van-t myyzii·k ən van-t ghəza·qksəl. 27 a bryy·ərə. 29 om mee man vrii·nJən nə kii'r tAA·fəliqə t-au·ən. 31 JOq·ən, iyy'ər nə kii'r, zâi ghə ghâi nii a·ltâid ba mâi?

174. *Oudenaarde*, in French *Audenarde*, town (50 *n* 51, 3 *e* 36). II. 345.

11 tər bhas nə kii'r nə zee·kərə méins dii tbhii' zœœns AA. 12 ən də vAA·dər vərdii'·ldəghə -t ghuut. 15 om də vi·rkəs tə bha·khtən. 18 vAA·dər, k-ee misdAA·n tœœ·ghən œ'i. 22 ghoo tœœ·rə, HAAlt-ət be·stə klii'd ən duu-t-əm an, duut-ən nə réiqk AA zâi·nə véi·qər, ən skhuuns AA zâi vuu·tən. 23 't fet kalf. 24 bhant mâi·nə zœœ·nə bhas dyy'd, ən ii əs nœ'i bhee·rə ghəvo·ndən. 25 dən óu·stə zœœ·nə bhas op-t feld, ən ii ən bhi·stəghə ['wist,' knew] vaa niit. os i nœ'i, al bhee·rə kii'·rən, zâin óis naa·dərdee·ghə ['neared'], yy'·rdəgh-i dan zə zuu·qən ən zœk nən dAA·nighən dœœn mAA·ktighən. 27 œ'i bruu·rə. 29 om mâin vrii·ndən mee tə traktee·rən. 31 kind, uu es-t tokh mœœ·ghəláil da-ghe zœ·kən déi·qən van œ'i bruu·rə kœnt ze·ghən; ghâi, ghə zâit a·ltyy's bâi mâi.

175. *Deinze* or *Deynze*, town (50 *n* 58, 3 *e* 31). II. 349.

11 dər bhas nə kii'r nə man, dii tbhii' zœœns AA. 12 ən də vAA·dər dii'·ldəgh œ·ldər zEE ghuud. 15 om də

vi·rkens tə bha·khtən. 18 VAA·dərə, k-EE misdAA·n tee·ghə aa'j. 22 ee dee əm də be·stə klii'·rən AA·lən vœœr ZEE·nə zœœ·nə aan tə duun, ən ee dee əm ə PAAR skhuu·nən gheen, ən nə REEqk op ZEE·nə VEE·qər stee·kən. 23 't ve·tstə kalf. 24 omdaa· MEE·nə zœœ·nə, dii-t dyy' bhas, bhee·rə ghə-vo·ndən es. 25 binst dii mi·dələn tə'id kbham dən aa'j·stə zœœ·nə van op-t land; ən oos ee omtre·nt dən œ'i·zə kbhamp, yy'·rdegh ee-t labhə'i·t ən de spee·lman. 27 aa'j bruu·rə. 29 om MEEN vrii·ndən mee tə trekte·rən. 31 MAAR MEE·nə JO·qən tokh, ghə ZEE ghə'i o·mərs a·lTEED bə'i mə'i.

XXXIII. WEST-VLAANDEREN, in English WEST FLANDERS. II. 352.

176. *Brugge*, in French *Bruges*, city (51 *n* 13, 3 *e* 12). II. 356.

[Long *a* is pronounced *oa* (AA) before *d*, *t*, *l*, *n*, *r*, *s*, *z* (except in plurals of past tenses in verbs, where *a* is short in singular, as *ik bad*, *wi baden*, and except some *b*, *f*, *g*, *m*, has been lost, as *made* for *maagde*), but is pure, as *â* in French *âtre* (*aa*, aa ?), before *b*, *p*, *f*, *v*, *g*, *k* and *m*. And *sch* is pronounced *sk*, which is old low German, and is still heard in some low German modes of speech. The version is too free to be quoted exactly.]

11 dər bhas ə ker ə man, ən ii aa tbhee zœœns. 12 VAA·dər, ghe·mə ['give me'] ghi -t ghoo·nə [Dutch *het geene*, 'the that,' the thing or part] daa-k ik muun en. 15 zbhiins. 22 i déi əm zən be·stə klee·rən AA·lən. 25–30 dən uu·ktən zœœ·nə bhas dAAR zaluu·s [French *jaloux*] van, ən zéi: VAA·dər, t-ən is tokh nii ghəper·met-ee·rd! JƏ duu meer VAAR dii slóə·bər ['slobbery fellow'] of daa JƏ VAAR miin do't. JAA, zéi də VAA·dər, véi·ntjə ['man'] t-ən is MAAR reks lik of 't ziin muut ['it is however right like as it must be,' it is quite right], JƏN bruurə bhas dood, ən ii is vərree·zən ['arisen']; zoo is-t gheel simpəl daa mə mii·ndər [for *wij wíflieden* 'we we-folk'] daa vii·rən. JƏ viiqk ghə ['receive'] də bəloo·niqə van JƏ ghuu ghedra·gh ['of your good behaviour'] in bhal tə STAA·nə med ii·dəreen, vərstAA·JƏ daa? en LAAT ghi ons ol tə ghAA·rə ['together'] konte·nt ziin dat i nogh leeft.

177. *Oostende*, in English *Ostend*, town (51 *n* 14, 2 *e* 54). II. 362. [This is also very freely translated.]

11 tər bhas ən keer ən VAA·dər, ən J-aa tbhee zœœns. 12 dii ghuu sœl ghAAf ət əm; EE JA, bhaa mo·st ən doo'n, ee? 15 om zən zbhiins tə bha·khtən. 18 VAA·dər, k-en zoo lee·lik ghədAA·n mi JUUN ['I have so ugly done with you']. 20–24 bhaa daa sən VAA·dər mid əm déi? 'k LAAT shə -t ghərAA·n ['what then his father with him did, I let you it guess']. ghóu, wa·nsjə ['jack,' diminutive of *Johannes* called *Jowannes*] zéit ən ghóu, kom bi·nən, mən véint, 'k ziin zoo blii' daa JƏ DAA ziit. mə ghAAn se·fəns ke·rəme·s uu·dən. ən-t vet kolf most ər an, ən nogh e·ntbhat a·qərs ['something besides'] ən VAA·dər ən zœœ·nə déi·ən ən fiin mœ·ltjə ['had a fine feast']. 25 den uu·dstə zœœ·nə, dii van oo·vər ən dagh of tbhéi yyt bhas, kbham binst dən mi·dələntii·d NAA z'n yys tə bhee·ghə. JAA-MAAR i oo·rdə-t myyzii·k spee·lən, ən JƏ vərskhii·t ['changes'] ol met ən keer. 29 JƏ bhor mə bhel zoo vruud ZEE, dat i nii ən bhist bhaa dat ən déi, ən J-ən wi·ldə nii bi·nən-ghAAn. 31 MAAR VAA·dər kam yyt, ən a·khtər ən bitsjə bibəlabuu·shəs ['after a little coaxing'] JƏ tbhee·feld ['induced'] əm tokh tuu bi zən bruu·rə. ən zə kœ·stən mee·KAAR, en-t bhas vriind lik van tə voo·rən.

178. *Roesselaar*, in French *Roulers*, town (50 *n* 56, 3 *e* 7). II. 369.

11 t-bhos ə KEE nə man ən ii aa tbhee zœœns. 12 ən zə VAA·dərə i vərdEE·ld i ol zə ghuud o·ndər z'n tbhee zœœns. 15 om der də zbhiins tə bha·khtənə. 18 VAA·dərə, k-EE-k-ik zo·ndə ghədaa·n tee·ghən JUU. 22 AAST JƏ, AAl-əm ə KEE zə niibh klEEd ən duu-t an, stekt nə riiqk ip z'n·ə viiq·ərə [see specimen 173] ən duu skhuun an z'n vuu·tən. 23 't vet kolf. 24 ghə muu bhee·tən ['wit,' know] mənə-zœœ·nə bhos DAAD, ən ii EE bhee·re yy·tghəko·mən. 25 dən uu·dstən zœœ·nə bhos ip -t land bee·zigh mee bhe·rkənə, ən os en bhee·rə kbham van de sti·kən, ən t-yys NAA·sdə, i oo·rdəghə da zə van bin trompe·təghən ən zuu·qən. 27 JŒN broo'·rə. 29 omda·-k AAK VAAR m'n vrii·ndən zuu kœœn ə KEE ke·rme·zə uu·dən. 31 MAAR JU·qən [here *ng* is printed as usual], ghə zii ghii o·ltiid bi mii.

179. *Kortrijk*, in French *Courtrai*, city (50 *n* 55, 3 *e* 12). II. 374.

[The Kortrijkers omit final *d*, especially before a consonant, as *i ston me' ziin oe ip ziin oof, en i iel 'n broo in ziin an* = hij stond met zijn hoed op zijn hoofd, en hij hield een brood in zijn hand, 'he stood with his hat on his head, and he held a bread-loaf in his hand.' Final *n* is so frequently omitted that the Kortrijkers are nicknamed *ennebiters*, 'en-biters.' Also *l* and *r* are frequently omitted. *Sch* is called *sk*. Final *ë* (iə) is constantly used as a diminutive.]

11 nə man a tbhee zœœns. 12 ən zə KREE'·ghən elk œ·ldər DEE'l. 15 dii déi əm ghAAN mee də zbhiins. 18 VAA·dər, k-EE ghəzo·ndigh tee·ghən yy. 22 loop om-t be·stə KLEE' ən duu-t-əm an; ən duu-nə riiqk an ziin an, ən duu skhuu·nən [as *sch*, and not *sk*, is written, I copy it] an ziin vuu·tə. 23 't vet kolf. 24 bhan mii·nə zœœ·nə bha DAA, ən ii əs bhee·rə ghəvo·ndə. 25 dən óu·dstə zœœ·nə bhaa DAAr binst ip-t lan. os i bhee·rə KEE'·rdə van də sti·kən, en bii-t yys van zi VAA·dər bhaa, oo·rdən-i zi·qən ən da·nsə. 27 yy bruu·rə. 29 om mee miin vri·ndən tə ke·rəme·sən. 31 JU·qən, ghee ziit o·ltiid bii mii.

180. *Iperen*, in French *Ypres*, city (50 *n* 52, 2 *e* 53). II. 378.

11 daa bhos ə man dii tbHEE zœœns a·də. 12 ən də vaa·də dee-J-ət. 15 om də zbhiins tə bha·khtən. 18 vaa·dər, k-éin EEzuu·ndeghd [this (EE) for (ghə) in participles is said to sound just as *ê* in the French *être*] tee·ghən JUUN. 22 briiqkt ə keer zee·rə ['quickly'] ə niœœ'·bhən bruuk ən ə niœœ'·bhə kaza·kə, ən duu-sə-m a·nduun. stekt ə riiqk an zə vii·ndər ən gheet-ən niœœ'·bhə [(niée·bhə) may be the proper word; *niewe* is printed twice and *nieuwe* once, but *eu* does not appear to be otherwise replaced by *e*] skhuun. 23 ə vet kolf. 24 mə JUq·ən [see specimen 173 on (q)] bhos dəəd, ən-ən es bhee·rə EEvuu·ndən. 25 JAmaa, os dən uu·dstə zœœ·nə van-t lant kbham, bhaa dat-ən bhos ghaan bhe·rkən, ən dat-ən bi-t yys kbham, ən oo·rdə da·nsən ən zii·qən ən sprii·qən. 27 JƏ broo'·rə. 29 om z-ep t-ee·tən ['to eat it up'] mee mən vrii·ndən. 31 JUq·ən, J-ən-EE ghii nii tə klaa·ghən; ghə ziit van tj'nœ·khtəns tuu tj'naa·vəns ['from morning to evening,' Dutch *ochtends*, *avonds*] bi miin.

181. *Poperingen*, town (50*n*52, 2 *e* 43). II. 382.

11 t-bhos EE kee EE mens, dii tbhee zœœns a·də. 12 ən də VAA·dər dee·ldə œ·ldər-t ghuut. 15 om də zbhiins tə bha·khtən. 18 VAA·dər, k-en EEZO·ndighd tee·ghən JUUN. 22 briiqt [see specimen 173 on (q)] ma zee·rə zən be·stə kaza·kə en duu-sə-m an, stekt EE riiqk an zə viiq·ər ən duu sə skhuun an. 23 't vet kalf. 24 om dəs bhi·lə mə zœœ·nə bhos dood, ən-ən is yyt EEko·mən. 25 tuun kam dən uu·dstə zœœ·nə van-t stik, ən os ən ontre·nt t-yys kam, ən dat ən z-oo·rdə zii·qən ən myyzii·kə spee·lən. 27 JƏ broo'·rə. 29 om miin vrii·ndən tə trakteə·rən. 31 JOq·ən, JƏ zii ghii o·san [for *olsan*, that is, *als aan*, always] bi miin.

182. *Veurne-Ambacht*, district, manor of *Veurne*, town, in French *Furnes* (51 *n* 4, 2 *e* 38). II. 386.

11 t-bhos ə KEE ə man, ən dii man a·də tbHEE zœœns. 12 ən də VAA·də DEE·ldən œ·ldər -t ghuut. 15 om tə zbhiins tə bha·khtən. 18 VAA·dər, k-en DAA LEEK misdaa·n tee·ghən JUUN. 22 ZEE·rə ['haste'] om ə be·stə kaza·kə VAA mə zœœ·nə, duut-ən z-an, ən duut-ən ə paar skhuun an. 23 't kolf daa m-EE·vət ən. 24 mə zœœ·nə DAA bhos dood, ən m-ən ən bhee·rə EEvoq·ən [see specimen 173 on (q)]. 25 dən uu·dstə zœœ·nə bhos bii də bhii·lə œp də sti·kən os ən nyy van zə bherk kam, lik of ən nii ve·rə MEE van zən yys bhos, ən oo·rdə zə da·nsən ən sprii·qən ən myyzii·kə spee·lən. 27 i broo'·rə. 29 om MEE mə vrii·ndən ə KEE ke·rəme·sə t-uu·dən. 31 zœœ·nə, i blyyf ghi o·san bi miin.

XXXIV. FRANCE. II. 389.

183. *St. Winok's Bergen*, in French *Bergues*, town (50 *n* 59, 2 *e* 25). II. 395.

[In the town itself the people generally speak Flemish, and but few French; the country round about the town is quite Flemish.]

11 t-bhas ən KEEr ən VAA·dər dat ən PAAr zœœns a·də. 12 ən dən uu·dən braa·vən man, JAA, nœm DEE·ldə z'n fortyy·nə. 15 dən buur ['boor,' peasant] BEE ['well'!], EE zoq [see specimen 173 on (q)] ən op sən land MEE-sən

zbhiins, sensee· ['only think']. 18 t-is bhaa ['it is true'] mən vaa·dər, k-ən zo·ndə EEDAA·n tee·ghən JUUN. 22 lopt, zeght-ən, briiq-ət be·stə abii·t [French *habit*], dii m-en ['which I have'], ən tre·kən-t nœm an; stikt-ən ən-riiqk rond zən viiq·ər, ən gheet-ən ən PAAR skhuun. 23 ət vet KAAF. 24 om-s-bhi·lə, mən JUQ·stən JUQ·ən, diit-ən dood bhas, is t-yys EEKO·mən. 25 dən uu·dstən zœœ·nə, BEE, ən bhas op-t veld etbhaa·, ən diit-ən bi-t yys erəvee·rdə ['arrived'], ən əə·rdə daa ən ryymuu·r onghiəə·rd, ən zii·qən ən klii·qkən ən da·nsən. 27 zən free·rə. 29 om men ke·nesən tə bəshkii·qkən. 31 JUQ·ən, JƏ blyyft ghii MEE miin.

184. *Duinkerke*, in French *Dunkerque*, in English *Dunkirk*, town (51 *n* 3, 2 *e* 23). II. 401.

11 də bhos 'n KEEF EE man, en 'n ad tbHEE zœœns. 12 də vaa·dər ghaf an ziin tbHEE zœœns elk-t sii·nə. 15 bii ziin zbhiins. 18 vaa·dər, k-en-ən folii· ['folly'] EEDAA·n ee·ghən JUUN. 22 ən i zee; aald əm tə FEE·tə EE niœœ'·bhən tenyy· [French *tenu*]. 23 't ke·rmes·ka·lf. 24 van APREE-tun [French *après tout*,] miin zœœ·nə bhos dəəd, en-ən is EEVO·nən. 25 ən os dən uu·dstə zœœn daa rook, EE bhas EEpikee·rd ['piqued'] 29 om op-t ee·tən MEE-mən kompanJo·ns [Fr. *compagnons*]. 31 ort, JU·qən, [see specimen 173 on (q)] ik ən ghii bhœœ·nən a·ltiid tə ghaa·rə ['together'].

XXXV. AANHANGSEL, Appendix. II. 408.

[This gives a version in the *Reodwaalsch* or *slang* of the South-Netherland or Belgian Limburgish Kempen (specimen 185), and of Zeele in East Flanders (specimen 186), which have no interest for our present purpose.]

Note.—Since p. 1393, col. 2, l. 8 from bottom, was printed off, I have been informed that the Dutch *porsie* for *portion* has the accent on the first syllable, and is (por·sii, por·si) or (por·shə). French words in *-tion*, *-sion*, become words in *-sie* in Dutch, and end either in (-sii, -si)or (-siə', -shə).

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This completes the studies introductory to the consideration of our English dialects. It may be thought at first that too wide a range has been taken, but my own conviction is that the error lies in the other direction, and that these studies will prove insufficient for the complete phonologic study of our dialects, because I have found that, since most of them were in type, on attempting to deal with some existing cases which have come before me, my own knowledge has only too frequently made default. Thus in vowels, the *oo* and short *u* of Northumberland, taken as (*u*); the *oo* of West Somerset, of North and South Devon, of Norfolk and Suffolk, taken as (yy, íu), are still phonologic riddles, and I might greatly increase the list. In consonants, the different uvular *r*'s of Northumberland, and the (glottal or reverted) *r*'s of Wiltshire, Gloucester, and Somerset; and even the trilled *r*'s of Scotland, Westmorland and Ireland (said to be different), are not yet discriminated phonetically with sufficient accuracy. For many of the diphthongs and fractures extreme difficulty is felt in determining the position of stress, the length of the elements, and the quality of the element not under the stress. The peculiarities of intonation, which are locally most characteristic, are as yet phonetically uncharacterized.

For those who simply regard dialectal talk as "funny," "odd," "curious," "ridiculous," or "vulgar," such like difficulties do not exist. Even philologists, who have wrapped themselves up in their garment of Roman letters, as musicians in their equally tempered drab, will not care for them. But as no scientific theory of concord can be evolved from the blurred representation or rather caricature of consonance which this temperament can alone produce, so no scientific theory of organic change of words, which forms the staple of philology, can be deduced from the incomplete, dazzling, puzzling, varying, orthography which Latin letters can alone present. The great object of this work has been from beneath this heavy cloak to trace the living form, with the pure philological purpose of arriving at scientific theories which shall help us to derive the present from the past of language. The result can be but a rough approximation after all. But in forming an estimate for any work it is usual to calculate to farthings, and then lay on a broad margin for contingency. So here we must endeavour to trace to the minutest details, however absurdly small they may appear, and then allow a wide "debateable land" for inevitable errors. The nature of such a land is well enough shewn by an example in the preceding introductory remarks (pp. 1371–3). The nature of the details is shewn in Nos. 6 and 7 (pp. 1265–1357). The guide to an appreciation of the English laws of change will be found in the changes so carefully tabulated by Schmeller for Bavarian High German (pp. 1357–1368), a language descended from the same remote common ancestor as our own, and those which can be inferred from Winkler's collections (pp. 1378–1428) for descendants on the original soil from the same progenitor. With this preparation we will endeavour to investigate the phonology of existing English dialects themselves, as a clue to the radically dialectal English of our forefathers.

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